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Brendan, Saint. Legend

The Anglo-Norman VOYAGE OF ST. BRENDAN

BY

BENEDEIT

A POEM OF THE EARLY TWELFTH CENTURY

Edited

with Introduction, Notes & Glossary

by

E. G. R. WATERS, M.A.
Professor of Romance Languages
in the University of Oxford

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PREFACE

WHEN in my undergraduate days I perused this venerable and fascinating text in the attractive but uncritical edition by Francisque Michel, on every page of which the reader stumbles against some unsolved problem, it became clear to me that there was no medieval French text in greater need of thorough critical treatment, and none likely to yield more valuable results. The project, then presumptuously formed, of supplying this want remained for a long time unrealizable. I count myself fortunate to see it at last accomplished after so many years of delay.

The *Voyage of St. Brendan* is probably the oldest extant monument of Anglo-Norman literature, except for the *Cumpoz* of Philippe de Thaün. Its value and interest as a literary performance have never, I think, been sufficiently appreciated, but its importance as a linguistic document has long been recognized. Dating as it does from the first quarter of the twelfth century, it is a fundamental text for the study of early French, and above all of the Anglo-Norman dialect. Like the somewhat earlier but continental *Vie de St. Alexis*, it has been transmitted to us under peculiarly favourable conditions, in several manuscripts (one representing a later redaction) whose combined testimony enables a critical text to be established with unusual precision. We possess, moreover, its Latin source and two Latin translations. Why, then, has no critical edition been forthcoming till now? The principal reason is not difficult to discern. Over fifty years ago the *Voyage of St. Brendan* attracted the attention of the eminent scholars Hermann Suchier and Gaston Paris, who determined (at first, it seems, independently, then in collaboration) to bring out a critical edition. No editors possessing higher qualifications for this undertaking could have been wished for, and no other scholar would have had the temerity to intervene

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so long as there was a possibility that they would accomplish it. But their interests were multifarious, and the project never matured. Half a dozen theses, some of them quite meritorious, were devoted to the poem by students at German and other universities; but however useful they might be for the purpose of checking results, none of their conclusions could be accepted without strict control. The death of Gaston Paris in 1903 and of Hermann Suchier in 1914 left the field open to some less distinguished philologist. Though I cannot hope to have provided a solution of every difficulty, or to have avoided all the pitfalls that abound in this text, I trust I have contributed something to its elucidation. It is perhaps not inappropriate that the edition should, after all, be published in the country where the poem was written.

The establishing of the critical text and the solution of many of the linguistic problems depend largely on a study of the prosody. For this reason the author's versification has been examined in detail at the outset, and has been found to be based, with meticulous accuracy, upon a system (almost certainly imitated from medieval Latin verse) which is in some respects unique in Old French poetry. The analysis of the author's language has attained dimensions which may seem excessive, but are justified by the position of the poem at the fountain-head of Anglo-Norman. The lack of such detailed information as this edition attempts to supply has seriously hampered the study of the dialect, and has been responsible for many of the errors current in existing treatises. The glossary has been made as complete as possible. The *Voyage of St. Brendan* is the work of an author who possessed, within certain limits, a real command of his language, and is undoubtedly one of those texts of which (as was recently suggested by a committee of the 'Société des anciens textes') the vocabulary and phraseology deserve to be analysed and recorded in full detail. Among the many interesting facts that emerge from the linguistic investigation, one deserves special emphasis: the dialectal features of the poem, though all consistent with later Anglo-Norman developments, show

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at least as close an affinity to the northern and north-eastern French dialects as to the dialect of Normandy. It is possible that the evidence here put forward may reopen the question whether the term 'Anglo-Norman' is justifiable. While the main purpose of the Introduction to this book is of course philological, the comparison (in ch. v) of the poem with its Latin source has necessarily involved an appreciation of the literary talent of the author. No attempt has been made here to discuss the Brendan legend and its literary manifestations in general; this is an undertaking which I hope, after a series of preliminary investigations, to accomplish at some future date.

In the course of my task I have contracted many obligations. Professors E. C. Armstrong, J. Jeanjaquet, T. A. Jenkins, and C. C. J. Webb, Dr. H. H. E. Craster, Dr. E. A. Lowe, Mr. L. F. Powell, Mr. J. R. H. Weaver, Miss J. Evans, and Miss M. K. Pope have all contributed expert advice on points of detail. Mr. E. A. Barber gave kind assistance with the Latin text. The proof-readers of the Clarendon Press have made numerous helpful suggestions. To Mr. C. T. Onions and Mr. A. Ewert I owe a special debt of gratitude for the long-suffering friendliness with which they have read through large parts of the work in manuscript or in proof; to Mr. Onions also for valuable advice in connexion with the Germanic element in Old French; to Mr. Ewert also for obtaining particulars of the York MS. at first hand. The Rector and Fellows of Exeter College gave invaluable aid and encouragement by electing me in 1925 to a Research Fellowship, but for which the completion of this volume would have been indefinitely delayed. The Curators of the Taylor Institution have made a generous grant from the Gerrans Memorial Fund towards the publication of this work; and through the kind agency of Professors Joseph Wright and Sir Charles Firth a similar grant has been made by the British Academy. To all I express my very hearty thanks. It is a cause of keen regret to me that Professor P. Studer did not live to see the publication of the *Voyage of St. Brendan*, in which he always

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took a great interest: only the text and glossary reached their final shape early enough to benefit by his advice. I sincerely hope that the outcome may justify his encouragement and expectations, and continue the tradition of sound scholarship which he himself so honourably maintained in the Romance field.

E. G. R. W.

OXFORD, *February*, 1928.

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

I. The Manuscripts ix

II. Author and Date xxii

III. Versification . . . . . .

§ 1. The Metre xxix

§ 2. The Feminine Lines xxx

§ 3. The Internal Construction of the Line xxxvii

§ 4. The Counting of Syllables . . . xliv

§ 5. The Couplet l

§ 6. The Rimes lii

IV. Classification of the Manuscripts

§ 1. The Group AB lviii

§ 2. The Group DE lx

§ 3. AB against DE lxiv

§ 4. Other possible Groupings . . . lxvi

§ 5. The Common Ancestors of AB (α), DE (β) and $\alpha\beta$ (x) . . . lxxiv

§ 6. The Position of C lxxviii

§ 7. Conclusion lxxx

V. The Relation of the Anglo-Norman Poem to the 'Navigatio Sancti Brendani' . lxxxi

VI. The Latin Prose Translation . . . cv

VII. The Latin Rimed Translation . . . cxv

VIII. The Language of the Author

§ 1. Lists of Rimes cxxv

§ 2. Phonology (a) Vowels . . . cxxxvi

(b) Consonants . . cliv

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VIII. The Language of the Author (*continued*)

§ 3. Morphology (*a*) Declension . . clxiv
(*b*) Conjugation . . clxviii
§ 4. Vocabulary clxxix
§ 5. Syntax clxxxv
§ 6. Conclusion cxcix

TEXT 1

NOTES 95

APPENDIX I The expansion of the feminine lines in the MSS. 135

„ II The spellings and forms of the Anglo-Norman MSS. 143

GLOSSARY 185

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES 212

FACSIMILE OF MS. COTTON VESPASIAN B. X, Fol. 9r . . . . . *To follow* p. lxxx

ERRATA

Page cvii, *note* 4. *The dissertation by E. Pfitzner appeared also in the* Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, *xxxv* (*1911*), *pp. 31–66.*

„ 38, *variant to v.* 681. *Read E* E dencensiers.

„ 43, *second line of Latin text. For* aera *read* aeris.

„ 62, *variant to v.* 1163. *Add E before* Molt longement.

„ 68, *variant to v.* 1279. *Delete bracket after D* quen li.

„ 93. *The variants to vv.* 1820, 1821, *and* 1822 *are wrongly attributed to vv.* 1819, 1820, *and* 1821 *respectively.*

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INTRODUCTION

I. THE MANUSCRIPTS

FIVE MSS. of the *Voyage of St. Brendan* are extant, one, however, being but a fragment. The designations used by Bartsch[1] are here adopted in preference to those of other scholars.[2]

A. London, British Museum, Cotton Vesp. B. x (1), fo. 1–11 r°. Attention was first drawn to this MS. by Francisque Michel[3] and Abbé de la Rue,[4] and a detailed description was published by the former.[5] More recently it has been described by H. Suchier[6] and H. L. D. Ward.[7]

The MS. is bound in one volume with two other MSS. of later date. It is composed of twenty-three vellum folios, the latter part being occupied by the Latin *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* (fo. 11 v°–21 r°, col. 1) and some shorter Latin texts; fo. 23 is blank. All the texts are plainly and regularly written, in handwriting (the same throughout) of the thirteenth century, probably of the middle or second half of the century.[8] The Anglo-Norman text is in double

[1] K. Bartsch et A. Horning, *La langue et la littérature françaises*, Paris, 1887, col. 69.

[2] Concordance: ABCDE = Vising C. BDA, Birkenhoff L. O. P, Hammer and Wien LAOYP, Brekke LTOYA, Calmund LAOYArs.

[3] *Le Roman de la Violette*, Paris, 1834, p. xlvii.

[4] *Essais historiques sur les Bardes, les Jongleurs et les Trouvères normands et anglo-normands*, ii, Caen, 1834, pp. 66 ff.

[5] *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France. Rapports au Ministre*, Paris, 1839, p. 165.

[6] In Boehmer's *Romanische Studien*, i, Heft 5, Strassburg, 1875, p. 554.

[7] *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, ii, London, 1893, p. 541.

[8] Dr. E. A. Lowe suggests the middle of the thirteenth century. Mr. J. P. Gilson, Keeper of MSS. at the British Museum, has assigned the MS. to the end of the century. Fr. Michel dated it from the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century; T. D. Hardy (*Descriptive Catalogue . . .*, i, p. 160) from the thirteenth century; Suchier from the end of the twelfth century. All philologists who have dealt with the text since Suchier, not excepting the present writer (cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxi, p. 391), have copied his statement, and have treated the forms of this MS. as representing twelfth-century Anglo-Norman; yet both the handwriting and the vignettes undoubtedly belong to the following century. The grounds on which Ward assigned this MS. to the fourteenth century, and F. J. Tanquerey (*L'Évolution du Verbe en Anglo-*

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columns of forty-four lines each. On the fly-leaf a modern hand has written: *Elenchus huius libri I. Vita s̄ci Brendani rythmo Gallicano veteri* etc. At the top of fo. 1 r° is written in sixteenth-century handwriting: *vita s̄ci brēdani gallicæ.* Something has been erased between the columns of fo. 1 r°. Thirty-six verses have large ornamented initial letters, the first red and blue, the second and third red, then alternately blue and red, except that two blue initials succeed one another at vv. 309 and 371, and again at vv. 1493 and 1511; the red are decorated with blue and the blue with red flourishes. A wrong initial (Q instead of A) has been inserted in vv. 1067 and 1735.[1] In each line, except those before which a large initial stands, there is a space between the first and second letters.

This is the completest and best MS., retaining most fully the archaisms of the original, though showing in its spellings abundant traces of Anglo-Norman developments of the thirteenth century.[2] Six lines only are missing: 477–8, 849–50, 1243–4. The diplomatic transcription published by H. Suchier[3] is on the whole accurate, and renders it unnecessary to enter into details here concerning the word-division and the scribe's corrections. As regards the expansion of contractions a few explanatory notes are needed.[4] The sign *p̧* represents either *per* (e.g. *pernanz* 37) or *par* (e.g. *parfunz* 1127); hence *apceut* 335 may be transcribed either *aperceut* or *aparceut* (cf. v. 1141). The sign ⁹ is used at the end of a word for *-us*, e.g. *plus* 26, *precius* 1077, and (through Latin influence) also for *-es* in the first person plural forms *sumes* 521, 535, 542, 719, *fumes* 522, *asemblames* 731, *amames* 732;[5] it is not used in this text for initial or internal *con*, and Suchier's reading *iacɔines* = *Jacco(n)ines* in v. 839 is erroneous.

français, Paris, 1915, p. 67, *et passim*) to the year 1167, or 1160 (*ibid.*, p. 426, note), are unknown to me. There is no evidence other than palaeographical.

[1] Cf. note to v. 1735.

[2] Cf. Appendix II.

[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 553–88. The following are the principal corrections (adopting, for this note only, Suchier's numbering of the lines): 2 *ualdrat* without accent, 215 *seignent*, 233 *beitrer*, 577 *ad*] *as*, 597 *purcusent*, 837 *iacoines*, 883 *deuolat*] *flotet*, 981 *uent*[] *nent*, 1047 *cōmo*^{ue}*t*, 1138 *flāmanz*, 1174 *seif* without accent, 1175 *Antre*] *Ainxe*, 1230 *q*^{a}*i*, 1237 *ses*] *les*, 1238 *les*] *ses*, 1334 *Que altre*, 1385 *aile*] *acce*, 1409 *beitire*, 1410 *quire* or *qiure*, 1470 *lusdi*, 1498 *terce*, 1508 add *ert* after *ẹṣt*, 1542 *cors*, 1573 *peisuns*, 1599 *siu* or *sui*, 1676 *Fatters*, 1709 *Lai nur* or *Lai mir*, 1741 *ni ad*, 1742 *nerechrie*, 1747 *replenir*, 1790 *requais* corrected to *requeis*, 1834 *plusur*.

[4] The contractions in the MSS. of the *Brendan* were inaccurately classified by M. Wien, *Das Verhältnis der Handschriften der Anglonorm. Brandanlegende*, Diss. Halle, 1886, pp. 7 ff.

[5] Cf. Appendix II, § 6 d.

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An apostrophe may represent either *re* (*p'nt* = *prent* 145; but *let*^{e} = *letre* 11, etc.) or *er* (*port'* = *porter* 180, *m'cit* = *mercit* 338, *t're* = *terre* 483, etc.). A form such as *p'nent* 802 may probably be expanded as *prenent*; *pernent* would have been written *ꝑnent*. *Que* is represented by *q*^{e} (e.g. v. 15), *q;* (e.g. *desque* 220) or *q̄* (e.g. *querant* 363). *Est* is represented by *ꝗ* in v. 1181, by *ē* in v. 1349, but usually written in full. Note the contractions *xꝑal* = *cristal* 272, *ihū* = *Jesu* 574, etc., *sṫ* = *sunt* 1034, *dš* = *Deus* 1589. It is not clear what the scribe intended by the comma in *loid'e* 100. The text of this MS. was also reproduced, but in an inaccurate and unsatisfactory manner, by Fr. Michel,[1] whose use of modern punctuation and diacritical signs scarcely succeeded in making the text intelligible.

The use of accents in this MS. was satisfactorily dealt with by K. Lincke.[2] The scribe used an acute accent very frequently to separate *i* from an adjacent *m*, *n*, or *u* (e.g. *seínz* 19, *uílaín* 163, *suíurnerent* 327); also on the numeral *.ííí.* (vv. 901 and 998), and in a few instances on *i* between other letters (e.g. *maíren* 174, *críe* 1252, *sedeír* 1776). In *séét* 359, *entréé* 632, and *guuardéé* 839 the accents probably indicate that the consecutive vowels belong to different syllables. At the outset the scribe began placing an accent on post-tonic *e* (*díuíné* 2, *terré* 3, *guerré* 4), but he abandoned this practice after the fourth line; *uitté* 76 is undoubtedly an error for *uítte*. In *nenémout* (= *ne ne m'out*) 1588 the accent is used to pick out a short monosyllabic word. A double accent has in most cases been placed over the words *ćá*, *ćó* and *ićó*, its function being to indicate that the letter *c* has not the velar pronunciation usual before *a* and *o*, but some other sound (*ts* or *tš*). All these uses of the accent can be paralleled from other early French, especially Anglo-Norman, MSS. The apparent accent on *ualdrát* 2 is in reality merely the insertion sign for the *r* of *reíne* in v. 1. The accent on the *e* of *ićóé* 1800 is unexplained.

B. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 4503, fo. 19 v°–42 r°. This MS. has had a chequered history.[3] In the seventeenth

[1] *Les Voyages Merveilleux de Saint Brandan*, Paris, 1878. Cf. G. Gröber, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, iii, p. 133.

[2] *Die Accente im Oxforder und im Cambridger Psalter sowie in anderen altfrz. Handschriften*, Diss. Erlangen, 1886. Cf. W. Buhle, *Das C im Lambspringer Alexius, Oxforder Roland und Londoner Brandan*, Diss. Greifswald, 1881, pp. 47 ff.

[3] Cf. L. Delisle, *Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue des Manuscrits des fonds Libri et Barrois*, Paris, 1888, Introduction.

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century it was in the possession of the Lesdiguières family. In 1716 it was bought for the Abbey of Marmoutier near Tours, becoming no. 239 in the Abbey library, and at the Revolution passed into the municipal library of Tours. In 1842, or shortly after, it was stolen from this library by the notorious 'bibliophile' Libri, and in 1847 was sold by him to the Earl of Ashburnham, in whose library it was numbered Libri 112. Having been sold in 1884 by the Earl's successor to the Italian government, the MS. remained for a time in the Bibliotheca Mediceo-Laurenziana at Florence, but was recovered in 1888 by the French government and placed in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The first accurate description published was that by G. Paris,[1] and it has since been described also by L. Delisle,[2] H. Omont,[3] and H. Calmund.[4]

The MS. consists of seventy-four vellum folios, and contains besides the *Brendan* a poem on the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, by Herman de Valenciennes (fo. 1–11), the *Vie de St. Alexis* (fo. 11 v°–19 v°), the *Vie de Ste. Catherine* translated by Sister Clemence of Barking (fo. 43–73), and a French translation of a bull of Alexander III in favour of the Templars (fo. 74). The handwriting dates from about 1200 (not the middle of the twelfth century, as originally stated by G. Paris). Except for vv. 1–81, which are by a different scribe, the *Brendan* is written in the same hand as the preceding and following poems. Except for vv. 73–81, the poem is written out like prose, but with a stop indicating the end of each verse. Each page contains one column of from twenty-three to twenty-eight lines. The heading *Incipit uita sanctj Brandanj* and the first line of the last page (*Ne sunt haitiez sul li parent Ainz sunt*) are in red ink. Twenty-two large initials are written in red, three in blue[5]; the first is missing.

G. Paris drew attention to the ignorance and carelessness of the principal scribe of this MS., who betrays his insular origin by his use of Anglo-Norman spellings and by the little heed that he pays to grammar or metre. The text of the *Brendan* is, however, superior to that of the *Alexis*, and has fortunately not been touched by the

[1] *La Vie de Saint Alexis*, Paris, 1872, p. 3. Cf. *Romania*, xiii, p. 401

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 116 (no. lxx).

[3] *Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue Général des Manuscrits français. Nouvelles acquisitions françaises*, ii, Paris, 1900, p. 199.

[4] *Prolegomena zu einer kritischen Ausgabe des ältesten franz. Brendanlebens*, Diss. Bonn, 1902, p. 5.

[5] So Calmund; the colours cannot be distinguished in my facsimile.

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medieval 'corrector' who did so much harm to the preceding text. Although much inferior to A, B forms a very valuable check upon that MS., to which it is fairly closely allied.[1] But the principal grievance remains, namely that the scribe, losing patience with his task from time to time, has omitted a great many words, verses, couplets, and longer passages. No fewer than 169 verses of the *Brendan* are missing, the great majority of these belonging to the last 300 lines of the poem: vv. 12, 221–2, 395–6, 423–4, 601–4, 617–18, 651–2, 661–2, 665–6, 669–70, 679–88, 743–4, 843–4, 1524, 1526–40, 1545–6, 1549–52, 1555–60, 1563–6, 1577–80, 1583–90, 1603–10, 1615–24, 1627–8, 1631–48, 1653–8, 1665–8, 1715–18, 1741–52, 1755–60, 1763–4, 1771–2, 1775–90. Two lines, of the feeblest kind, have been added, following vv. 1813 and 1814 respectively. Vv. 1325–6 have been transposed.

Both scribes employed the usual contractions, though the second used them very sparingly and nearly always for the sake of fitting a word into the end of a line. *Est*, usually written in full, appears as *ē* in v. 1593. *Que* is written *q̄* in v. 529, sometimes also *q;*. Note *deurt̄* = *devrunt* 62, *dt̄* = *dunt* 174, *dc̄* = *dunc* 453, *uerr̄t* = *verrunt* 1106, *brand'* = *Brandans* (?) 1255, *st'* = *sunt* 1496. In v. 335 *saꝑcut* probably represents *s'aperçut*; cf. v. 1141. In order to cancel a letter, the scribes placed a dot either above or below it.

The acute accent was freely used by both scribes. It is commonly but not invariably placed on *i*, not only when next to *m*, *n*, and *u*, but also in other positions (e.g. *oíe* 100, *saphíre* 1071). It is used regularly when two identical vowels come together (e.g. *uéér* 55, *embléé* 311, *uéïit* 313, *séélus* 647, *abbóte* 888, *lúúrs* 1685), and less regularly when *v* (written *u*) is followed by *u* (e.g. *úús* 119, *aúúms* 650, *saúúred* 705, *úúnt* 1629); but in *entríe* 251, *branchée* 498, and *háan* 1320 only the first vowel bears an accent. It is placed on short monosyllabic words: *é* 82, etc., *á* 145, etc., *ú* 95, 234, etc., *ío* or *có* 87, 93, etc., *óc* 243, etc., *cá* 1116, *ió* 1243, *ieó* 1277, *lé* (def. art.) 1134, *út* (< *habuit*) 278, *fú* 292, *fúd* 1835, *bát* 1702; and by analogy with these, also on the prefix *a-* (*áasma* 1054, *áclose* 1111, *átendisse* 1554), on *icó* 102, *iceó* 1507, *auóc* 181, *ilóc* 413, etc. In the following instances it marks the tonic vowel: *abé* 152, *sathán* 310, *clarté* 1697, *enarté* 1698, *orád* 1818. Further, the accent is freely used on certain diphthongs, in a manner which is difficult to explain, but which lends

[1] B alone has preserved the correct reading in a number of instances, e.g. vv. 716, 798, 1172 (but *cent* for *cenſ*), 1348, 1350 and 1520.

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little support to the theory[1] that its function was to discriminate ascending and descending diphthongs. Thus the first scribe (down to v. 81) wrote *déu* 19, *tért* 38, 46, *sél* 58, *líú* 63, *orgúíl* 67, *léí* 69, *fléí* 70, *lúi* 71.[2] The second scribe used it, not for *ie*, *ei*, *iu*, or *ui*, but for *oe* (*cóer* 142, *troẹuent* 261, 294, 645, *troẹue* 960, *bóes* 1150, *hoém* 1521), *ue* (*crúes* 637, *cumúet* 1051, *suéns* 1814), *ou* (*erróut* 322, *bussent* 657, *íóues* 1013, *póues* 1014, *pórent* 1175, *órent* 1200, *quidóue* 1283) and *eu* (*leús*<*lupos* 1288, *feú* or *féu* 466, 758, 759). That the accent in these instances bore any relation to either the diphthong or the tonic syllable is difficult to believe, seeing that we find it also where the two vowels belong to different syllables, sometimes even on the unstressed vowel: *paráís* 49, *uelíe* 103, 1804, *meús*<**movuisti* 776, *cóes* 941, *sóe* 1234, *celóe* 1281, *poú* past part. of *paistre* 1582, *rué* 1662. Some of these examples, as well as *úelt* 325, *uenú* 740, suggest that the scribe was inclined to place an accent on *u* (vocalic or consonantal), as on *i*, almost as a matter of routine. The accent on *ça*, *ço*, *içe* is placed over the following vowel as often as over the consonant, and appears to have no connexion with the pronunciation of the consonant.

The text of this MS. has not been printed, but it has been repeatedly copied, and has been utilized by those who have dealt with the poem from Hammer and Brekke onwards.

C. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. D 913 (formerly Rawl. Misc. 1370), fo. 85. H. Suchier[3] was the first to draw attention to this fragment. Particulars of the illegible passages were added by R. Birkenhoff.[4] A brief account of the fragment and of the volume in which it is preserved (a collection of fragments, mostly in French and English, bound together about 1861) is given in the official catalogue of Bodleian MSS.[5]

It consists of a single vellum folio, which has been torn away from some object to which it formerly adhered, with the result that the writing on the middle and lower portion of one surface (recto) has been removed or rendered illegible. The use to which it was put

[1] Put forward by A. Brachet, in *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature*, 1870, ii, pp. 254 ff.

[2] *escúil* 68 presumably stands for *escúil*.

[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 564–6.

[4] *Ueber Metrum und Reim der altfranz. Brandanlegende*, Marburg, 1884, p. 6.

[5] *Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae* partis quintae fasciculus quartus, Oxford, 1898, cols. 136 and 141.

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(perhaps as part of the cover of some other MS.) and the circumstances in which it was rescued are unknown. The writing is in two columns on each side. Col. 1 r° contains the last thirty-two lines of a rhyming Anglo-Norman exhortation to repentance.[1] Col. 2 r° and cols. 1 and 2 v° contain vv. 1–310 of the *Brendan*, two verses, however, having dropped out between the middle of v. 269 and the middle of v. 271. Each line of writing contains a couplet, and each column fifty-one or fifty-two lines. A large initial D in red ink marks the beginning of the poem. There is a space between the first and second letter of each couplet except the first two. The handwriting is of the first half of the thirteenth century.[2] The passage has been written by two scribes, the second hand beginning with v. 165. From v. 35 to v. 104 only a word here and there is legible, usually only the last word of a couplet; vv. 27, 29, 258–9 are also partially illegible.

It is regrettable that this MS. should have been reduced to its present condition, as its text was a very fair one and did not belong (so far as can be judged) to either of the other groups of MSS.[3] In several instances C alone gives the correct reading.[4] The spellings betray the Anglo-Norman origin of the copyists. Accents are used solely on the letter *i*. Both scribes made lavish use of contractions, few of which require special explanation. The sign *p̄* represents either *per* (e.g. *pernanz* 37, *perdent* 213) or *par* (e.g. *parlerent* 112, *paret* 276). *Est* appears as ÷ (v. 18) and as *ē* (vv. 242, 281, 286). *Que* is represented by q^e or $\bar{q}$ (both in v. 15). Note c^i = *cui* 14, *nl'* = *nul* 236, 254, 302, *d's* = *Deus* 242, *s't* = *sunt* 255, 261, *p̄nnēt* = *prennent* 302, 307. In v. 186 *bon*^{9} (= Lat. *bonus*) has been interpreted as *bons*, and in v. 191 *sum*^{9} as *sumes*.

Suchier gave the variants of this MS. from a collation made by E. Stengel. Closer study has made it possible to introduce a number of corrections and additions, the more important of which will be found in the variants of the present edition or in Appendix II.

D. York, Dean and Chapter Library, 16 K. 12, part 1, fo. 23–36 r°. The existence of this MS. was mentioned by T. D. Hardy,[5] but so briefly that Suchier[6] was led to believe the York and

[1] Printed by E. Stengel in his glossary to the oldest French monuments, *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*, i, Marburg, 1882, p. 173.

[2] *Teste* Dr. H. H. E. Craster.

[3] Cf. ch. iv, § 6.

[4] e.g. vv. 177, 246, 282, 292.

[5] *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, i, London, 1862, p. 160: MS. Dec. et Cap. Eborac. 16 II. 5, 1, 2.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 554.

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Cottonian MSS. to be identical. Fuller particulars of it were given by J. Vising.[1]

The volume, which is mainly in quarto, consists of thirty-six folios, size 203 × 137 mm. Fo. 1–22 r° contain a collection of fables by Marie de France and an unknown author.[2] Each page contains two columns of thirty-four verses. The text of the *Brendan* was written by a single hand; with the beginning of a new quire at fo. 25 the writing changes slightly, but gradually reverts to normal. From the same point onwards the ink used is a decidedly deeper black than in the previous quire. A note signed H. P. (i.e. Hermann Pauly) on the fly-leaf of the MS. states: 'This volume is of the writing of the latter part of the XIIIth century'; but the writing has been assigned with more justice by Vising and Warnke to the first half of the century. The heading *Incipit uita sc̄i Brendani* is written in red. The poem begins with a large initial *D*, ornamented in red and green. Forty-two other initials are enlarged and written in red, but devoid of ornament with the exception of *Q* in v. 103, the tail of which is extended in a scroll to the *O* of v. 123. In addition, small black initials *D* and *B* in vv. 825 and 1043 respectively are encircled by large initials done in red. Except in vv. 1, 781, 851, and 1809 the large initials do not extend beyond the space occupied by one line. In v. 18 a supernumerary *g* before *grant* is written in red. An acute accent is used in a few instances only, to distinguish *i* from a neighbouring *m*, *n*, or *u* (e.g. *deuíne* 2, *maínt* 115, *enemí* 992, *deduít* 1644), and to correct *n* to *i* in *suí* 1277 (originally written *sun*).

The scribe was somewhat unmethodical in his use of contractions. *Est* is usually represented by ⁊ (vv. 128, 378, etc.), but by *ē* in v. 1350. For *que* we find *q̄* (v. 23), *q;* (v. 192), *q2* (v. 866) and *q:* (v. 1830), with various minor modifications of these signs. Both *per* (*pernez* 399, *superbe* 525) and *par* (*part* 233, *parfunt* 369) appear as *p̲*. The same signs are used for *re* and *er*, thus *p̄meraine* = *premeraine* (cf. *p̄* for Lat. *prae*) 952, but *ūbe* = *verbe* 532, *conūsū* = *conversum* 720, cf. also *m̄noc* = *Mernoc* 85, 98. Similarly *oind'e* = *oindre* 177, but *h'mite* = *hermite* 1547. It is not clear whether *p*[9] 907 should be expanded as *puis* or *pus* (cf. *u*[9] = *vus* 329, *pl*[9] = *plus* 908, etc.). Note *angl'e(s)* = *angele(s)* 521, 1732, *nl'e* = *nule* 1518. Apart from these instances, the interpretation of the contractions offers no difficulty.

[1] *Étude sur le dialecte anglo-normand du XII*[e] *siècle*, Diss. Upsala, 1882, pp. 18 f.; cf. Calmund, *Prolegomena . . .*, p. 6.

[2] Cf. K. Warnke, *Die Fabeln der Marie de France*, Halle, 1898, p. iv.

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From the point of view of textual correctness this is the least satisfactory MS. The Anglo-Norman scribe did his work hastily and carelessly, and made a large number of gross grammatical, metrical, and other blunders. His fondness for replacing final *t* (or *d*) by *s* (e.g. *abes* acc. sg. 13, *vertes* acc. sg. 14, *lieues* = *lievet* 317, *duis* ind. pr. 3 sg. of *duire* 694) has resulted in constant confusion of number, case, and form, and produces a very disagreeable impression. His capricious attempts to expand the feminine lines to a normal length by adding a syllable[1] have played havoc with the text; he has altered feminine rimes to masculine (vv. 559–60, 839–40, 887–8, 1099–1100, 1467–8, 1625–6, 1679–80), changed the sense (e.g. vv. 103, 439, 1657), or substituted lines presumably of his own composition (e.g. vv. 17–18, 239, 902). The large number of verses with syllables too many (e.g. 452, 588, 863) or too few (e.g. 320, 760–1, 1134) shows how defective was his own metrical sense. Words which he did not understand became hopelessly corrupted (e.g. *a haloecs* 173, *laumunde* 881, *cestires* 1228) or were avoided by means of drastic alterations in the text (e.g. v. 286, avoiding repetition of *mestiers*; vv. 461–2, avoiding *raps*; vv. 1321–2). Other passages of which the meaning has been destroyed by gratuitous and often childish alterations are vv. 14, 188, 942, 1332, 1360, 1454, 1532, 1565, 1755–6, 1782 and 1784.[2] Twelve lines are missing: vv. 1023–4, 1179–80, 1395–6, 1717–18, 1723–4, 1745–6. To these might be added vv. 809, 1473, and 1581, but compensatory lines have been introduced after vv. 810, 1474, and 1582 respectively. Nine lines have been added: two after 188, two after 408, one after 549, two after 584, two after 1198. Vv. 1563–4 have been placed after 1554. In three couplets the lines have been transposed: 499–500, 1693–4, 1751–2. In spite of these many defects, D has great value as the Anglo-Norman representative of the second main group of MSS., and is the basis of the critical text when A and B both fail us (e.g. in vv. 477–8, 652, 1549).[3]

E. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 3516 (formerly BLF 283 fo.), fo. 96 r° col. c – 100 v°. This text of the *Brendan* has been men-

[1] Cf. Appendix I.

[2] The possibility that some of these corruptions were due, not to the scribe of D, but to a predecessor, is discussed in ch. iv, § 5; in most cases it is not possible to assign the responsibility with certainty.

[3] D alone has preserved the authentic reading in vv. 478, 1090 (but *Cist* for *Cil*) and 1576.

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tioned, with more or less detail, by A. Jubinal,[1] H. Suchier,[2] Fr. Michel[3] and many later writers. A diplomatic transcription, with brief introductory remarks and palaeographical notes, was published by Th. Auracher.[4] Descriptions of the whole MS. have been given by Monmerqué et Michel,[5] by Le Roux de Lincy[6] and in the official catalogue.[7]

The MS. is a large volume of 356 vellum folios, containing sixty-three different items of very unequal length. A vandalistic hand has removed most of the miniatures, and in some instances whole folios; owing to these mutilations the numbering of the folios has varied. The first three folios, which were doubtless added on completion of the volume, contain a French calendar, health rules for each month,[8] a table of dominical letters, and an index to the whole volume. The table is for the century 1268–1367, and as such calculations were of little value in the Middle Ages save for the future, one may conclude that the volume was completed in the year 1267 or 1268. The thirteenth-century handwriting agrees with this date. The titles are done in red, the initials in red and blue. The *Brendan* is preceded by the *Vie de St. Julien* and followed by the *Vie de St. Gregoire*. It is written in columns of verse, each page containing four columns of about fifty lines each. Miniatures have been cut out from the top right-hand quarter of fo. 96 r° and the bottom right-hand corner of fo. 100 v°; in consequence of this, vv. 73–92, 123–42, 1503–17, and 1554–70 are missing. The original prologue of eighteen lines has been replaced by a new prologue of four lines. Twelve verses have been omitted by the scribe: 168, 269–70, 373–4, 1143–4, 1256, 1582, 1644, 1783–4. Verse 1099 is also missing, but a compensatory line has been added after v. 1100. Fourteen other verses have been added: two after v. 276, two after 278, two after 466, two after

[1] *La légende latine de S. Brandaines*, Paris, 1836, p. vi.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 553.

[3] *Les Voyages Merveilleux . . .*, p. xxiii; cf. *Le Roman de la Violette*, p. xlvii note.

[4] In *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, ii, pp. 438–57.

[5] *Lai d'Ignaurès*, Paris, 1832, pp. 35 ff.

[6] In his list of MSS. containing the *Roman des Sept Sages*, following the *Essai sur les fables indiennes* by A. Loiseleur-Deslongchamps, Paris, 1838, p. xxxix.

[7] *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques en France. Paris. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, iii, Paris, 1887, p. 395.

[8] Published by W. Foerster in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, i, p. 97.

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656, and six after 1840. Verses 657–8, 1257–8, and 1767–8 are transposed.

Auracher's edition makes it unnecessary to enter into minute palaeographical details.[1] As regards contractions, we may note that identical signs are used for *er* and *re* (*ḡpi* = *gerpi* 27, *aṕs* = *apres* 1529), for *er*, *re*, and *ier* (*alum'* = *alumer* 326, *t'e* = *tere* 440, *p'nez* = *prenez* 296,[2] *ap'sse* = *apresse* 1006, *nag'* = *nagier* 216, *volent's* = *volentiers* 965), for *ur* and *or* (*escripture* 23, *aportoit* 1571), and for *us*, *uis* and *os* (*vend*^{9} = *vendus* 1300, *p*^{9} = *puis* 705, *n*^{9} = *nos* 740). *Jesu* is represented by *jh'u* 574, *ihū* 1243, *jhc̄* 1247, and *jhs̄* 1251.

The text furnished by E differs considerably from that of the other MSS. Anglo-Norman rimes and forms have been avoided, the peculiar word-order of the original has been made normal, the vocabulary, grammar, phraseology, and metre have been modernized. In some cases these alterations have been made with very fair skill, in others (e.g. vv. 318, 332, 888, 1654, 1718) they have ruined the sense. In particular the abnormal feminine lines have been systematically lengthened by the addition of a syllable, and this has sometimes entailed considerable alterations (e.g. in vv. 148, 178, 1481–2). Nearly all scholars who have dealt with this version have rightly judged it to be a modernized form (Fr. Michel: a *rifacimento*) of the original twelfth-century poem.[3] The process of rewriting the poem in continental French of the thirteenth century has altered its aspect;

[1] The following corrections must be made in Auracher's transcription (adopting his numbering of the lines): 12 *sera*] *sara*, 22 *bⁿdans*, 110 *saint*] *saut*, 399 *hee*] *he*, 410 *&*] *de*, 548 *aremuiers*, 564 *seroit*, 567 *noeil*, 607 *eus*] *eust*, 649 *li*] *le*, 721 *donc*, 815 *oitaues*, 854 *enseillj*] *enfaillj*, 859 *Qis*, 866 *de*] *des*, 874 *Car des*] *Gardes*, 882 *tᵉist*, 883 *braist* corrected from *brant*, 885 *tᵉist*, 923 *aviuerēt*, 933 *loir*] *lor*, 1060 *noirece*, 1065 *lorcors*, 1174 *pelles*] *pelfes*, 1202 *plaidᵉ*, 1238 *cruels*, 1282 *Qᵘ*, 1296 *horibles*, 1297 *sullēs*, 1298 *pullēs*, 1321 *A*] *Al*, 1361 *tant*] *caut*, 1419 *saint*] *saut*, 1456 *se*] *le*, 1486 *pessoit*] *peuoit*, 1523 *soiorer*] *sororer*, 1527 *unj le*] *nujle*, 1543 *soiorneront* corrected from *soiornerent*, 1549 *lois*, 1572 *sigle* is followed by part of a letter (perhaps an incomplete *t*), 1592 *fait*] *fais*, 1607 *iacincles*, 1627 *heurt*] *heut*, 1677 *iamal*, 1728 *retenemt*. The editor was also inconsistent in his transcription of *v* and *u*, of *J* (given as *J* or *I*) and of the different types of *s*; and his separation of words frequently disagrees with that of the MS.

[2] Cf. *prenent* 68, *prenes* 459, &c., written in full.

[3] For proof of this see ch. iii, § 2. The exception is F. J. Tanquerey, who (in his *L'Évolution du Verbe en Anglo-français*, pp. 5, 162, 310, &c.) frequently treats E as representing the original form of the poem, and A as the *remaniement*, but gives no justification for this attitude.

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but the changes, except in the feminine lines, are mostly superficial and can easily be discounted. Even the metrical alterations are often slight, consisting merely in the addition of a monosyllable, the substitution of a dissyllable for a monosyllable, or the transposition of words. The text which the reviser had before him seems to have been a tolerably good one, of Anglo-Norman origin. E therefore gives valuable aid in the construction of a critical text.[1] It also offers considerable linguistic interest, in that it shows what words and constructions were regarded by the Picard reviser as obsolete or otherwise unacceptable; thus *cisle* 94, *ceste* 224, *beitrer* 233, *n'enteins* 332, *ne frat faile* 367, *umeit* 803, *suduines* 816, *flaistre* 1109, *debardai* 1278, *agreies* 1498, and many other words and expressions have been abandoned, while in vv. 344, 1007–8, 1468, 1679–80, etc. the word-order has been modernized.

The modernizing of forms which has been carried out in E requires no special explanation; *oi* for *ei*, *eu* for free tonic *ǫ* (in some instances), the vocalization of *l* before consonants, the dropping of final unsupported *t*, the dropping of final *n* in *jorn*, etc., analogical *sien* for *suen*, and analogical *-oit* for *-out* in the imperfect indicative of *-er* verbs are the most conspicuous features. Closed *o* is represented by *o* or *ou*, not by *u*, and the ending of the 1st pers. pl. is usually *-ons* or *-on*. A few words must be said, however, about the dialect. The *Brendan* of E, like a great many other French texts of the thirteenth century, exhibits numerous Picardisms. Final *s* is in nearly all instances reduced to *s*. Glide consonants are absent from *volra* 72, *avenra* 196, *venredi* 1405, etc.; hence we find also the Picard preterite 3 pl. forms *prisent* (for *pristrent*) 37, *fisent* 450 and *misent* 596. The Picard fondness for metathesis of *re* appears in *merkerdi* for *mercredi* 1375, *bertece* for *bretesche* 1678, and the future 3 pl. *rekerront* for *recrerront* 1105. The treatment of palatal consonants is that of Picard: *c* remains unaltered before Lat. *a* (*castel* 267, *blance* 388, *cief* 491, *cose* 505, *trancans* 944, etc.); before *e* and *i* it frequently appears as *ch* (*chierge* 326, *rechoivre* 358, *cherf* 390, *chaine* < *cena* 831, *chessent* 1336, etc.), and even when written *c* was doubtless pronounced like *ch* (cf. *tierc* < *tertium* 592, 1091). The lowering of *ę* to *a* before vocalized *l* (in *aus*, *ax* < *illos* 254, 1024, *solaus* 1761, *paraus* 1762) is dialectal, though not exclusively Picard. *Infer* for *enfer* 65, *fu* < *focum* 758, etc., and *waumir* for *vomir* 1427 are Picard forms.

[1] E alone has preserved the original reading in vv. 187 (probably), 782, 786 and 918.

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The Picard fem. nom. sg. form of the definite article appears in *li onde* 1045. The possessive *vos*, *vo* for *vostre*, levelled on the accus. pl., is found in vv. 878, 882, and 997. Dialectal verb-forms are *sara* for *savra* 26, *arai* for *avrai* 1436, *cremir* for *cremeir* 928, and the imperfect subjunctives *osaise* 1243, *criaise* 1244, and *fuisse* 1400.

All the forms just mentioned might be attributed to the scribe. Is it possible to determine the dialect of the reviser himself?[1] A study of his metre and rimes makes it clear that he sought to obliterate Anglo-Normanisms. On the Continent it was not usual to rime *o*, *u* (from V. Lat. *ǫ*) with *ü* (from V. Lat. *u*); hence the reviser replaced *poür* : *oür* 361 by *paor* : *socor*, *uns* : *cumpaignuns* 643 by *raisons* : *conpaignons*, made similar changes in vv. 925–6, 1179–80, and 1705–6, entirely rewrote vv. 599–600 in order to avoid the rime *purcusent* : *usent*, and in vv. 1123–4 substituted *cruis* : *pieus* for *cru(i)z* : *pu(i)z* (one of his least successful emendations). In the latter part of the text he sometimes left such rimes untouched (vv. 1213–14, 1499–1500, 1525–6, 1685–6). The contracted imperfect subjunctive forms *oust* 917, *doust* 1708 (both monosyllabic), *sousum* 765, *ousum* 766, *pouse* 1579, and the preterite 2 pl. *oustes* 1121 (all dissyllabic) were replaced by the standard dissyllabic and trisyllabic forms respectively, with other alterations to suit the metre when necessary; *oussent* 657 and *poust* 1658 were evaded, other parts of the verbs being substituted. The contracted futures *truvrai* etc. 246, 412, 433, 586, 1772 and *frai* etc. 426, 553, 878, 883, 924, 1044 were lengthened by a syllable or replaced by the present tense. The rimes *portout* : *out* 1139 and *aportout* : *out* 1571 (combining imperfect and preterite), though not exclusively Anglo-Norman, were no longer permissible in Central or Eastern French of the middle of the thirteenth century; they were therefore replaced by imperfects in *-oit*. In vv. 1497–8 the reviser rimed *voies* (*oi* < *ę*) with *joies* (*oi* = *au* + yod) contrary to the practice of the author. It is clear, then, that he wrote in continental French, not in Anglo-Norman or even continental Norman. Finally, it is possible to point out a few forms introduced by the reviser, guaranteed by the metre, which definitely belong to northern French dialects, viz. the 1 pl. forms *estommes* (of doubtful meaning) 522, *avomes* 541, 764, *conversonmes* 720, and *vivomes* 763, and the futures *prenderés* 368, *esteras* 425,

[1] The reasons for regarding E as a copy of the revision, not the actual work of the reviser, are stated in ch. iv, § 5.

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esterés 863 (all three trisyllabic, with intercalated *e*). We may therefore conclude that the reviser, as well as the scribe, was probably Picard.[1]

II. AUTHOR AND DATE

The oldest MS. (B) of the *Voyage of St. Brendan* dates from about 1200, and the sole MS. of the Latin prose translation[2] is assigned to the same period. An investigation of the language of the poem[3] leads to the conclusion that it was most probably composed in England. For further evidence as to date and author we have to rely upon the prologue (vv. 1–18), in which the author mentions his name and the destination of his work. There can be no reasonable doubt as to the authenticity of this prologue. It is given by all four Anglo-Norman MSS., including the fragment C which perhaps does not belong to either of the principal groups.[4] That the Picard *remanieur*, whose work is reproduced in E, should have substituted a different prologue (four colourless lines in which the reciter makes known his subject) is not surprising: the original dedication would have been of little interest to a continental audience of the thirteenth century. The Latin translators were naturally at liberty to adapt the work to their particular purposes. The author of the prose version preferred a pious introductory paragraph, involved in style but hackneyed in ideas. The author of the metrical version substituted a lengthy new dedication, filled out with moralizings and personal explanations. In versification and language vv. 1–18 of the *Brendan* agree perfectly with the rest of the poem.

The prologue may be rendered as follows: 'My lady *Aalis* the queen, through whom divine law will prevail, earthly law grow stronger and so much warfare cease, on account of the prowess of *Henri* the king and through the wisdom which will be in thee, the *apostoiles danz Benedeiz* greets thee a thousand and a thousand times. What thou didst command, that he has undertaken; to the best of his ability he has put into writing in the Romance tongue, as thy command was, the story of the good abbot Saint Brendan. But do

[1] He altered the wording of vv. 203-4 and 659-60 in order to avoid the rime *Brandan(s)* : *main(s)*, though he might have used the form *Brandain* as in v. 164. The reason for replacing *descent* : *tent* 1011 by *avolant* : *tent*, combining *an* and *en* in rime contrary to both Norman and Picard practice, is not clear.

[2] Cf. ch. vi. [3] Cf. ch. viii, § 6. [4] Cf. ch. iv, § 6.

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thou preserve him from being derided, since he says what he knows and does what he can. Such a servant should not be blamed; but when a man can, and will not, it is right that he should greatly suffer for it.'

Since attention was first drawn to the poem by Francisque Michel and Abbé de la Rue,[1] there has never been any doubt that the personages mentioned in vv. 1 and 5 must be identified with Henry I, King of England (1100–35) and his second wife Adeliza,[2] daughter of Duke Godfrey of Louvain. No other royal pair having these names is available in the twelfth or late eleventh century. From the use of the future tense in vv. 2–6 we may conclude that the dedication to Queen Adeliza was written shortly after her arrival in England; we may therefore date the poem 1121 or very soon after.[3]

Adeliza of Louvain is one of the least known of English queens, and her most zealous biographers have found it difficult to compile a connected account of her life.[4] At the time of her marriage with Henry I she was quite young (*puella*). All authorities agree as to her exceptional beauty, which the chronicler Henry of Huntingdon celebrated in charming elegiacs:

> Quid diadema tibi, pulcherrima? quid tibi gemmae?
> Pallet gemma tibi, nec diadema nitet . . .
> Ornamenta cave, nec quicquam luminis inde
> Accipis; illa micant lumine clara tuo.[5]

The Anglo-Norman author Philippe de Thaün celebrated not only her beauty but also (like the author of the *Brendan*) her prudence and exemplary conduct:

> une geme Ki mult est bele feme
> E est curteise e sage, De bones murs e large.[6]

She accompanied the king and court in their ceaseless wanderings

[1] Cf. p. ix.

[2] The MSS. have *Aalis*, *Aelis*, *Alis*. Latin documents offer the forms *Adeliza*, *-ida*, *-ina*, *Adheliza*, *Atheleidis*, *-da*, *Aleidis*, *Athalicia*, *Alisia*. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle has *Abelis*.

[3] The marriage took place at Windsor on 29 Jan. 1120 (old style; 1121, new style); on the following day Adeliza was consecrated and crowned as queen. Cf. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xxxiv, p. 515.

[4] Hannah Lawrance, *Historical Memoirs of the Queens of England*, i, London, 1838, ch. iv; Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, i, London, 1840, pp. 212 ff.; cf. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

[5] Rolls Series, 74, p. 243.

[6] *Bestiaire*, ed. Walberg, vv. 5–8.

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and figures fairly frequently as a witness to documents,[1] but seems to have taken no part in politics. After the death of Henry I she lived at Arundel, and appears to have made a marriage of inclination with William of Albini, to whom she bore seven children. Ultimately she retired to the abbey of Affligam in Flanders, where she died in 1151. In view of her importance as a patroness of literature, we may justly regret that her figure is so shadowy. Not only were the *Brendan* and the *Bestiaire* dedicated to her; but even when she had ceased to be queen, a poet named David wrote at her behest a 'chançon' (now lost), presumably a *chanson de geste*, relating the life of her late husband King Henry.[2] It is therefore certain that she made a practice of encouraging vernacular literature, and we may not unreasonably regard her as the central figure of a literary circle—one of the earliest French literary circles of which there is definite record. She had doubtless learnt to appreciate vernacular literature during her girlhood in Brabant[3]; yet in the characteristic Anglo-Norman manner she appears to have encouraged the production of instructive and edifying works rather than works of a frivolous nature. If the *Bestiaire* is to be regarded as a typical product of her patronage, we cannot praise her judgement; yet she had shown sounder taste, as regards both the subject and the author selected, in ordering the composition of a French poem on the legend of St. Brendan.

The view that Adeliza of Louvain was the patroness of the author of the *Brendan*, though probable in itself and generally accepted, might nevertheless be impugned. C, which is perhaps entitled to an independent position in the scheme of MSS.,[4] presents in v. 1 the isolated reading: *D[am]e Mahalt la reïne*; this may conceivably be the original line, altered in the common ancestor of A, B, and D. Among a number of queens of the period who bore the name Mahalt or Mahelt (i.e. Matilda) we find one who was also wife of a King Henry, viz. Edith (or Eadgyth) Matilda, the first wife of Henry I[5]; the daughter of King Malcolm III of Scots, she was

[1] Cf. W. Farrer, *An Outline Itinerary of King Henry the First*, part 2, in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xxxiv, pp. 505 ff.

[2] Gaimar, *Estorie des Engleis*, vv. 6484 ff.

[3] Cf. H. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, i, Brussels, 1902, p. 317.

[4] See ch. iv, § 6.

[5] Matilda of Flanders, wife of William the Conqueror, and Matilda of Boulogne, wife of King Stephen of England, were not contemporaries of a King Henry. The Empress Matilda, daughter of Henry I and rival of King

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married to Henry I in 1100, and lived until 1118. Like her successor Adeliza, she played but a minor part in public life; but she is recorded to have possessed, as a result of her early convent life, a scholarship unusual in those days among lay-folk and especially among women, to have corresponded with Lanfranc and the learned Bishop Hildebert of Le Mans, and to have been a generous protectress of musical clerks, scholars, and poets.[1] Although we have no other record of her encouraging French poetry, it is by no means impossible that she may have commissioned Benedeit to write his poem on St. Brendan. If she was his protrectress, it would follow that the *Brendan* was written in the year 1100 or shortly after.

Between Matilda and Adeliza the choice is difficult. That the poem was first dedicated to Matilda in 1100, and re-dedicated to Adeliza in 1121, is highly improbable. In favour of Adeliza we may note that French was her native tongue, and that she is known to have patronized other Anglo-Norman poets. Moreover, the evidence on which C has been assigned to an independent position is decidedly slender. On the whole, therefore, we are justified in continuing to regard Adeliza of Louvain as our poet's protectress. The scribe of C, or a predecessor, has substituted *Mahalt* for *Aaliz* owing to some misreading or historical error.[2]

Another difficulty, perhaps not very grave, is created by v. 4 of the prologue. To what circumstances is the author alluding in the words *E remandrat tante guerre*? During the first nineteen years of his reign Henry I had indeed waged continual warfare—against his elder brother Duke Robert, against the French, and against rebellious barons in England and Normandy. But the years 1120–2 were singularly peaceful, being disturbed only by an expedition against the Welsh in the summer of 1121. Can our author have written his prologue so late as 1123–5, when Henry was again engaged in suppressing a revolt of Norman barons? More probably he was

Stephen, was married to a 'Henry', viz. the Emperor Henry V; but the Emperor is not likely to have been spoken of as *rei*, and was already dead when she became a claimant to the throne of England.

[1] Cf. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

[2] An exactly similar error seems to have been committed by the chronicler John of Hexham (fl. 1180), who referred to the Empress Matilda as '*Aalis*' and '*Adela*'; cf. *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, edited by T. Arnold (Rolls Series, 75), ii, pp. 302 and 309. Both Matilda and Adeliza were common royal names in the twelfth century.

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merely referring in a general way to the stormy character of the previous years. It might be suggested that vv. 2–4 would have been more appropriate to the year 1100 than to 1121. In 1100 Henry's accession put an end to William Rufus's scheme for the conquest of France; while his Charter, and his marriage with Matilda, a princess of English descent, were public evidence of his intention to govern with justice and moderation.[1] Yet v. 5 indicates that peace is to come, not through abandonment of warfare, but through victory.

Can the author of the *Brendan* be identified? Verse 8, in which he names himself, appears perfectly explicit, but on closer examination is seen to teem with difficulties. One point is indisputable, namely that *Benedeiz* is the actual name of the author of the French poem, not of a source which the poet followed or claimed to follow; no other interpretation is consistent with the context. The trisyllabic form, reduced in BCD to *Beneiz*,[2] is required by the metre, the medial break falling between *apostoiles* and *danz*; while the ending *-deiz* (A *-diz*) is required by the rime. The title *danz* (Lat. *dominus*, *domnus*) could refer either to a nobleman or to an ecclesiastic[3]; here, and in combination with the preceding word, it can only refer to an ecclesiastic. This view is confirmed by the subject and character of the poem, by the author's fondness for adding religious and moral reflexions, and by his familiarity with Latin vocabulary, construction, and versification. The title *dom(i)nus*, originally restricted to prelates of the highest rank, had long been extended to abbots and monks, and was commonly applied in the Middle Ages (as still to-day) to monks of the Benedictine, Carthusian, and Cistercian orders.[4] The word therefore throws little light on the author's status. But the chief puzzle lies in the word *apostoiles* (Lat. *apostolicus*). The only recognized use of this word in OF is as a substantive, meaning 'pope', referring sometimes (e.g. *apostorie* 1038) to the first pope, the apostle St. Peter. But to give it this interpretation here is out of the question; moreover, there was no pope named Benedict between Benedict X (1058–9) and Benedict XI (1303–4). Can

[1] Cf. H. W. C. Davis, *England under the Normans and Angevins*, chs. iii and iv.

[2] Either a contracted form, or a more popular development omitting counter-final *e*.

[3] Cf. Du Cange, s.v. *domnus*.

[4] Cf. Smith and Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*; *New Eng. Dict.*, s.v. *dom*.

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apostoiles here have preserved an archaic sense of Lat. *apostolicus*, viz. 'bishop'? In the earlier Middle Ages the Latin word could be applied to bishops other than the pope.[1] By the ninth century it had become appropriated to the pope, but relics of the former use are found as late as the eleventh and even the twelfth century,[2] and it is conceivable that some prelate of the early twelfth century may still have used the title. Apart, however, from the improbability of this explanation, there is no trace of any English bishop or other Church dignitary living in 1121 named Benedict; the name, in fact, is surprisingly rare in all English records of the period. We are therefore reduced to a third interpretation, namely, to take *apostoiles* as an adjective. Du Cange quotes the expressions *apostolicus ordo* 'monasticus ordo' and *apostolica vita* 'monastica vita'; may not *apostoiles* signify merely 'belonging to a monastery', reinforcing *dans* which conveys the same meaning, or perhaps indicating that *dans* is an ecclesiastical and not a lay title? Unfortunately no similar instance of this use of OF *apostoile* has been met with. Provisionally, however, and until some better explanation is forthcoming, we may regard the author of the poem as an Anglo-Norman monk named *Benedeit*.

No one has hitherto ventured to identify the author of the *Brendan* with any historical personage. He might be expected, as a protégé of the queen and presumably a frequenter of the court, to figure as a witness to charters or otherwise to be mentioned in official records; but this expectation remains unfulfilled. The numerous official documents of the Norman period collected in the *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*,[3] or quoted in W. Farrer's *Itinerary of Henry I*,[4] mention but one Benedict—an archdeacon of Rouen and royal chaplain, occasionally appearing as a witness to charters down to 1106; this personage, besides being too early for our purpose, lived on the Continent and not in England. After all, there is no definite

[1] Cf. Du Cange; Smith and Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*.

[2] At the Council of Reims in 1049 it was solemnly declared that the Pope was Primate of the whole Church and '*Apostolicus*'; and the Archbishop of Santiago de Compostella was excommunicated for venturing to assume '*culmen apostolici nominis*'. This Archbishop was, however, no ordinary bishop, but had doubtless assumed the title in order to claim apostolic dignity for his see, which possessed the supposed relics of the Apostle St. James. The twelfth-century example is from the works of Rupert of Deutz.

[3] Edited by H. W. C. Davis; vol. i (down to 1100) alone has appeared.

[4] In *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xxxiv (1919).

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evidence proving that the author of the *Brendan* frequented the court, though vv. 14–18, emphasizing the author's readiness to do service and his liability to unwarranted attacks, can easily be interpreted as polemic against court rivals.

English literary annals of the period mention only one Benedict, namely Benedict of Gloucester, author of a Latin life of St. Dubricius.[1] A plausible case could be made out for identifying the author of the *Brendan* with Benedict of Gloucester. The latter was a Benedictine in the Abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester[2]; he was therefore entitled to the appellation *dominus* or *danz*, and doubly entitled (firstly as a monk, and secondly as one enjoying the patronage of St. Peter) to the epithet *apostolicus* or *apostoiles*. The Abbey of St. Peter was in a flourishing condition, both materially and intellectually, during the century following the Conquest; it possessed a valuable library, and produced several distinguished scholars and writers.[3] Documents of 1121 or shortly after show Henry I confirming its rights or adding to its privileges.[4] Like the author of the *Brendan*, Benedict of Gloucester was interested in Celtic saints; in his prologue he explains that, after prolonged study of the lives of saints, he has picked out St. Dubricius as the most eminent of all the British saints of his time.[5] He flourished after 1120, as he describes the translation of the bones of St. Dubricius from Bardsey to Llandaff, an event which took place in that year.

But these coincidences may be illusory, and a number of difficulties must be overcome before the identification can be accepted. In the first place, Benedict of Gloucester has certainly been ante-dated. The *Dictionary of National Biography*, following Wharton and Tanner,[6] describes him as flourishing in 1120; but this date is based on the assumption that Benedict was personally present at the trans-

[1] Edited, with omissions, by T. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, ii, London, 1691, p. 654; see also p. xxvi of the same volume, and the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* Dubricius was the reputed founder of the bishopric of Llandaff; according to the tenth-century *Annales Cambriae* he died in 612, but twelfth-century accounts place him earlier.

[2] '*Ego Benedictus habitu coenobii Apostoli Petri Claudiocestriae monachus adornatus* (Wharton: *adhortatus*)'.

[3] Cf. *Victoria History of the County of Gloucester*, ii, London, 1907, pp. 53 ff.

[4] Farrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 515 and 528.

[5] '*Cum in gestis sanctorum patrum diutius operam studio dedissem, sanctumque Dubricium omnium sanctorum tunc temporis in Britannia degentium meritis et vita praestantissimum . . . aegre tuli ipsius gesta nesciri . . .*'

[6] T. Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, London, 1748, p. 95.

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lation of St. Dubricius' bones. A comparison of Benedict's account of this ceremony with his principal source, the *Vita S. Dubricii* ascribed to Geoffrey of Llandaff,[1] shows that he has copied the description almost word for word; a few phrases have been omitted or added, but in no case is an addition based on a personal reminiscence. Moreover, he has combined the original life of St. Dubricius with certain passages from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*, in which the saint, described as Archbishop of Caerleon, crowns Arthur king, and harangues the Christian army before the battle of Badon Hill.[2] He cannot therefore have compiled his work until after the first publication of Geoffrey's *Historia* (1136–8), and perhaps did not do so till considerably later. Sir T. D. Hardy may therefore have been justified in assigning Benedict's *Vita S. Dubricii* to the second half of the twelfth century.[3] It is still possible that Benedict may have written the Anglo-Norman poem in his early days, the *Vita S. Dubricii* much later in life. Against this hypothesis we can only urge the entire absence of any resemblance or point of contact between the two works. Even if we assume that he was hampered by using Latin, the avowed plagiarism,[4] the commonplaceness, and the lack of artistic sense shown by Benedict of Gloucester make it incredible that he can have been the author of the *Brendan*.

III. VERSIFICATION

§ 1. The Metre

The *Voyage of St. Brendan* is written in the standard OF metre for narrative poems other than *chansons de geste*, viz. octosyllabic lines riming in pairs. With the exception of the tenth-century *Passion* and the *Life of St. Leger*, it is probably the earliest extant French poem written in this metre[5]; yet the technical perfection

[1] *The text of the Book of Llan Dâv*, ed. J. G. Evans, Oxford, 1893, pp. 78 ff.

[2] Chapters 1 and 4 of book ix; edition of San Marte, Halle, 1854.

[3] *Descriptive Catalogue* . . ., i, p. 42. Yet in vol. ii of the same work, p. 178, following Cave (*Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia literaria*, ii, Oxford, 1743, p. 213), he assigns Benedict of Gloucester's work to 1130.

[4] '*Quocirca quae in autenticis patrum digestis super eodem patre reperi, compilare et coadunare stilo non erubui.*'

[5] The earliest French version of Marbode's Lapidary and the two lapidaries in octosyllabic couplets by Philippe de Thaün are roughly contemporary with the *Brendan*, but cannot be accurately dated; cf. P. Studer and J. Evans,

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attained by the author indicates that he was using a well-established form. The development of the OF octosyllabic line from the Latin iambic dimeter has been traced by G. Melchior,[1] in whose dissertation particulars are given of earlier literature on the subject. The earliest French poems in this metre were all written by authors familiar with Latin.

§ 2. The Feminine Lines

The *Brendan* consists of 1840 lines, of which 1242 have masculine rimes and 598 feminine rimes. The masculine lines are normal; it is true that the MSS. frequently have lines with more or fewer than eight syllables, but in every instance, provided allowance is made for certain peculiarities in the counting of syllables, a comparison of them leads us back to a regular octosyllabic line. The feminine lines, on the other hand, do not show this uniformity; some of the MSS. present them more or less consistently as lines of eight syllables (i.e. stressed on the seventh), others as lines of nine syllables (i.e. stressed on the eighth). Thus, to take a typical example, in vv. 145–6 A, B, and C read (with slight variations in spelling):

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Dunc | prent | cun|gé | a | ses | fre|res

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
As | quels | il | ert | mult | dulz (B bons) | pe|res;

whereas D reads:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Dunc | prent | con|gié | de | tuz | ses | fre|res

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
As | quels | il | es|teit | mult | duz | pe|res;

and E:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Dont | prant | con|gié | a | tos | ses | fre|res

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
As | quels | il | ot | es|té | dous | pe|res.

Anglo-Norman Lapidaries, Paris, 1924, pp. 23 f., 200 ff., 260 ff. The Provençal *Chanson de Sainte Foi d'Agen* and the Franco-Provençal Alexander poem by Alberic, both earlier than the *Brendan*, are in octosyllabic verse, but the lines are grouped in tirades; similarly *Gormont et Isembart*, which in its extant form is later than the *Brendan*.

[1] *Der Achtsilbler in der altfrans. Dichtung mit Ausschluss der Lyrik*, Diss. Leipzig, 1909; cf. A. T. Baker, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xi, p. 435.

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It is obvious that little progress can be made with the classification of the MSS. or the establishment of the text until we have decided which type of line was that of the original and which has been tampered with. In a case of this sort, the numbers and the relative ages of the MSS. count for little; it can be argued, for instance,[1] that A, B, and C, which have the shorter lines, are all derived from a MS. with altered text, and that D and E represent the primitive text. It might be suggested that the author's sense of the syllabic principle in versification had been blunted by contact with English[2]; that he used both types of feminine line, like the first French translator of Marbode's Lapidary and several later Anglo-Norman writers; or that at least he shows the beginnings of the laxity which characterizes most Anglo-Norman versifiers.[3] Yet none of these arguments is consistent with the regularity of the masculine lines, or with the virtuosity that our author shows in his rimes and other technical details. *A priori* it is improbable that a poem originally composed in normal octosyllabic lines should have had the feminine lines systematically reduced by a syllable; whereas the converse is natural and highly probable, the unusual type of line being likely to jar upon scribes, readers, and audience equally. But the priority of the shorter lines is not so obvious as to make proof unnecessary; the view that the longer lines are those of the original poem is apparently still held at the present day.[4] F. Diez,[5] who was the first to draw attention to the peculiar form of the *Brendan*, declared without hesitation that the abnormal lines were the work of the author, the normalized lines due to scribes. The same view was upheld by H. Suchier,[6] who considered the feminine lines to have lost their initial unaccented syllable in imitation of English accentuated verse, and defended in detail by J. Vising,[7] who, however, rejected Suchier's explanation. The opposite view found a defender in A. Boucherie,[8] who compiled a list of some twenty instances in which for reasons of syntax the original line must be regarded as

[1] A. Boucherie, in *Revue des langues romanes*, xxiii (1883), pp. 180–4.

[2] H. Suchier, *Ueber die Matthaeus Paris zugeschriebene Vie de Seint Auban*, Halle, 1876, p. 24.

[3] Cf. J. Vising, *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature*, London, 1923, pp. 79 ff.

[4] Tanquerey, *op. cit.*; cf. p. xix, note 3.

[5] *Altromanische Sprachdenkmale berichtigt und erklärt*, Bonn, 1846, p. 100.

[6] *Op. cit.*; cf. E. Koschwitz, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, ii, p. 341.

[7] *Étude sur le dialecte anglo-normand . . .*, pp. 45–52. [8] *Op. cit.*

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having nine syllables; but his syntactical arguments were based on the practice of modern rather than medieval French, and subsequent writers[1] have demonstrated the correctness of Vising's view.

If the eight- and nine-syllable versions of a feminine line are carefully compared, it will be seen that in some instances the two versions are equally acceptable (e.g. vv. 37–8, 54, 75–6, 134, 207, 225–6), but that in others the longer line is ungrammatical (e.g. vv. 654 E, 1005–6 D, 1271 E, 1454 E, 1789 DE), or illogical (e.g. vv. 103 DE, 121–2 E, 224 E, 351 D, 645 D), or meaningless (e.g. vv. 888 E, 974 E, 990 E), or evidently modernized (e.g. vv. 601–2 E, 815–16 E, 1099–1100 DE, 1679–80 DE, 1718 E), and that hardly any instance can be found in which the longer line is superior to the shorter. In E, which regularly employs the nine-syllable feminine lines, the ninth syllable has sometimes been produced by the introduction of a Picard feature (e.g. vv. 522, 720, 763–4, 1045); such lines cannot be attributed to the Anglo-Norman author. Furthermore, in a large number of instances the extra syllable destroys the medial break (e.g. vv. 37, 53, 84 D, 99 E, 103 E, 147 D), which is almost always observed in the masculine and the eight-syllable feminine lines.[2] We know that the subdivision of octosyllabic lines into hemistichs is a sign of antiquity, and its absence a sign of modernity.[3] It would be extremely difficult for a reviser to introduce a regular break into lines which do not possess one, whereas it is easy to destroy an existing break. D and E show far greater irregularity as regards the medial break in the feminine than in the masculine lines; this can only be due to the fact that the former have undergone alteration.[4] For all these reasons the observance of the break must be credited to the author, non-observance to a reviser. Finally, in a great many of the nine-syllable feminine lines the extra syllable is harmless in itself, but unnecessary; this fact alone constitutes a strong argument against attributing the extra syllable to the author, whose style (as exemplified in the masculine lines) is characterized by remarkable concision, pithiness, and avoidance of padding. In the whole poem, if we omit those lines where a hiatus is optional (e.g.

[1] Birkenhoff, *Ueber Metrum und Reim* . . ., pp. 7 ff.; W. Hammer, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, ix, pp. 77 ff.; Calmund, *Prolegomena* . . ., pp. 27 ff.

[2] Cf. Calmund, *Prolegomena* . . ., pp. 49 f.

[3] Cf. § 3.

[4] E, however, in which the text has been modernized and partly rewritten, often has no break even in masculine lines, e.g. vv. 275, 426, 474, 766, 1526.

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533, 1340), and ignore the unpronounced *e* in *quart(e)* 328 A,[1] *f(e)res* 553 BD, *truv(e)rai* 586 ABD[2] and *liverat* 605 A,[1] there are only ten feminine lines which contain nine syllables in all the MSS. In several of these lines the MSS. disagree among themselves, and it is easy to see that scribes have added syllables independently, in two or more different ways. Thus in v. 800 we find the two readings:

AB Cume se lur fust destinee,
DE Cum s'ele lur fust destinee,

from which we may safely reconstruct the reading of the archetype[3] as

Cum se lur fust destinee.

In v. 1316 three different readings are offered:

A Mes granz peines n'i ai dunc mie,
B ,, ,, ,, n'ai jo ,, ,,
DE De mes granz peines n'ai jo mie,

pointing to the conclusion that A and B have independently added a syllable to the original line

Mes granz peines n'ai dunc mie,

while the common ancestor of D and E[4] introduced a different construction for the sake of obtaining nine syllables. In vv. 615 and 1553 the circumstances are similar. In v. 1666 the scribe of A obviously repeated *que* through inadvertence. There remain the following five instances, in which the MSS. show some measure of agreement among themselves:

327 *ABE* Treis jurs enters i sujurnerent.
D Treis jurz al chastel surjurnerent.
588 *ABDE* As (*D* Jesque as, *E* Les) uitaves de Pentecuste.
866 *ABDE* Desque (*B* D. as, *D* Jesque as, *E* Les) uitaves de Pentecoste.
1573 *ABE* Tuzdis tres jurs en la semaine.
D ,, ,, ,, de ,, ,,
1598 *ABDE* Mis ethez (*B* eded, *DE* eez) est cent e quarante.

In these lines it is most probable that the monosyllables *i*, *de*, *de*, *en* (or *de*), and *e* respectively are supernumerary, and that they were introduced either in the archetype or independently by different scribes; they are certainly the obvious syllables to add, though in no

[1] Cf. Appendix II, § 6 f.
[2] Cf. ch. viii, § 3, xxxi.
[3] The term 'archetype' is here used to designate the MS. from which A, B, D, and E all descend; cf. ch. iv, § 5.
[4] Cf. ch. iv, § 2.

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case indispensable.[1] This view receives support from v. 292, where ABDE all have ·

Qui (*A* Que) forment fud e bone e bele,

but the fragment C alone has preserved the unexpanded form of the line:

Ki forment fut bone e bele.

We may therefore conclude that the original poem contained lines of eight syllables only, and that the feminine lines which appear with nine syllables in the MSS. have been altered by revisers or scribes.

The *Brendan* is not unique in this respect. Lines in which a final unstressed syllable is counted, instead of being supernumerary, are found in a small number of other texts, not all of Anglo-Norman origin. Unfortunately, in Anglo-Norman texts it is often impossible, owing to the early degeneration of versification, to say with certainty how many syllables a line was intended by its author to contain. Elie de Wincestre, in his *L'afaitement Caton*[2] (an Anglo-Norman version of the *Disticha Catonis*, dated about 1140 by Vising[3]) systematically followed the same principle as the author of the *Brendan*, applying it to lines of six and ten as well as eight syllables. His example probably influenced another Anglo-Norman translator of the *Disticha*, viz. the monk Everart, whose version (of the end of the twelfth century)[4] is in lines of six syllables, grouped in six-line strophes; some of his feminine lines, it is true, contain seven syllables in their present state, but may have been altered by the scribes. The existence of such poems as these appears to have created considerable uncertainty as to the correct form of feminine lines, and various Anglo-Norman poems are found in which the authors employed both types concurrently. Thus in the earliest French version of Marbode's Lapidary,[5] although the majority of the feminine lines are of the normal type, many can be read as having either eight or nine syllables (e.g. vv. 105, 209, 262), others vary in the MSS. (e.g. vv. 106, 138, 845–6), while vv. 653–4 undoubtedly contain eight syllables

[1] See the notes to vv. 588 and 1598.

[2] Edited by E. Stengel, in *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*, xlvii, Marburg, 1886, pp. 106–156.

[3] *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature*, p. 48.

[4] Edited by E. Stengel, parallel with Elie's poem; also by F. J. Furnivall, *The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, part ii (Early English Text Society), 1901, pp. 553 ff.

[5] P. Studer and J. Evans, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 ff.

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only. The same uncertainty prevails in a life of Thomas Becket,[1] in an early thirteenth-century version of St. Patrick's Purgatory,[2] in a thirteenth-century *Evangile de l'Enfance*,[3] and in the poem of the *Brut* cycle entitled *De grauntz jaians*.[4] Continental texts (all in octosyllabic couplets) in which masculine and feminine lines have the same number of syllables are few but important: Terramagnino of Pisa's *Doctrina de cort*[5]; the *Breviari d'Amor* by Matfre Ermengaut of Béziers[6]; and the first recension of *Le Pelerinage de Vie Humaine* by Guillaume de Deguileville.[7] The wide distribution, as regards both time and place, of the examples of this metrical system is remarkable; but the three continental texts have not necessarily any connexion with those written in England. On the whole the choice of this form was unfortunate, especially for longer poems. A succession of octosyllabic lines, some stressed on the eighth and some on the seventh syllable, but not alternating regularly, produces an uneven and consequently displeasing effect.[8] By giving the stressed and unstressed final syllables equal metrical value, such a system carries the syllabic principle of French versification to an extreme, and neglects the principle of stress.[9]

[1] *Fragments d'une Vie de Saint Thomas de Cantorbéry*, edited by P. Meyer (Soc. d. anc. textes fr.), Paris, 1885; cf. Introduction, p. xxxiv.

[2] Edited by J. Vising, Göteborg, 1916; cf. pp. 8 ff. Out of 186 feminine lines in this text, 131 are a syllable short according to the ordinary rules.

[3] E. Gast, *Die beiden Redaktionen des Évangile de l'Enfance*, Diss. Greifswald, 1909. In the first 24 strophes of the Anglo-Norman version eight-syllable feminine lines are used consistently; from strophe 25 onwards there is irregularity, culminating towards the end in complete metrical confusion.

[4] Published by A. Jubinal, *Nouveau Recueil de Contes, Dits, Fabliaux . . .*, ii, Paris, 1842, p. 354, and by Fr. Michel, *Gesta Regum Britanniae*, for the Cambrian Archaeological Association, 1862, p. 199; not yet critically studied. To judge from the confusion of verb-endings shown by the rimes, the poem was not written before the thirteenth century. Feminine lines with only eight syllables predominate.

[5] A versification of Raimon Vidal's *Razos de trobar*, written in Provençal by a Pisan in the third quarter of the thirteenth century; cf. P. Meyer, in *Romania*, viii, pp. 181–210. It should be noted that Terramagnino's command of the language and metre was extremely poor, and that he did not even understand the distinction between masculine and feminine rimes.

[6] An encyclopaedic compilation in Provençal, begun in 1288; edited by G. Azaïs for the Société Archéologique of Béziers, 2 vols., 1862.

[7] Written 1330–2; edited by J. J. Stürzinger for the Roxburghe Club, London, 1893; cf. letter by P. Meyer, printed in Furnivall's *Trial-Forewords to my 'Parallel-Text Edition of Chaucer's Minor Poems'*, London, 1871, pp. 100–2.

[8] Cf. F. Diez, *Altromanische Sprachdenkmale*, Bonn, 1846, p. 100.

[9] Cf. E. Stengel, in *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*, xlvii, p. 109.

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The reasons for giving the same number of syllables to feminine as to masculine lines probably varied according to circumstances. Terramagnino of Pisa and the later Anglo-Norman writers may have neglected the distinction between masculine and feminine endings owing to their imperfect understanding of Provençal or French pronunciation. Conscious imitation of a literary model will account for the adoption of this practice by a writer like Everart. So popular a work as the Anglo-Norman *Brendan* may well have exerted a direct influence on later authors, and it may be noted that the poem of St. Patrick's Purgatory belongs to the same cycle of eschatological literature. Other authors, such as Guillaume de Deguileville, may have adopted an abnormal metre either to avoid monotony (as Diez suggested) or in the hope of attracting attention. Matfre Ermengaut's treatment of the octosyllabic line was doubtless due to his familiarity with Provençal lyric poetry, in which the rule prevailed that masculine and feminine octosyllables grouped together should always contain the same number of syllables.[1] None of the Anglo-Norman writers in question is likely to have been influenced by the courtly lyric; more probable in their case—for all of them were clerks familiar with Latin—is the influence of medieval Latin verse.[2] The Latin octosyllabic line, much used in the Middle Ages, naturally did not admit of any variation in the number of syllables. In the case of the author of the *Brendan*, it is highly improbable that his choice of metre was due to ignorance, accident, or slavish imitation of a model. In spite of the modest tone of the prologue, he was something of a virtuoso; the strict regularity of his counting of syllables, his observance of the medial break, the accuracy and richness of his rimes, all show the hand of a man who prided himself on his technique. His choice was certainly deliberate, and due in all probability to imitation of medieval Latin verse.[3] This view is confirmed by a study of his rimes and of the internal construction of his lines; in each his practice shows marked peculiarities, only intelligible on the assumption that he was following Latin models.[4]

[1] e. g. nos. 2, 7, 13, and 38 of Bertran de Born's poems, edited by A. Stimming, Halle, 1913. Masculine lines of seven syllables were, however, combined with feminine lines of eight syllables. Cf. Azaïs' Introduction to the *Breviari*, pp. cxi ff.

[2] Cf. H. Suchier, *Reimpredigt*, Halle, 1879, p. xlix.

[3] So G. Melchior, *op. cit.*, p. 24; but Melchior's attempt to read the lines of the *Brendan* as stressed verse conflicts with the principles of French accentuation.

[4] Cf. §§ 3 and 6.

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The MSS. of the *Brendan*, as of most of the above-mentioned poems written in a similar metre, reveal a strong tendency on the part of scribes to make the feminine lines of normal length by adding a syllable. As a rule this has been done by some simple expedient, such as introducing hiatus, adding a conjunction, adverb, article or pronoun, repeating a preposition, substituting a longer form or word of the same meaning, replacing one tense by another, adding a prefix, or altering the word-order. But frequently the syllable could not be conveniently added without some more drastic change. In D and E not only are new constructions and words of different meaning substituted for those of the original, but in many instances whole lines and couplets have been entirely rewritten. The result has been a grievous corruption of the author's style and metrical system, and sometimes a complete distortion of his meaning. An examination of each of the MSS. from this point of view[1] has thrown much light on their relative reliability, and has made it possible to determine with some precision the original text of the lines in question. In A and C the feminine lines are not expanded to any appreciable extent; in B they are expanded sporadically (18·25 per cent.), in D in the majority of instances (71·2 per cent.), and in E almost uniformly (98·8 per cent.).

§ 3. The Internal Construction of the Line

An analysis of the internal construction of the octosyllabic line in this text produces somewhat remarkable results. Every line can be assigned to one of the following types:

(1) Fourth syllable stressed and terminating a word; e.g.

Masc.: v. 9	Que | co|man|das, | ço | ad | en|pris.	914	lines.
Fem.: v. 2	Par | qui | val|drat | lei | di|vi|ne.	414	,,

(2) Fourth syllable stressed, not terminating a word.

Masc: v. 112	Dunc | en | par|le|rent | dui | e | dui.		
v. 578	Ma|ti|nes | di|ent | ainz | jur|nals.	2	,,
Fem.: none.		0	,,

[1] For details, see Appendix I. Cf. Birkenhoff, *Ueber Metrum und Reim . . .*, pp. 7–17; Calmund, *Prolegomena . . .*, pp. 27–44.

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(3) Fourth syllable unstressed, terminating a word ; e.g.

Masc. : v. 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 Por | les | ar|mes | Hen|ri | lu | rei.	314 lines.
Fem. : v. 156	1 2 3 6 7 8 Fors | qua|tor|ze | de | lur | fre|res.	155 „

(4) Fourth syllable an unstressed word ; e.g.

Masc. : v. 23	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 Ben | sout | que | la | scrip|tu|re | dit.	12 „
Fem. : v. 1452	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 Fis | poi | bien | e | mult | fo|li|e.	29 „
		1840 „

In type 4, the unstressed fourth syllable may consist of:
a definite article : vv. 23, 133, 398, 952, 1064, 1693, 1739, 1742 ;
an indefinite article :

909 Vers eals veint uns marins serpenz;

a possessive adjective : vv. 174, 397, 695, 696, 956, 1106, 1273, 1277, 1426, e.g.

397 Dunt poüm sa feste faire ;

a personal pronoun : vv. 223, 352, 768, 988, 1428, e.g.

223 Li‿abes dunc les amonestet ;

a preposition : vv. 44, 127, 183, 225, 725, 925, 1192, 1317, 1441, 1734, e.g.

183 Ne plus que a quarante dis ;

a conjunction : vv. 76, 752, 1452, 1616, 1737 ;
a negative particle : vv. 155, 1392, e.g.

155 Que mener ne volt lur peres.

Similar lines will be found in the tenth-century *Passion*, vv. 108, 263, in *Gormont et Isembart*, vv. 19, 50, etc.

The following types of line, found in other early French poems written in octosyllabic verse, do NOT occur in the *Brendan* :

(5) Fourth syllable stressed, followed by an unstressed vowel which undergoes elision ; e.g.

Mystère d'Adam,[1] v. 232 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Tu \| es \| trop \| ten\|dre‿e \| il \| trop \| dur.

[1] Edited by P. Studer, Manchester, 1918.

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(6) Fourth syllable stressed, followed by a supernumerary unstressed syllable; e.g.

Mystère d'Adam, v. 140 N'es | tu | en | gloi|re ? | ne | poez | mo|rir.
(1 2 3 4 – 5 6 7 8)

First French version of Marbode's Lapidary,[1] v. 194

U|me | re|frei|de | ki | a | trop | chialt.[2]
(1 2 3 4 – 5 6 7 8)

(7) Fourth syllable not stressed nor terminating a word; e.g.

Gormont et Isembart,[3] v. 543 De | ceo | fist | Lo|o|wis | que | pruz.
(1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8)

Mystère d'Adam, v. 183 Deus | t'a | fait | gar|dein | de | son | ort.
(1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8)

In the *Brendan* there is seldom any doubt as to the type to which a line should be referred; but the following lines perhaps require comment:

V. 40 appears in Bartsch's text[4] as

Cum hoem qui eret de grant sens (type 2);

but the form *eret* is in none of the MSS., and it is much safer to follow AD, supported by C, and read

Cum hoem qui ert de mult grant sens (type 1).

V. 92 appears in Bartsch's text[5] as

U nuls nen entret fors li piu (type 2);

but the reading of A, supported by B, is at least equally acceptable:

U nuls n'entret fors sul li piu (type 3).

V. 354, as given in ABE (D is hypermetric), appears to belong to type 7:

Qu'en la (*DE* sa) nef receut li peres;

but the author may have regarded the prefix *re-* as an independent unstressed word, and the line has therefore been assigned to type 4.

[1] P. Studer and J. Evans, *Anglo-Norman Lapidaries*, p. 22.

[2] Similar lines occur in the tenth-century *Passion* (vv. 64, 247, 266) and in many Anglo-Norman poems of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Cf. G. Paris, in *Romania*, ii, p. 297; H. Suchier, *Ueber die . . . Vie de Seint Auban*, Halle, 1876, p. 26; M. K. Pope, *Étude sur la langue de Frère Angier*, Paris, 1903, p. 72; A. T. Baker, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, vii, p. 184; P. Studer, *Le Mystère d'Adam*, pp. liii f.

[3] Edited by A. Bayot (*Class. fr. du moyen âge*), Paris, 1921.

[4] Bartsch-Horning, *La langue et la litt. fr.*, col. 72, line 5.

[5] *Op. cit.*, col. 73, line 30.

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V. 1052, as given in AD, is a syllable short:

Sachez murir nus estout (*D* estuet);

B and E have added the syllable *que* before *murir*, thus bringing the line under type 7, but it is probable that their additions were made independently. The syllable was doubtless missing in the archetype, the original line being

Sachez murir [que] nus estuet[1] (type 1).

V. 1248, which Calmund discussed without reaching a conclusion,[2] is to be read:

Ja'st ta mercit itant bone (type 1),

and not, with B:

Ja est ta mercit tant bone (type 7).

The form *itant* is in ADE, and to alter the word-order would be unjustifiable.

V. 1659 might be read:

Dunc dist li ostes: Ne targez (type 2),

but more probably a syllable was missing in the archetype:

Dunc dist l'ostes: Ne [vus] targez (type 3).

V. 1716, as it stands in A, appears to be an example of type 6:

Ne me merveille si poür unt;

but the correct verb-form would be *merveil*, and DE offer an alternative reading *N'est merveille*, which has been adopted in the critical text.

In other instances (e.g. vv. 6, 420, 802, 1090, 1760) where the reading to be adopted is debatable, a line agreeing with type 1, 3, or 4 is furnished by one or more MSS., or is readily reconstructed from their divergent readings.

Two tendencies, sometimes mutually conflicting, governed the construction of the octosyllabic line in the earliest French and Provençal poetry; (*a*) the tendency to place an ictus on the fourth syllable, and (*b*) the tendency to divide the line into two equal portions (or hemistichs). As regards (*a*), the practice of the *Brendan*, apart from its avoidance of types 2 and 5, agrees on the whole with that of earlier and contemporary texts (notably the Clermont poems,[3]

[1] For the word-order, cf. ch. viii, § 5, xiv.

[2] *Prolegomena* . . ., pp. 46 f.

[3] Cf. G. Paris, in *Romania*, i, pp. 292 ff.; ii, pp. 295 ff.

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the *Chanson de Sainte Foi d'Agen*,[1] the Alexander fragment by Alberic,[2] *Gormont et Isembart*, the early Lapidaries, and the *Mystère d'Adam*), and of other Anglo-Norman and provincial French texts down to a considerably later date (e.g. the *Roman du Mont Saint Michel*,[3] the lives of St. Osith[4] and St. Modwenna,[5] and the *Passion of St. Andrew*[6]). In the majority of lines (1330 out of 1840) the fourth syllable is a stressed one, while in the remainder (with forty-one exceptions) the third syllable is stressed and is followed by a syllable containing feminine *e*. But as regards (*b*) the *Brendan* is far stricter than any other text. In the whole poem there are only three lines in which the fourth syllable does not coincide with the end of a word. Lines of types 2 and 5 are frequent in all the other texts just mentioned, type 2 also in Latin octosyllabic verse of the period; the deliberate avoidance of them seems to be peculiar to the author of the *Brendan* among OF poets, and betokens an exaggerated respect for the division into hemistichs. The bold hiatuses which are tolerated between syllables 4 and 5, but not in any other position,[7] point to the same conclusion; so also do the surprising liberties which the author took with the word-order,[8] unnecessary and inexplicable except as a means of balancing the hemistichs.

Why did the author of the *Brendan* limit himself thus to so few types of line? Mere primitiveness or lack of skill is not an adequate explanation. If we follow F. Diez[9] and G. Paris[10] in deriving the structure of the French octosyllabic line from that of the Latin iambic dimeter of the early Middle Ages, we must regard 3 and 2 as the primitive types, which, however, owing to the oxytone tendency of the French language, early became outnumbered by type 1. Type 5 is a mere variety of 1, type 6 has probably been influenced by epic versification, types 4 and 7 show the beginnings of freer treatment of the octosyllabic line (with no constant stress

[1] Edited by A. Thomas (*Class. fr. du moyen âge*), Paris, 1925.

[2] Cf. P. Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand dans la litt. fr. du moyen âge*, ii, Paris, 1886, pp. 74 f.

[3] By Guillaume de S. Paier; edition by P. Redlich, Marburg, 1894.

[4] Cf. A. T. Baker, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, vii, pp. 179 ff.

[5] Cf. H. Suchier, *Ueber die . . . Vie de Seint Auban*, p. 54.

[6] Cf. A. T. Baker, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xi, pp. 435 f.

[7] Cf. § 4, *a*, ii.

[8] Cf. ch. viii, § 5, xiv.

[9] *Altromanische Sprachdenkmale*, pp. 100 and 109.

[10] *Romania*, i, pp. 292 ff.; and in the preface to A. Tobler, *Le Vers français*, Paris, 1885, p. xii.

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save on the eighth syllable) as practised later by Wace and Crestien de Troyes. The avoidance by our poet of types 2 (with two exceptions), 5, and 6 is clearly not a sign of primitiveness, but the result of deliberate choice. The explanation of this, as of so many other features of the technique of the *Brendan*, is probably to be found in medieval Latin poetry. In many Latin poems of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the octosyllabic line was regularly divided in the middle, i.e. types 2 and 7 were avoided (types 5 and 6 do not occur). Sometimes the division was emphasized by the introduction of internal rime.[1] A typical example among many is the celebrated satire on Rome by Gautier de Châtillon (second half of the twelfth century), beginning:

Propter Sion | non tacebo
sed ruinam | Romae flebo,
quousque justitia
rursus nobis | oriatur
et ut lampas | accendatur
justus in ecclesia.[2]

Naturally it is impossible to point to any actual model which the author of the *Brendan* followed; but that he should have imitated a practice prevailing in Latin poetry is entirely consistent with what we know of his tastes and habits.

Although in this poem the fourth syllable almost invariably coincides with the end of a word, it does not follow that there is always a natural break in the sentence between syllables 4 and 5. In the large majority of lines the hemistichs undoubtedly consist of self-contained phrases; but the lines assigned to type 4 have no natural break after the fourth syllable, and even in those assigned to types 1

[1] Cf. W. Meyer, *Der Ludus de Antichristo und über die lateinischen Rythmen*, in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rythmik*, i, Berlin, 1905, p. 317.

[2] Published by E. du Méril, *Poésies populaires latines antérieures au douzième siècle*, Paris, 1843, p. 231, and by J. A. Schmeller, *Carmina Burana*, Breslau, 1904, p. 16. Other examples will be found among the poems edited by W. Meyer, in *Die Arundel Sammlung mittellateinischer Lieder* (*Abhandlungen der kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philol.-hist. Klasse*, Neue Folge, xi. 2), Berlin, 1908; notably no. 24, beginning

Licet eger | cum egrotis
et ignotus | cum ignotis,

which figures also in *Carmina Burana*, p. 41, and in the works of Gautier de Châtillon (K. Strecker, *Die Gedichte Walters von Chatillon*, i, Berlin, 1925, no. 27).

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and 3 the medial break sometimes parts closely-linked words. We find the break separating

preposition and substantive:	644	L'abes ovoec | ses cumpaignuns
	1434	Vinc ci entre | nune e midi
possessive and substantive:	765	Ainz que vostre | venir sõusum
adjective and substantive:	908	Plus que pur nul | mal qu'il traient
	1062	Sailent bestes | ruistes de mer
	1763	N'i vient nule | nue del air
adverb and adjective:	1014	E trenchantes | fort les poes
adverb and adverb:	938	Drechent forment | halt les testes
subject and verb:	732	Pur lui que nus | mult amames
	1058	Vers tuz vus fud | Deus bons guaranz
auxiliary and participle:	484	Si cum lur out | dit cil frere
	1057	Perilz avez | suffert plus granz.

See also vv. 71, 161, 222, 352, 446, 515, 572, 894, 908, 938, 1014, 1276, 1402, 1466, 1700, 1763, and 1787. In view of the difficulty of composing a narrative poem on such rigid principles, it is not surprising that the author should not have succeeded in every instance in adapting sense to form.

Whether this division of the octosyllabic line constitutes a 'caesura' is a controversial question into which it is unnecessary to enter deeply here.[1] The answer depends on the meaning attributed to the term. If by 'caesura' we imply either (*a*) that the break is compulsory and its position rigidly fixed, or (*b*) that it must immediately follow a stressed syllable, or (*c*) that it must correspond to a natural pause in the sentence, or (*d*) that it permits the introduction of a supernumerary unstressed syllable, then there is no caesura in the *Brendan*. If we interpret the term more loosely as a habitual break in the line at a certain position, then there is undoubtedly a caesura in this poem. Although the division of the octosyllable was due in the first instance to the tendency to stress the third or fourth syllable, in the *Brendan* it is independent of the stress. Tobler's affirmation[2] that the division

[1] See A. Tobler, *Vom frans. Versbau*, 5th edition, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 110 f.; G. Paris, in preface to Tobler, *Le vers français ancien et moderne*, Paris, 1885, pp. xi f.; F. Spenz, *Die syntaktische Behandlung des achtsilbigen Verses in der Passion Christi und im Leodegar-liede*, Marburg, 1886, pp. 1–11; G. Paris, in *Romania*, xxv, pp. 533 f.; E. Stengel, in *Grundriss der roman. Philologie*, ii, 1, Strassburg, 1902, pp. 44–6; A. Schulze, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Philologie*, xxx, p. 355; C. Appel, in *Mélanges Chabaneau*, Erlangen, 1907, p. 199; G. Melchior, *Der Achtsilbler in der altfrans. Dichtung*, Diss. Leipzig, 1907; A. T. Baker, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xi, p. 435.

[2] Still upheld by Prof. Vising; cf. *Literaturblatt*, xlviii (1927), col. 113.

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of the octosyllabic line was involuntary certainly does not apply to this poem.

The strictness of Benedeit's system of versification has been of great assistance in the establishing of the critical text, and has sometimes been a deciding factor in the choice between alternative readings. Thus in v. 26 A and E have *Que plus demander*, BCD *Que demander plus*, the former neglecting the medial break, the latter observing it; there can be no doubt that BCD have preserved the word-order of the original. In v. 127 we must read *en pensed* as two words, not the participle *enpensed*, and ascribe the line to type 4, otherwise the fourth syllable of the line would be the first of a polysyllabic word; the sense of the passage supports this interpretation. In v. 766 we have a choice between

AD Volt Deus qu'a vus cunrei ôusum

and

BE Volt Deus que cunrei oüssum.

The dissyllabic pronunciation of *ousum* must be accepted as that of the author; B and E independently have made it trisyllabic, and have omitted *a vus* in order to do so, but in the process they have destroyed the medial break. In v. 426 we find three readings, all equally satisfactory from the point of view of meaning:

A E ta feste demain i fras
B E ta feste demain feras
DE Ta feste demain i feras.

Metrical considerations make it certain that A has preserved the original reading; the common ancestor of D and E, in order to efface the dialectal form *fras*, has remodelled the line, but has destroyed the medial break in so doing. Other instances will be found in vv. 6, 92, 134, 420, 476, 1248, 1319, 1374, 1436, 1462, 1659, 1688, and 1760. Thus not only the addition of a syllable to the feminine lines, but also the non-observance of the medial break, reveals the fact that a line has been tampered with.

§ 4. The Counting of Syllables

(*a*) *Elision and hiatus.* The *Brendan* shows the same hesitation (or rather licence) with regard to elision as many other French texts of the first half of the twelfth century.

[1] On rhythm as an aid to textual criticism, see A. T. Baker, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xi, p. 436.

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i. Monosyllabic words.

Definite article. Masc. nom. sg. *li* normally undergoes elision (at least fifty instances), though often written in full; it creates hiatus in eight instances: *li abes* 137, 457, 503 (?), 1098, 1205, *li uns* 783, *li hom* 957, *li hermites* 1543. Masc. nom. pl. *li* occurs four times before a vowel, and in each instance causes hiatus: *li altre⌣oisel* 519 A, *li afamét* 797, *li oisel* 856, *li altre* 1418.[1] Masc. acc. sg. *le* always undergoes elision, though often written in full. Fem. sg. *la* always undergoes elision, though occasionally written as *le* before a vowel, e.g. *le arbre* 496 A, *le unde* 1232 A, *le une* 1235 A (cf. Appendix II, §§ 1 and 6 e).

Personal pronouns. *Jo* undergoes elision (or synizesis?) in *jo⌣osase* 1243, but not in *jo en vois* 432, *jo ai* 1543. *Me*, *le*, *se* always elide their vowel, though sometimes written in full; note *traist s'arere* 936, *jetet l'amunt* 1236, and *laisez l'ici* 1475, with the pronoun placed after the verb. Dat. sg. *li* undergoes elision before *en* (preposition and pronoun) in vv. 311, 414, 1612[2]; it creates hiatus in *li enveiat* 139, *li est* 1143, 1593.

Demonstrative. *Ço* undergoes elision in *c'est* 546[3]; it creates hiatus in *ço ad* 9, *ço ert* 110, *ço enprist* (not *enpreïst* with B) 114.

Relative pronoun. *Qui* regularly causes hiatus (seventeen instances); the apparent elision of *i* (or synizesis of *i* and *e*) in *qui ert* 6 (AC) must be corrected on metrical grounds (cf. *qui ert* 40, 42, *n'i ert* 228). On the apparent instance of elision in v. 728: *Icest muster que⌣uncore i est*, see para. iii. On *qui i*>*qui* see section *c*. *Que* (masc. and fem. acc. sg. and pl., neut. nom. and acc. sg.) undergoes elision in eighteen instances: vv. 127, 196, 300, 312, 354, 363, 466, 548, 652, 755, 930, 1065, 1201, 1279, 1308, 1310, 1501, 1732; it creates hiatus in nine instances: vv. 108, 345, 374, 436, 816, 919, 980, 1564, 1832. The same hesitation is shown when relative *que* is used as a temporal conjunction: vv. 1775 (elision) and 1837 (non-elision). *Que* in v. 38 (*que ert*, with hiatus) is nominative, but has probably been substituted for *qui* by the scribe of A.

[1] Similarly in *Roland*, in the works of Ph. de Thaün, in the *Life of St. Osith* (cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, vii, p. 93), and other twelfth-century works.

[2] Perhaps also in *Prïerent l'en* 115; see the note.

[3] Perhaps *co'st*, with aphaeresis, in the original; cf. *ja'st* 1248.

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Prepositions. *De* always elides its vowel, though often written in full; in v. 1759 the reading *cil ẽst de or* (A) requires a correction. On *a* followed by *a-*, see section *c*.

Negative particle. *Ne* always undergoes elision, though sometimes written in full; *ne i targez* 1659 A requires a correction.

Prefix. In *realat* 956 the *e* is naturally elided.

Conjunctions. *Si* or *se* (<*si*) undergoes elision in v. 414; in v. 411 DE it makes hiatus, but the reading has been rejected. *Si* (<*sic*) creates hiatus: vv. 911, 1222 (*si i*), 1373, 1421, 1614. *Ne* (<*nec*) undergoes elision in vv. 760, 1246, 1260, 1336, 1747, 1762, but not in vv. 234, 742, 1502, 1677, 1719, 1790.[1] *Que* (of whatever origin) normally undergoes elision, though often written in full; it creates hiatus in vv. 183, 372, 876, 1120.

ii. Words of two or more syllables, ending in unstressed *e*.

The treatment of such words shows remarkable consistency. Between the fourth and fifth syllables no elision is tolerated, elsewhere elision is compulsory. Thus we find:

En mer haltë un grant piler (v. 1068),
A feste‿altrë en trestut l'an (v. 1319),

but

Veient terre halte‿e clere (v. 483),
E tu e tuit cil altre‿oisel (v. 519).

The lines with medial hiatus are vv. 31, 64, 425, 443, 449, 469, 691, 769, 788, 826, 831, 973, 1068, 1162, 1199, 1225, 1281, 1286, 1312, 1319, 1321, 1409, 1449, 1487, 1554, 1604, 1644, 1673, 1692, 1733, and 1760 (thirty-one in all).

In some of these lines the hiatus could be set aside without difficulty; thus in v. 1286 we might read *riches* with B, in v. 1312 *itel* with B, in v. 1692 *smaragdes* with BDE, and in v. 1319 *feste* and *altre* could be transposed with the support of BE; but none of these corrections is necessary, and some of them conflict with the context (v. 1692) or with the author's principles of versification (v. 1319).[2] Noteworthy examples of elision within the hemistich are *cirge‿alumer* 326, *l'unde‿arere* 1232, *ne change‿enfern* (1st pers. sg.) 1357, *port en od tei* (imperative) 1607. In v. 842, where A and B have *belë*

[1] Classed by G. Rydberg (*Zur Geschichte des französischen* ə, Upsala, 1896 ff., p. 99) as 'logical hiatus', i.e. due to an effort to bring out a thought or word more clearly.

[2] Cf. Calmund, *Prolegomena* . . ., p. 48.

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i funt, the addition of *plus* is required by the context and indicated by the Latin prose translation. The atonic termination *-et* in verb-forms is never elided in this text.[1]

iii. Aphaeresis of initial *e*.[2]

This occurs in *ci streiz* (future of *estre*) 863,[3] *ki'n* 1072[4] and *ja'st* (A *Jest*, BE *Ja est*, D *Jas est*) 1248.[5] The author may have written *ço'st* in v. 546; cf. para. i. In v. 1666 the reading *qu'unt*, indicated by A (B is missing) has been adopted in the critical text; but D has *qui est*, E *qui ert* (both expanding a feminine line), and it is possible that the original reading was *qui'st*.[6] In v. 728 we ought perhaps to read

Icest muster qui'ncore i est (*ABD* que uncore, *E* qu'encore).[7]

Aphaeresis is possible also in vv. 414 and 1612, where the MSS. have *l'en* (= *li en*), but the original text may have had *li'n*; in v. 311, on the other hand, where *en* is a preposition, aphaeresis seems less likely.[8]

(*b*) *Fall of internal vowel.* In certain future and conditional forms an unstressed *e* had already fallen from pronunciation in the language of the author, and though sometimes written did not count as a syllable[9]: *fras* 426, 1044, 1603, *f(e)rat* 367, 924, 1566, 1633, *frez*, *freiz* 553, 878, 881, 883, *truverai* 433, 586, *truv(e)rat* 246, 412, 1772, *resuscitrai* 1567. The dissyllabic conditional *fereit* 43 A (B *freit*, −1) has been rejected in favour of *faiseit*, which has better MS. support. The future form *suffreiz* 551 A has been lengthened to *suffereiz* on metrical grounds and with the support of the other MSS. Apart from these instances, there is no sign that the author of the

[1] See ch. viii, § 2, lxxvii.

[2] Cf. G. Rydberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 82 ff.

[3] Hence we may read (in accordance with the usual practice of the Anglo-Norman MSS.) *se spandent* 573, *se spant* 1174, *me scorcent* 1407, 1413, rather than *s'espandent*, &c.

[4] Cf. *Roland*, v. 3364; Ph. de Thaün, *Cumpos*, v. 2059; *Li Coronemens Looïs*, vv. 94, 104; Beroul, *Tristan*, v. 732.

[5] Cf. *Roland*, v. 2001.

[6] Cf. *Roland*, vv. 6, 1276; Ph. de Thaün, *Cumpos*, v. 2779; Beroul, *Tristan*, vv. 2192, 3518.

[7] Cf. Birkenhoff, *Ueber Metrum und Reim* . . ., p. 22; Calmund, *Prolegomena* . . ., p. 56; *Roland*, v. 382; *Horn*, v. 1469.

[8] Yet cf. Ph. de Thaün, *Bestiaire*, vv. 444, 2526, and p. xxxv of Walberg's Introduction. In *St. Leger*, v. 42, *fu li'naméit* is a possible reading, though rejected by G. Paris.

[9] Cf. ch. viii, § 3, xxxi.

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Brendan was prepared, like other Anglo-Norman versifiers from Gaimar onwards, to treat feminine *e* as optional or ignore it altogether. In the following verb-forms, all spelt as in A, the *e* is purely graphic[1]: *averez* 227, 587, *muverum* 392, *liverat* 605, *muverez* 770, *muveras* 779, *vivere* 960, *liverez* 1292. *Entrin* 443, 686, 814, 1645, 1683, and *suv(e)rain*, *-ein* (dissyllabic) 564, 1682, are derived by regular phonetic development from **integrinum* and **superanum* respectively; although displaced on the Continent by the trisyllabic *enterin* (influenced by *entier*?) and *souverain* (influenced by Latin?), they are not to be regarded as contracted forms.[2] On the addition of inorganic *e* by the Anglo-Norman copyists see Appendix II, § 6 f.

Certain words borrowed from Latin often retained (in spelling) vowels which were ignored in pronunciation; thus in *(e)spirit* 131, etc., the first *i* was unpronounced,[3] while in *angele* 100, etc., the first *e* was long retained to indicate that the *g* was fricative. *Passibile* 791 A for *paisible* may be a similar instance, but is more probably a scribe's error. The post-tonic *i* in *victorie* and similar borrowed words has no syllabic value.

(*c*) *Synizesis*, or the contraction of two contiguous vowels into one syllable.

This occurs in the Anglo-Norman preterite and imperfect subjunctive forms *oũssent* 657, *soũsum* 765, *oũsum* 766, *oũstes* 1121, *poũse* 1579, *oũs* 1604, *poũst* 1658, and *doũst* 1708[4]; also in *aler* for *a aler* 160, *avaler* for *a avaler* 872[5] and *qui* for *qui i* 600, 1338.[6] It is true that in cases like the last-mentioned Mall and Tobler considered that *que* had been substituted for *qui*[7]; but there is no sign that the author of the *Brendan* replaced *qui* by *que* in any other

[1] Cf. Appendix II, § 6 f..

[2] Cf. W. Hammer, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, ix, p. 84.

[3] The rime *esp(i)rit*: *guit* 131–2 has better MS. support than *espirt*: *virt*, given by C only; cf. the note.

[4] Cf. ch. viii, § 3, xl.

[5] In other texts we find *laval* for *la aval*, *lamunt* for *la amunt*, *laler* for *la aler*, *a'mendement*, &c.; cf. Suchier, *Ueber die . . . Vie de Seint Auban*, p. 29, and *Reimpredigt*, p. 107; J. Vising, *Le Purgatoire de Saint Patrice*, vv. 420, 440, 701, 715, and notes.

[6] Similarly in *Roland*, v. 2833; in Guernes' *Vie de Saint Thomas* (cf. Walberg's Introduction, p. cxliii); in Beroul, *Tristan*, v. 2208; &c.

[7] E. Mall, *Der Computus des Philipp von Thaun*, Strassburg, 1873, p. 34; A. Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, i², p. 123, note; cf. T. A. Jenkins, *L'Espurgatoire Seint Patriz of Marie de France*, Philadelphia, 1894, p. 44.

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circumstance. *Feimes* 470 was probably trisyllabic in the original, but may have been dissyllabic.[1] On *jo‿osase* 1245 see (*a*) i above. No contraction has taken place in *la u* 1196, 1630, 1742, *la i* 1618, *neïs* 331 or *nïent* 985, 1482, 1642. On *cheles* 343 see the note.

(*d*) *Enclisis*, or the process of contraction by which an unstressed word loses its vowel (other than an initial vowel) and combines with a preceding word.

This takes place in the *Brendan* under certain well-defined conditions.

i. Preposition + definite article. The prepositions *a*, *de*, and *en* make the usual combinations with *le* and *les*, viz. *al*, *del*, *el*, *as*, *des*, and *es*. Before a noun in the singular beginning with a vowel we find the same forms, e.g. *del or* 312, *al air* 975; as the MSS. normally divide the words in this manner, their practice has been followed in the critical text,[2] but in such instances the article really undergoes elision, not enclisis (cf. *en l'air* 255, not *el air*). Similarly when the article is feminine (e.g. *al isle* 436, *al estorce* 1482, *del altre part* 1485) the apparent enclisis is graphic only.[3]

ii. Personal pronouns. The pronouns *le*, *li*, and *les* undergo enclisis, but not the remainder. To write *nem out* for *ne m'out* in v. 1588 would be unjustifiable (and unsupported by the MSS.); cf. *si me pendi* 1274, *ne me rendi* 1305, *ne me valt rien* 1461, and similarly *jo te cumant* 1264, *nuls ne se taist* 376, etc. The combinations found are:

(with *le*) *jol* 649, 1479; *tul* 14; *chil* (= *quil*) 1206; *sil* 530, 918; *nel* 128, 435, 698, 748, 1232, 1478, 1766, 1788; *quel* 1264; *ai* 260 (*al querre*), 1684 (*al faire*); *eissil* 595;

(with *li*)[4] *nel* 1588; [*urel*] 1774[5];

(with *les*) *quis*, *chis* 212, 786, 898, 910, 1698; [*ços*] (D *ces*) 1638;

[1] Cf. ch. viii, § 3, xxxv.

[2] Cf. T. A. Jenkins, *La Chanson de Roland*, Boston, &c., 1924, p. cxxvii, note.

[3] Cf. A. Mussafia, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, iii, p. 594.

[4] Rydberg, *op. cit.*, p. 495, was mistaken in asserting that enclisis of *li* does not occur in OF. It is found in the tenth-century *Passion*, v. 214; in *St. Leger*, vv. 110, 112; and in Beroul, *Tristan*, vv. 810, 3446. The example in *Roland*, v. 2668, has not been accepted by Stengel or Jenkins. There is no instance in the works of Ph. de Thaün. The phenomenon was of course common in Provençal.

[5] *L'urel semblet forment poie*; *urel* = *ure li* (< *hora illi*). The contraction does not actually figure in any MS., but the variants clearly point to it. For enclisis after fem. *e*, cf. *Alexis*, v. 588; *Roland*, vv. 959, 1760, 3811; &c.

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sis 195, 358, 1214, 1346, 1785; *nes* 1332; *ques* 115; *las* (*la* adv.) 1190.

In v. 1281 B and E offer the combination *jel* = *je la* (*la* = *l'offrande*), but this is probably due to inadvertence; the insertion of the pronoun is unnecessary, A and D having merely *jo*. In v. 1788 *nel* probably represents not *ne la* (*la* = *melodie*) but *ne le* (*le* neut. sg., referring to v. 1787 as a whole). When a vowel follows, e.g. in *sil aspirat* 142, *kil unt haït* 1030, *nel ad menur* 1240, the enclisis is apparent only. Enclisis has been avoided in *la les* 1117, *si li dit* 1779.

(*e*) *Words with double forms.* The existence in OF of many alternative forms, identical in meaning but differing in the number of syllables, was a great convenience for metrical purposes.

In the *Brendan* we find many of the usual double (or triple) forms: *cum* and *cume*; *or* and *ore*; *unc* and *unches*; *dunc*, *dunches*, and *idunc*; *iloec* and *iloeches* (cf. *aloeces*); *grant* (fem.) and *grande*; *tel*, *itel* (fem.) and *tele*; *ci* and *ici*; *cil* and *icil*; *cist* and *icist*; *ço* and *içe*; *la* and *ila*; *tant* and *itant*; probably also *nul* and *neül* (v. 411). The simultaneous use of *eret*, *ere*, and *ert* (as well as *esteit*) as impf. indic. 3 sg. of *estre* is worthy of note. The substantives *dehait* and *dehaite* are used without difference of meaning; similarly *turment* and *turmente*, *cumpaine* and *cumpainie*. For references, see the Glossary.

Cum(*e*) and *fors* could be followed by nouns in either the nominative or the accusative case. Masculine nouns and adjectives ending in *e* could take or omit nominative *s*. These and many other options facilitated the versifier's task.

§ 5. The Couplet

The *Brendan* was used by P. Meyer[1] to illustrate the primitive form of the couplet (or pair of lines riming together). In early French texts the couplet of six- or eight-syllable lines conformed to rules remarkably similar to those laid down later for the Alexandrine by Malherbe. A couplet could consist of a single sentence, or of two or more sentences, or a sentence could be extended over two, three, or more couplets; but if the couplet contained more than one sentence, the end of the couplet must coincide with the end of a sentence; and if a sentence was extended over two or more couplets, it must end with the second line of a couplet. Enjambment, i.e.

[1] *Le Couplet de deux vers*, in *Romania*, xxiii, pp. 1 ff.; cf. G. Melchior, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 ff.

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beginning a sentence within a couplet and carrying it over into the next, or carrying a sentence into a new couplet and terminating it before the end of that couplet, was very rare in the oldest texts, and only became frequent after the middle of the twelfth century. In fact the treatment of the couplet, according to P. Meyer's conclusions, furnishes useful presumptive evidence as to the age of a text. The strictness of the rules that governed the couplet in early texts is explained by the fact that the couplets of six- and eight-syllable lines were developed from Latin lines of twelve and sixteen syllables respectively, with internal rime.

On closer inspection, however, it appears that the *Brendan* preserves the cohesion of the couplet less consistently than P. Meyer believed. Even in the passage which he quoted (vv. 1–38)[1] it is difficult to make his rules apply to vv. 13–18. In the rest of the poem a considerable number of enjambments occur. Thus we find (*a*) Couplets in which the first line ends a sentence, and the second forms a complete sentence by itself, e. g.

Vv. 395–8 'Il nus est douz e prest amis,
Qui prestement nus ad tramis
Dunt poüm sa feste faire.
Pensez de la nef sus traire.'

Similarly vv. 107–10 (?), 469–72, 834–6, 1001–4, 1577–80, 1811–14. This is but a slight irregularity, and is known to occur early, e. g. in the first French version of Marbode's Lapidary.

(*b*) Couplets in which the first verse forms a sentence by itself, and the second begins a new sentence, e. g.

Vv. 153–6 Puis les baiset Brandan e vait.
Plurent trestuit par grant dehait
Que mener ne volt lur peres
Fors quatorze de lur freres.

Similarly vv. 187–90, 243–6, 1061–4, 1769–72, 1773–6.

(*c*) Couplets in which each line belongs to a different sentence, e. g.

Vv. 1039–44 Cum l'abes fist le servise,
Si cum la lei est asise,
Chantout mult halt, a voiz clere.
Dunc li dïent tuit li frere:
'Beal pere chers, chante plus bas,
U si ço nun, perir nus fras . . .'

Similarly vv. 13–14, 439–40 (?), 833–4, 889–90, 1089–90, 1111–12,

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

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1573–4 (?). P. Meyer[1] pointed out the occurrence of such couplets in Gaimar's *Estorie des Engleis*.

The majority of the couplets in the *Brendan* undoubtedly conform to the normal practice of the period; but the numerous exceptions clearly show a tendency towards greater freedom. In this, as in so many other respects, the author appears to have been in advance of his age.[2] He permits himself bold enjambments within the couplet:

Vv. 1525–6 Puis le baiset; ses cumpaignuns
Dist qu'amenget: ne failet uns.

Vv. 1531–2 Cil li firent. Puis les menet
A sun estre, lur enseignet.—

or combines a couplet with a following hemistich:

Vv. 431–3 E puis irez en altre liu,
U jo en vois e la vus siu,
Mult pres d'ici; la vus truverai...

See also vv. 177–8, 1141–3, 1267–8, 1271–2. The following passage, if correctly punctuated, is broken up as much as any passage of Crestien de Troyes or Raoul de Houdenc:

Vv. 335–7 Cil s'aparceut que l'abes sout
Del larecin; cument il l'out
Cunuit; a tuz confés se rent...

It would therefore be quite unjustifiable to condemn any reading in this text on the ground that it infringed the rules of the couplet, or otherwise to use the treatment of the couplet as an aid to textual criticism.

§ 6. The Rimes

The author of the *Brendan* chose his rimes with care, though not all would have been permissible in standard French of the period. In *cerne* : *verne* 873, *port* : *gort* 167, etc., he appears to rime *ẹ* with *ẹ* and *ọ* with *ọ*; but in reality *ẹ* and *ọ* in such words had become open through the influence of the following *r* + consonant. Similarly no distinction is made between *ẹ* and *ẹ* when followed by *l* + consonant (e.g. *eals* : *oiseals* 579). The combination in rime of *u* (< Lat. *ū*)

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

[2] In Anglo-Norman texts of a much later period the couplet rule was still observed; cf. G. Paris, in *Romania*, xxv, p. 533; A. T. Baker, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, vii, pp. 176 f.

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and *u*, *o* (< V. Lat. *o*), due probably to the fact that *ū* had not become modified in the author's dialect, is frequent in this text. The nasal diphthongs *ain* and *ein* are combined, but in feminine rimes only (e. g. *chaeines* : *semaines* 869, *meindres* : *graindres* 1007). The rimes *soleil* : *fedeil* 581 and : *peil* 1761 show the dialectal development of *e* to *ei* before *l*-mouillé. The combination *mien* : *soen* 751 seems to be a licence, but can be paralleled from other texts[1]; the diphthong was in both words an ascending one. The adjective *rustes* 41 (: *justes*) was evidently unfamiliar in this form to the copyists, three of whom substituted the more usual *ruistes* (accompanied in E and perhaps in D by the substitution of *vistes* for *justes*); but either form is defensible. As regards the treatment of consonants, we may note the dialectal form *boche* 1217, riming with *roche*; the confusion of final *m* and *n* after a vowel (*peisun* : *eisum* 835); and the combination in rimes of *l* and *l*-mouillé (e. g. *peril* : *costil* 429, *travailz* : *calz* 1177), *n* and *n*-mouillé (e. g. *plein* : *desdeign* 235, *feignent* : *peinent* 215) respectively. In England the sounds *l*-mouillé and *n*-mouillé were difficult to maintain, and early became depalatalized. Apart from these instances the author of the *Brendan* did not, like many OF writers, tolerate dissimilarity of consonants in the feminine rimes. The phonetic problems involved in the above-mentioned rimes will be dealt with more fully in chapter viii. Other rimes treated as inaccurate by previous writers have been justified in the present edition.

In a few instances, for the sake of rime, the author availed himself of double forms existing in the language. He used *ent* (: *defent*) 295 by the side of *en* (: *sen*) 1096; *ere* (: *frere*) 442, 992 by the side of *ert* (: *pert*) 1648, 1676; *Brandain* (: *vilain*) 164, (: *main*) 203, 659 by the side of *Brandan* (: *pan*) 481, (: *an*) 825[2]; possibly also *paraïs* (: *païs*) 1822 by the side of *pareïs* (: *queïs* ?) 546, (: *poëstеïs*) 1651, (: *requeïs*) 1795.[3] Note also *apostórie* (: *glórie*) 1038 by the side of *apostoile* 8; but the latter is not in rime.

The predilection of the author of the *Brendan* for rich and more particularly double or 'leonine'[4] rimes was pointed out long ago by F. Freymond,[5] and was discussed in somewhat greater detail by

[1] Cf. ch. viii, § 2, xl. [2] Ibid., xi. [3] Ibid., liii.

[4] The term is used here in the sense adopted by Tobler (*Versbau*[2], pp. 134 f.).

[5] *Über den reichen Reim bei altfranz. Dichtern bis zum Anfang des XIV Jahrhunderts*, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, vi, pp. 1–36 and 177–215; especially p. 180.

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Birkenhoff.[1] So far as we know, the author of the *Brendan* was the first French poet who enriched his rimes intentionally, and for several decades he seems to have found no imitators. The examples of rich rime found in Gaimar, Beneeit de Sainte More, Wace, Marie de France, etc. are probably accidental; Crestien de Troyes was the first courtly poet to use such rimes freely. The proportion of rich rimes in the *Brendan*, though not of course so high as in the works of Gautier de Coincy, Rustebeuf, Baudouin de Condé and other authors of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, is remarkably high for so early a period. At the beginning of the twelfth century the process of dropping from pronunciation consonants following the tonic vowel had not gone very far; consequently there were few rimes based on homophony of the vowels alone, and it was quite unnecessary to extend the homophony to the preceding consonant. As Freymond pointed out,[2] rich rimes are specially frequent in didactic poetry, and the use of them (especially when leonine) in the earlier period is a sign that the author was imitating medieval Latin verse. This confirms the opinion already put forward, on account of the peculiar metrical form of the *Brendan*, that the author of the work derived his system of versification from Latin.

The rich rimes in this text are unevenly distributed. Here and there extensive passages will be found to be almost devoid of them, whilst other passages present long series of rich and leonine rimes with hardly any ordinary rimes among them, e. g. vv. 739–60, 1273–1312, 1793–1806. In feminine verses rich rimes (according to the modern definition) are much less frequent than in masculine verses, being less needed (for in feminine rime-words there already exists homophony of the final syllable) and more difficult to devise. It must however be remembered that certain medieval theorists[3] regarded *all* feminine rimes as leonine, and that such a view would be specially applicable to the *Brendan*, in which the same syllabic value is given to feminine as to masculine endings. According to the authors of *Las Leys d'Amors*,[4] O.Prov. *natura* : *noyridura* was a

[1] *Ueber Metrum und Reim* . . ., pp. 23 ff.; cf. Calmund, *Prolegomena* . . ., pp. 75–7.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 179 f.; cf. pp. 13 f. [3] Cf. Freymond, pp. 4 ff.

[4] Edited by Gatien-Arnoult, in *Monumens de la littérature romane*, i–iii, Toulouse, 1841–3. The passage defining *rims leonismes* is in vol. i, pp. 160 ff.; it is missing from the recent edition by J. Anglade (Toulouse, 1919), owing to a lacuna in the MS. followed.

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leonine rime like *guerriers* : *derriers*; hence in the *Brendan* rimes such as *eire* : *creire* 147 would be on the same footing as *penét* : *menét* 249. The present investigation is based, however, on the more usual definitions: the rime is regarded as rich when the homophony extends to the consonant preceding the tonic vowel, as leonine when it extends to (or beyond) the vowel preceding the tonic syllable.[1] 'Broken' rimes (e. g. *fait unt* : *estunt* 403, *rendi* : *en di* 1305, *as tu* : *vas tu* 1327) are placed on the same footing as unbroken. Rimes extending to the consonant preceding the tonic vowel, but not to the whole syllable (e. g. *prent* : *rent* 73, *eisil* : *cil* 561, *mescreire* : *lur eire* 983, *lammes* : *flammes* 1131) are counted as rich. Those in which voiced and unvoiced consonants are combined (e. g. *orguil* : *escuil* 67, *tuit* : *duit* 265[2]) can hardly be classed as rich, though the author may have intended to reinforce the rime in some of these instances. Rimes showing identity of the penultimate vowel, but not of the consonant that follows it,[3] are in this text so few that they are almost certainly accidental; they are not included in the following computation. Complete lists of the rich and leonine rimes will be found in ch. viii, § 1.

Rich rimes of the ordinary type are not very numerous in this poem. They may be classified under two headings:

Entire, i. e. including the whole tonic syllable.

Masc.: 30 instances, e. g. *guarnir* : *venir* 299, *tut el* : *tel* 963, *aprés* : *ciprés* 1781.

Fem.: 10 instances, e. g. *ledes* : *tacéledes* 493.

Incomplete, i. e. not including the whole tonic syllable.

Masc.: 18 instances, e. g. *estreit* : *dreit* 169, *l'air* : *esclair* 499 *eisil* : *cil* (*c* = *ts*) 561.

Fem.: 12 instances, e. g. *lamme* : *flamme* 1147.

Total: 48 masc. + 22 fem. = 70.

Leonine rimes are much more plentiful. They may be classified as follows:

Extending to the vowel preceding the tonic syllable.[4]

[1] So Tobler.

[2] So vv. 169, 309, 541, 693, 759, 783, 1335, 1455. 1495, 1621, 1811 (all masc.).

[3] Called 'double rimes' by Tobler (*Versbau*[2], p. 163), 'assonance-rimes' by Stengel (in Gröber's *Grundriss*, ii, 1, p. 66). Possible examples are *sculante* : *curante* 177, *i sunt* : *i unt* 717, *sutil* : *fust il* 1077, *amestistes* : *les listes* 1693.

[4] Some half-a-dozen disputable instances have been included, notably *veables* : *deables* 341, *les tistes* : *amestistes* 677, *travailes* : *apareiles* 829.

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Masc.: 158 instances, e. g. *vetheir* : *setheir* 55, *baïs* : *païs* 617, *malfez* : *eschalfez* 1137.

Fem.: 12 instances, e. g. *sujurnerent* : *turnerent* 327, *arbaleste* : *galeste* 1155.

Extending to the whole syllable preceding the tonic syllable.[1]

Masc.: 8 instances, viz. *enveiat* : *aveiat* 139, *temptez* : *sustentez* 201, *mesters* : *mesters* 285, *savum* : *nus avum* 743, *mandét* : *cumandét* 831, 881, *saveir* : *repos aveir* 1439, *delicius* : *precius* 1743.

Fem.: 1 instance, viz. *periseient* : *guariseient* 1465.

Extending to the second vowel before the tonic syllable.

Masc. only: 5 instances, viz. *heritét* : *deseritét* 51, *tenablement* : *veablement* 59, *deseritét* : *veritét* 535, *prestement* : *vestement* 959, *verablement* : *creablement* 1219.

Extending to the whole of the second syllable before the tonic syllable.

Masc. only: 1 instance, viz. *avisiuns* : *divisiuns* 1783.

Total: 172 masc. + 13 fem. = 185.

Thus out of a total number of 920 rimes, 255 (27·7 per cent.)[2] are rich, and of these 185 (20·1 per cent.) are leonine. Were we to adopt the point of view of *Las Leys d'Amors*, and class all the feminine rimes as leonine, the number of rich rimes would be 519 (56·4 per cent.), and of leonine rimes 471 (51·2 per cent.). If we take the masculine rimes alone, the rich rimes number 220 out of 621 (35·4 per cent.), the leonine rimes 172 (27·7 per cent.).

The striking feature in these figures is not the number of rich rimes, but the number of leonine rimes. The high proportion of the latter, the inclusion among them of broken rimes,[3] and the tendency to group them together, all indicate that the author of the *Brendan* introduced them of set purpose, most probably in imitation of mediæval Latin verse. This point being established, a further analysis of the rich or leonine rimes, based on the grammatical or etymological or semantic relationship of the words rimed together,[4] would serve no

[1] The following rimes might be transferred from the first to the second class: *truvum* : *ruvum* 401, 747, *prees* : *crees* 1203, *plentét* : *volentét* 1769, *truvat* : *ruvat* 1829; but the homophony does not extend to the whole of the last two syllables.

[2] Freymond, *op. cit.*, p. 25, computed the proportion of rich rimes to be 27 per cent., and Birkenhoff (p. 23) agreed with him. Note that Freymond counted feminine rimes of the *ledes* : *taceledes* type as leonine.

[3] Nearly always a sign of artificiality; cf. Freymond, p. 181.

[4] Freymond, pp. 19 and 25; Birkenhoff, p. 27.

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useful purpose. It is obvious that, in order to obtain so many leonine rimes, the author had sometimes to combine two similar verb-forms or two words derived from the same stem; but on the whole his choice of rime-words shows surprising freedom and ingenuity.

The leonine rimes have sometimes been of considerable assistance in determining the choice of reading. Other things being equal, the reading which offers a leonine rime is the more likely to be that of the original. Thus in vv. 61–2 the rime *saveir* : *aveir* furnished by BDE is preferable to *vetheir* : *aveir* furnished by A; similarly *devum* : *recevum* 757 with A, rather than *chantum* : *recevum* with DE, and *alat* : *devalat* 885 with B, rather than *alat* : *devolat* with A. In v. 1610 the unique word *sururer*, given by A and E, is guaranteed by the rime with *demurer*, against *surjurner* offered by D. In v. 798, where all four MSS. present entirely different readings, that of B has been preferred, not only because of its intrinsic superiority, but also because it makes the leonine rime *afamét* : *amét*.[1]

The correctness of the rimes has sometimes been obscured by the erratic spellings of the Anglo-Norman scribes, including those of A (adopted, so far as possible, in the critical text). Thus *vifs* : *amis* 45, *raps* : *dras* 461, *nefs* : *reis* 1681 are good rimes, in spite of the reintroduction of the stem-consonants by the scribes; *vie* : *oïde* 99, *veüthes* : *nües* 213, *noës* : *podes* 941, in spite of the graphic preservation of the intervocalic dental; also, for various reasons, *lei* : *fai* 69, *meinge* : *prenge* 119, *dulceur* : *seignur* 691, *men* : *son* 751, *Judus* : *ſius* 1291, *estot* : *poet* 1637, *veire* : *materie* 1679, and *cardunt* : *fusun* 1745. Again *seez* : *veiez* 359, *esmaez* : *aiez* 365 and *pluius* : *annuus* 975 are leonine, in spite of the suppression of intervocalic *i*; so also are *pre(i)ez* : *creez* 1203, *ple(i)ners* : *suveners* 1569, and *plentét* : *voluntét* (corr. *-entét*) 1769.

In the few instances where a word has been rimed with itself, either it has two entirely different meanings (*mesters* 285, *en* 369), or the addition of the preceding syllable produces a normal leonine rime (*qui es* : *ci es* 1265, *as tu* : *vas tu* 1327, *i est* : *n'i est* 1381). When two consecutive couplets have the same final stressed syllable, they are differentiated as leonine rimes by the preceding syllable (*enveiat* : *aveiat*, *irat* : *aspirat* 139–42, *verrez* : *crerrez*, *crendrez* : *prendrez* 475–8, and similarly vv. 755–8, 1285–8, and 1373–6); the only exception is *seisante* : *nonante*, *cinquante* : *quarante* 1595–8.

[1] Cf. also the choice between *quesis* and *queïs* 545, between *aasmat* and *aesmat* 1054, and the difficult passage 477–8.

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The practice, common in certain OF texts,[1] of repeating a sentence in a different order for the sake of obtaining another rime—a tempting convenience to the versifier, but liable to degenerate into mere padding—was not followed to any appreciable extent by the author of the *Brendan*; in vv. 62–3 and 1333–5 the repetition could hardly have been avoided.

IV. CLASSIFICATION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS[2]

Four MSS., ABDE, contain the complete text. Each presents many errors not found in the others; in each a number of lines are missing, but the omissions seldom overlap; none can therefore be derived from any of the others. There is ample evidence to prove that A and B are related on the one hand, D and E on the other.

§ 1. The Group AB

In the following instances, A and B have the same corrupt reading, while the reading offered by D and E is irreproachable:[3]

43 A *fereit*, B *freit* (–1); DE *faiseit*. Either tense will give satisfactory meaning, but our author would have used the contracted conditional form *freit*[4]; moreover, the imperfect has the independent support of C and L.[5]

97 AB *del isle*; D *cel isle*, E *cis illes*. *Isle* must be the subject of the sentence.

[1] e.g. *Le Mystère d'Adam*, especially vv. 315 ff.

[2] Cf. M. Wien, *Das Verhältnis der Handschriften der anglonormannischen Brandanlegende*, Diss. Halle, 1886; H. Calmund, *Prolegomena . . .*, pp. 12 ff.

[3] The attacks made in recent years (e.g. by J. Bédier in his introduction to *Le Lai de l'Ombre*, Paris, 1913, and by Dom Henri Quentin in *Essais de critique textuelle* (*ecdotique*), Paris, 1926, pp. 36 ff.) on the use of 'common errors' as a means of classifying MSS. do not materially affect the present chapter, because a close study of the metre, rimes, phonology, morphology, and style of the *Brendan*, and a comparison of its text with the Latin original (see ch. v) and the Latin prose translation (see ch. vi), furnish reliable criteria for detecting corrupt readings, i. e. readings which cannot have been so written by the author. MSS. which share a long series of palpably corrupt readings must inevitably descend from a common ancestor other than the original.

[4] Cf. ch. viii, § 3, xxxi.

[5] L is the Latin prose translation; cf. ch. vi. N is the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*; cf. ch. v.

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254 AB *entrer*; DE *munter*. *Entrer* is not a suitable word to use with reference to cliffs, but was substituted for *munter* probably on account of *entrethe* 251.

384 A *de le nager se tart* (+2), B *de n. s'en t.* (+1); DE *del n. tart.*

500 AB *le clair* (!); DE *l'esclair* (: *air*). Cf. 1764.

556 AB *En sun arbre*; DE *Ensum l'arbre.* Cf. L *super arborem.* In 886 A alone commits the same error.

609 AB *baisét s'en sunt* (*en* from 610); DE *b. se sunt.*

870 AB *set semaines*; D *oet s.*, E *.viii. s.* From Easter Day to the octave of Pentecost is eight weeks; cf. 866, the words *dous meis* in 590 and 1630, and *octo septimanas* in L.

1020 AB *par mer* (repeated from 1019); DE *mult cler.*

1172 AB *cent* (due to misreading of *oënt*); D *oient*, E *oent.*

In other cases A and B have the same syllable added or omitted, while D and E are metrically correct:

246 AB *ço que* (+1); DE *que.*

724 AB *cest* (−1); DE *icest.*

969 AB omit *i* (−1).

1098 AB *l'abes* (−1); DE *li abes.*

1383 AB *cume* (+1); DE *cum.*

1397 AB *Dunc* (−1); DE *Dunches.*

1521 AB *Eist* (−1); D *Eissit*, E *issi* (with alteration of word-order).

Elsewhere A and B have a common error, while the correct reading is given by either D or E:

108 AB *qu'il* (−1); D *que il* (cf. C), E alters.

353 AB *Cist fud un*(*s*) (−1); D *Icist fut un*, E *Ce fu li uns.*

572 AB omit *Halt* (−1), correctly given by E; D alters.

588 AB *As uitaves*; D *Jesque as u.* (+1), E *Les octaves.* The correct reading, indicated by D, is *Desque uitaves*; cf. N and L *usque ad octavas*, and 866.

752 AB *Pur le super* (+1); D alters, E *Por soper.*

1239 AB *Turment grant* (−1); D *Tormente g.*, E *Torment a g.*

1570 AB omit *ert* (−1), correctly given by D; in E the line is missing.

1576 AB *pleiner past* (−1); D *mult pl. p.*, E *plenier repast.*

1696 AB *e od* (+1); D *e*, E *ot.*

Mention must also be made of instances in which AB and DE present different readings, both erroneous:

303 AB *cum lur plout* (−1); DE *cum il lur plot.* Both readings

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are presumably erroneous for *cume lur plout*; the introduction of *il* as subject of an impersonal verb is contrary to the author's practice.[1]

411 AB *E si lur falt nule rien* (−1); DE *E se il lur faut n. r.* The original reading was probably *E si lur falt neüle rien.*

800 AB *Cume se* (+1); DE *Cum s'ele* (+1). Both erroneous for *Cum se.*

842 AB *bele* (−1); DE *mult bele.* Both are probably erroneous for *plus bele*, cf. L *pulcrius.*

924 AB *ferat*; DE *en ferat.* The latter, though apparently hypermetric, represents the original reading *en frat*; in A and B *en* has been omitted.

It is probable, however, that in some of these lines (vv. 303. 411, 842) the archetype was already corrupt. The same may be said of 1390, where AB have *ne* in error for *se*, but D and E have made independent alterations.

§ 2. The Group DE

In many instances, D and E have a corrupt reading in common, while the reading of A and B is satisfactory:

51 AB *est*; DE *fut.* The present tense is required, cf. 1654.

147 AB *E di(s)t lur ad de seon eire*; for *de*, D has *tut*, E *trestot* (+1). The use of *tut* is inadmissible; the voyage is still only a project, and Brendan cannot disclose all its vicissitudes to his followers.

249 AB *Qui*; DE *Kar*, connecting the line erroneously with 248.

295 AB *Portez*; D *Pernez*, E *Prenés*, influenced by *prendre* 296.

311 AB *Mist l'en talent*; DE *M. li t.* The preposition *en* is necessary, cf. OF *avoir en talent.*

365 AB *nen esma(i)ez*; D *ne vus maez* (!), E *ne vos esmaiés* (+1).

401 AB *ruvum* (: *truvum*); D *pernum*, E *prendon*, destroying the leonine rime.

528 AB *De(s) vertuz Deu nus doust* (A *dut*) *paistre*; DE omit *Deu* and replace *doust* by *deveit.* *Deu* is necessary to the sense; cf. L.

539 DE omit *si* before *cume*; but *si* is necessary for metrical reasons.

[1] Cf. ch. viii, § 5, xii.

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645 AB *funtaine*; DE *funtaines*. The singular is essential, cf. *duble* (: *truble*).

761–2 AB *esteint*: *peint*; D *esprent*: *peignt*, E *esprant*: *paint*, destroying the rime.

848 AB *Mais dunc lur nef rechargerent* (: *targerent*); D *Tuz a la mer se repeirerent*, E *E d'ilueques s'en repairierent*. The introduction of the reflexive pronoun by D and E makes the line hypermetric; while the use of *repairier* destroys the leonine rime.

985 A *nent* (−1), B *nient*; DE *vient*, through confusion with *vient* 986.

1072 AB *Riches estreit ki'n* (B *ki en*, +1) *fust sire*; DE *R. esteit ki en fu s.* (+1). The change of tenses ruins the sense of an excellent line.

1118 AB *bien les enseignet*; D *tres bien le seignet*, E *t. b. les saine*. The use of *seigner* 'to make the sign of the cross over' anticipates 1123.

1190 A *Las*, B *La les* (+1); DE *Les*. *La* is necessary to the sense.

1245 DE omit *reis*, which must accompany *de majestét*; cf. L.

1316 AB *Mes granz peines n'ai* (A *n'i ai*, +1, B *n'ai jo*, +1) *dunc mie*; DE *De mes g. p. n'ai jo mie*, destroying the medial break.

1682 A *Fatters*, B *Faitres*; DE *Meistres*, an unsuitable word.

1705 AB *desus estait*; DE *esteit desus*. A present tense is required, and *ester* is preferable to *estre*.

1712 DE add *qui*, repeated from 1711.

1807–8 AB *alat*: *portat*; D *pris*: *pareïs*, E *pris*: *paradis*, anticipating the rime-words of 1809–10.

In the following instances, although the reading of DE is not manifestly incorrect, it is inferior to that of AB:

26 AB *ne savrat*; DE *n'en s.* The unnecessary *en* is probably due to 25.

151–3 AB *Cumandet . . . baiset*; DE *Comandat . . . baisat*. The present tense is used in the preceding and following lines.

207–8 AB *levet . . . s(e)ignet*; DE *levat . . . seignat*. Same as 151–3.

445 AB *Puis que unt* (A *out*) *tut fait*; D *P. que unt f.*, E *P. qu'il ont f.*, both omitting *tut*. D introduces an unusual hiatus, E adds a superfluous pronoun.

886 A *dum*, B *dunc* (= *dunt*); DE *si*, probably influenced by 885.

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920 AB *Pur grant turment plus ne stuveit*; D *Plus g. t. pas ne stuveit*, E *Plus g. t. n'i estovoit.*

1120 A *a enfern*, B *en e.*; DE *pres d'e.* The use of *pres* is probably based on the knowledge of what follows.

1178 AB *freiz* (pl.); DE *freit.* Cf. *calz* (pl.) immediately following.

In other cases D and E have a common error, and the correct reading is given by either A or B, but not both:

426 A *E ta feste demain i fras*, B *E ta f. d. feras*; DE *Ta f. d. i feras.* Cf. p. xliv.

612 A *tendre*, B *prendre*; DE *tenir. Tenir sun curs* is 'to continue a voyage already begun'; here *tendre* is the verb required.[1]

688 A *Itant cler[e]s sunt les haspes* (: *jaspes*), B missing; D *Listees erent tutes les capes*, E *Erent listees bien les chapes.* The lines of D and E are hypermetric and have no medial break, while the rime *jaspes*: *capes* is imperfect.

716 A *de leu* (for *lu* = *lui*), B *de lui*; DE *del liu*, repeated from 715. Cf. L *esse ejus.*

757 A *devum*, B *levum* (: *recevum*); D *chantum*, E *cantons*, destroying the leonine rime. *Devum* is supported by L.

988 A *lur* (= *la lur*), B *la* (i.e. *la part*); DE *le*, referring wrongly to *peisun* 986.

1054 A *asinat* (representing *asmat*), B *aasma*; DE *aesmat*, destroying the leonine rime.

1584 A [*Que*] *n'oi mester de beivre rien*, B missing; DE replace *beivre* by *nule.* The point is that the fish brought by the otter served as drink as well as food; cf. N and L.

1688 A *d'isselites*, B *de par eslites*; DE *pieres eslites.* The latter reading, besides being hypermetric, breaks the connexion between *isselites* (or *eslites*) and *grisolites* 1687.

1779 A *divisit* (for *-set*), B missing; DE *li devise*, with elision of unstressed *-et* before a vowel, contrary to the author's practice.

1781 A *Vait cil avant e cist aprés*, B missing; for *cist* DE have *cil.* The use of *cil* for distance and *cist* for nearness was normal in twelfth-century French.[2]

[1] See the note to this line.

[2] Cf. K. Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de la langue fr.*, ii, § 566. In 609, where ABD have *cil e cil*, the question of relative distance does not arise.

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1789 A *Lur nature ne poet prendre*, B missing; DE substitute *po(i)ent* for *poet*, adding a syllable, but leaving *nature* in the singular.

Lines in which both AB and DE present erroneous but different readings were mentioned in the preceding section. On lines in which both have the same erroneous reading, see § 5.

In nearly a hundred instances D and E employed the same device (not adopted by A or B) for adding a syllable to the feminine lines.[1] The alterations of this kind in vv. 1316, 1688, and (1789)[2] have already been dealt with, on account of the common errors to which they have given rise. The remainder may be briefly summarized as follows:

Introduction of hiatus: 53, 521, 715, 1039.

Addition of a monosyllable: article, 54, 225, 488, (666,) 709, 726, 780, 905, 973, 1001, 1027, 1419, (1646); conjunction, 233, 352, (604,) 989, 1302, 1441, 1487; preposition, 593, (685,) 779, 1085, 1086, 1691, 1692, (1747); adjective, 145, 984, 1326; adverb, 156, 214, 342, 622, 1164, 1465, 1730; pronoun subject, 397, 725, 800, 1214, 1448; pronoun object, 1116, 1294, (1627,) 1750; substantive, 207.

Substitution of a longer form of the word: *n'*] *nen* 254, 420; *s'*] *sei* 936; *cist*] *icist*, etc. 334, 791, 1037, 1349, 1544, (1790); *tuit*] *trestut* 573, 710; *sur*] *desur* 554, 840, 874, 884; *unc*] *unches* 1684; *entrin*] *enter(r)in* (686,) 1683; *fort*] *forte* 628; *fait*] *faite*[3] 1241; addition of prefixes in *revirent* 838, *detraire* 1205.

Change of tense: (221,) 240, 251, 569, 645, 672 (D has inadvertently dropped *il*), 1255, 1481; *erent*] *esteient* 389.

Alterations: *des*] D *d'ices*, E *de ces* 353; *paschur* or *pascal*] *de pasches* 845; *unt*] *trovent* 899, 1614; *des*] *de lur* 942 (but D has dropped a syllable); *la les em meinet*] *la tut dreit les m.* 1117; *la*] *une* 1591; *qu'unt* (A *que q'unt*, + 1)] D *qui est*, E *qui ert* (1666); *mult ert*] *lur est mult* (D *morte*!) 1710; *entrer*] *entree* 1713; *cum*] *forment* (1786).[4]

[1] Cf. ch. iii, § 2.

[2] Parentheses placed round verse numbers in this paragraph indicate that the line is missing in B.

[3] Presumably for *faites*, agreeing with the direct object following (*enpeintes*).

[4] Those lines have not been included, in which

(*a*) D and E probably intended to introduce hiatus, but apparent hiatus already exists in A and B: 988, 1118, 1248, 1293, 1340;

(*b*) D and E have added the same syllable, but without necessarily increasing the total number of syllables: 528 (*deveit* for *doust*, but *Deu* dropped), 1118 (*tres* added), 1270 (*e* added after *voie*);

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There is no doubt that in many, perhaps even the large majority of these lines, the alteration is a sufficiently obvious one to have suggested itself to two scribes or revisers independently. The addition of an article, the substitution of *ici* for *ci*, of *esteient* for *erent*, etc., by scribes who made a point of expanding the feminine lines, can be explained without postulating a common source; especially as we find that the scribes of A and B have frequently hit upon the same alteration as D and E.[1] But the coincidences between D and E are so numerous that they must to some extent have been derived from a common source. The changes in vv. 899, 1117, 1205, 1214, 1241, 1316, 1614, 1688, 1713, and 1789 cannot all have been introduced independently.

§ 3. AB AGAINST DE

The passages in which one of these groups can be shown to have a corrupt reading have now been dealt with. There remains a large number of instances in which the reading of AB differs from that of DE, but neither can be definitely condemned as corrupt.

Often there is nothing to choose between the two readings: 19 AB (*seinz*) *Deu*, D (*s.*) *huem*, E (*bons*) *hom*[2]; 95 AB *U*, DE *La*; 143 AB *e certement*, DE *certeinement*; 167 AB *E suz*, DE *Desuz*; 193 AB *a tei*, DE *od tei*; 198 A *celet*, B *ceille*, DE *celat*; 216 AB *de nager*, DE *del n.* (cf. 384); 220 AB *Desque*, DE *Tant que*; 234 AB *devrunt*, DE *deivent*; 237 AB *lur vitaile*, DE *la v.*; 296 AB *ço*, D *jol*, E *jel*; 297 AB *pur sei*, DE *par sei*; 354 AB *la nef*, DE *sa n.*; 648 AB *Di(s)t lur l'abes*, DE *Dist li abes*; 650 AB *D'ici*, DE *De ci* (so 779, 1792); 650 AB *parlé od gent*, DE *p. a. g.*; 831 AB *lur mandét*, DE *le m.*; 946 AB *cez*, DE *lur*; 957 AB *mais desperer*, DE *desesperer*; 992 AB *vos*, DE *nus*; 996 AB *Quelque semblant qu'il nus mustrast*, *qu'* not in DE; 1074 AB *As funs*, DE *Al funz*; 1103 AB *s'en feignent*, DE *se f.*; 1114 AB *erent* (impf.), DE *ierent* (fut. ?); 1227 AB *ert*, DE *fu*; 1237–8 AB *desus*: *dejus*, DE *dejus*: *desus*; 1241 AB *les*

(*c*) D and E have added the same syllable, but in a different manner: 38, 895, 1156;

(*d*) A or B (usually the latter, sometimes both) have made the same alteration as DE: 259, 260, 292, 333, 441, 442, 494, 495, 553, 588, 674, 719, 839 (?), 865, 866, 893, 949, 1070, 1072, 1269 (?), 1350, 1420, 1453, 1598, 1714, 1740.

[1] Vv. 292, 588, 866, and 1598 may already have had an extra syllable in the archetype; cf. p. lxxviii.

[2] In vv. 19, 115, 143, 193, 198, 216, 220, 237, 287, 296, and 297 the reading of AB has the support of C; cf. § 6.

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empeintes, DE *ses e.* (*ses* from 1242?); 1293 AB *as gabs*, DE *a gas*; 1302 AB *ne*, DE *n'en*; 1342 AB *seit*, DE *est*; 1345 *e* in AB, not in DE; 1369 AB *tost*, DE *tut*; 1430 AB *pur poi*, DE *a p.*; 1472 AB *e grant peril*, DE *e od p.*; 1683 AB *ert entrins*, DE *enterins ert* (+1); 1726 AB *nun*, DE *nums*; 1823 AB *li parent*, DE *si p.*[1]

The same remark applies to the following lines, which support the grouping AB against DE, in spite of minor divergences in the MSS. of one group: 71 DE introduce *tel*, 287 *si*, 452 *vus* (cf. 365); 115 DE omit *en*, 1032 *la*; 548 AB *de mer le han*, D *grant ahan*, E *icest hahan*; 811 A *curent* (for *cureit*), B *curreit*, DE *curut*; 897 AB *Trestout* (B *-tuit*) *curent*, D *Mult c. tost*, E *Molt tost c.*; 1145 AB *Jetant flammes*, D *E jetat flambes* (+1), E *Geta grant flame* (+1); 1694 AB *Forment luisent*, D *Mult resplendent*, E *M. resplendoient* (+1); 1797 A *cent mil tant* (−1), B *c. m. itant*, DE *cent mil(i)e tanz.*

Often, however, although both readings make good sense, it is clear that the reading of AB is more archaic or more unusual than that of DE. When we find AB *di*, DE *jur* 592; AB *nepurtant*, D *nepurquant*, E *nonporquant* 1103; AB *oc*, D *ço*, E *ce* 27, 243, 979, 1467; AB *cum* 'when', DE *quant* 228 (influenced by 227?), 241, 309; AB *achant ne prent*, D *tute ne fent*, E *parmi ne fent* 1018; AB *de smaragde*, D *d'esmareldes*, E *d'esmeralde* 1083 (cf. 1692); A *un nud fed*, B *un fed* (−1), DE *un povre* 1456, etc., we can only conclude that the text of DE has passed through the hands of a reviser who has made sporadic attempts to get rid of uncommon and old-fashioned words and expressions. In a similar manner antiquated or dialectal verb-forms are often eliminated in DE; thus *murget* 61 is replaced by *muret* D, *muire* E,[2] *munto(u)t* 496 by *muntat* (cf. 1585), *estrei[e]nt* 620 A by *il serunt*, *respunent* 965 by *respundent*, *s'aparçout* 1141 by *se parçut* D, *s'aperçut* E, *oustes* (B *ustes*) 1121 by *eüstes* (cf. 917, 1579, 1604, 1658). *Eret* 46 (represented by *ert* A, *iert il* B) is replaced by *esteit* in DE. The pronoun *il* has been introduced in DE as personal subject in 21, 966, 1297, and as subject of an impersonal verb in 303, 411, 1399. In 116 and 999 the tonic possessive, used adjectivally, is replaced by the atonic form. The word-order has been rejuvenated by DE in 378, 402, 1261, 1462, and 1780. We may therefore conclude that, other things being equal, the group AB is more likely to represent the original than the group DE.

[1] L has *parentes ejus*, but this is hardly a sufficient reason for preferring the reading of DE.

[2] Cf. 1764 A *tolget*, DE *toillet.*

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The MSS. frequently fall into the same two groups even in such superficial matters as spelling, e.g. AB *divin*, DE *devin* 479, 922, 1649; AB *enfermetét*, D *enfertez*, E *enferté* 741[1]; AB *averez*, DE *avrez* 587; AB *muverez*, DE *muvrez* 770; AB *veient* (<*věnit*), DE *vient* 934; AB *lusdi*, D *lunsdi*, E *lundi* 1476; AB *grisolites*, DE *cris-* 1687; and the insertion or omission of nominative *s*, e.g. AB *Deus*, DE *Deu* 737; AB *liu*, DE *li(e)us* 773; AB *uns draguns*, DE *un dragun* 1020; AB *chaitif(f)s*, DE *c(h)aitif* 1361; AB *ostét*, DE *ostez* 1379; AB *uns glavies* : *savies*, DE *un glaive* : *saive* 1713–14; cf. DE *que* for masc. nom. *qui* 1400. Many of these coincidences may of course be accidental, and they are mentioned merely as corroborative evidence.

§ 4. Other Possible Groupings

It would be difficult to defend any other grouping of the four MSS.

AD. The errors common to A and D are few in number and of no critical value. The coincidences in 114 (omission of *mult*), 242 (*n'* for *nen*), 366 (*nen* for *n'*), 518 (omission of *E*), 551 (addition of *e*), 957 (*li* omitted before *hom*), 962 (*tante* for *tantes*), 1198 (*lur* for *l'* in a feminine line), 1563 (repetition of *en*, BE missing), and 1682 (omission of *en*) are insignificant; moreover the two MSS. disagree in other details of each of these lines, and often in the number of syllables. The dropping or adding of fem. *e* in *larcin* 1278, *dimaine* 1311, *munte* 1355, and the substitution of *que* for *qui* 1273, 1336, 1670, are slips to be expected of Anglo-Norman copyists. Other errors involving metrical irregularities, common to A and D, are *E il* for *Cil* 585 (probably due to misreading of a capital letter), the omission of *e* 643, the addition of *les* pron. 695, the omission of *ore* after *Uncore* 1059 (haplography in the case of A), the omission of *mult* 1173, the omission of *en* in *Ens en enfern* 1308 (haplography), *Puis del jurn* for *Pose del j.* 1377 (due perhaps to the uncommonness of this use of *pose*), and the omission of *u* 1828. In 1052 the same syllable is lacking in A and D, but the archetype was probably corrupt, cf. p. xl. In 1518 BE read correctly *Ainz que trovét nule rien ait*, but AD add *u* after *trovet*, which the scribes presumably interpreted as indic. pres. 3 sg.; in no instance does the poet elide unstressed *-et*. The readings *morz* for *mors* 'bites' 1025, *al* for *el* 1496, *cunduit* for *cunduist* 1557 (BE missing), *li* for *si* 1825 are unimportant coincidences; while *(e)urent* for *erent* 562 is due to a fairly natural

[1] But cf. v. 422, where AD have *enfertét*, BE *enfermeté*.

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misinterpretation. In 1796, where AD have *mult*, BE *tant*, either reading is acceptable. Although some of these common errors are noteworthy, all can have arisen independently. The fact that A and D have sometimes preserved the authentic reading, corrupted in B and E independently (e.g. in 40, 274, 357, 418, 1328, 1592), creates a false impression that they are related.

AE. There are few errors common to A and E. The alteration of word-order in 26 (destroying the medial break), the substitution of nom. *que* for *qui* (?) 38, *eslist* for *eslit* 107, *grant* for *granz* 611, *chaines* for *chaeines* 869, are all trivial points. In 792, 1003 (cf. 1004), and 1206 the expansion of a feminine line in E coincides accidentally with a mistake of A. The following common errors are more striking, but insufficient to prove relationship:

177 BD *Oindre* (supported by C and L), AE *Juindre*. See the note to this line.

281–2 BD *s'est mis* : *s'est assis* (supported by C); AE *se(s) mist* : *s'asist*.

737 AE omit *mult*.

1323 B *ore le* (+1), D *or le*, AE *or* (−1, probably for *ore*).

1359 B *Par le lundi*, D *P. les lundis*, AE *P. lundi* (−1).

In spite of the many alterations introduced in E, it happens not infrequently that A and E, being the most carefully executed MSS., have preserved the original reading, corrupted in B and D (e.g. in 486, 872, 1447, 1532, 1700); allowance must of course be made for the regular addition of a syllable to the feminine lines in E.

BD. Between B and D there are many minor points of contact, due mainly to similarity of habits on the part of the copyists. Many of the details in which they agree against A and E are purely superficial, e.g. their preference for the forms *prametre* 121, 412, *surjurner* 327, 771, *segrei* 1094, *aclose* 1111, *flambes* 1211, *detries* 1236, etc.; their omission or addition of flexional *s* in *Deu* 242, *menez* 250, *un mes* 405, *chanuz* : *tenduz* 827–8, *jugement* 1254, etc.; their omission of *mult* 723, *en* 1319, *pas* 1793; their introduction of the definite article 528, 890, 1122, *i* 847, *le* pron. 1323, 1599; their substitution of *nent plus* for *ne plus* 183, *a haltes voiz* for *a halte v.* 189, *nen* for *n'* 226, *quele* for *quel* 343, *es lur* for *es vus* 356, *aporte* for *portet* 'brings' 409, *icel* for *cel* 536, 1521, *nus* for *vus* 568, *aprés* for *puis* 589, *plus que* for *plus de* 706, *par jur* for *le jurn* 749, *ad* for *e* 752 (cf. *ai* 751), *içe* for *ço* 762, *al* for *en*, *el* 880, 1459, *od* for *a* 1164, *ad*

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for *est* 1334 (influenced by 1333), *l'abes* for *Brandans* 1479, *qu'il* for *que il* 1837; and their changes in word-order 74, 1229, 1544. They have employed similar methods in expanding the feminine lines 99, 615, 1223, 1315, 1421, and 1591. In the following instances B and D have an incorrect or altered reading in common, when either A or E is missing or divergent: 161 A (C) *tant quant*, E *t. que*, B *t. cume* (+1), D *itant cum* (+1); 477 BD add *le* (+1), A missing; 526 A *mal l'eslavat* (for *s'eslevat*), E *si avala*, BD *mar se leva*; 866 BD add *as*, E alters; 983 A *puint*, E *de rien* (+1), BD *nient*; 1016 A *que nel en port*, E *Que... ne l'enport*, B *qu'il ne p.* (−1), D *k'il n'en p.* (−1); 1044 A *murer*, E *perir*, BD *peril*; 1163 A *E*, E alters, BD *A*; 1272 A *Jesu*, E *J. Crist* (+1), B *Celui*, D *Icelui* (+1); 1435 A *Hui*, E *Ci*, B *Ore* (+1), D *Or*.

None of the common readings just mentioned can safely be used for the purpose of classification; in fact the lines quoted frequently contain divergences which make it clear that the agreement is accidental (e.g. 409, 528, 589, 1425, 1793). The following coincidences are more striking:

53 AE *creit* (<*credit*); BD *crei* (<*credo*).

61 AE *voldreit*; BD *voldrat* (cf. 72, 80, etc.).

187 A *Entrent* (−1), E *Ens entrent*; BD *Entrerent*. The original reading may have been either *Enz entrent* or *Entrerent*.

606 AE *Cum il voldrent* (E *voloient*, +1) *plus receivre*; BD *Tant cum il* (D *cil en*, +1) *voldrunt r.*

782 A *de leu*, E *de lui*; BD *del liu*. The scribes misread *lui* as *liu*; cf. 716, where B has *de lui* correctly, DE *del liu*.

812 A *dormant geisent*, E *d. gisoient*; BD *dorment e gisent*.

987 AE *la*; BD *le*. The pronoun should refer to *part*, not to *peisun*; cf. 988 B *la*, DE *le*.

1385 AE *li fus s'i prent*; B *li feus esprent*, D *li f. s'esprent*. Cf. 761, 1157.

1394 AE *tut un jurn e une nuit*; BD *tute j. e tute n.*

1707 AE *surplantez*; BD *purplantez*.

1801 A *O or venis*, E *Or v.* (−1); BD *Or i v.*

1834 A *qu'en lui virent*, E alters; B *que il v.*, D *qu'il v.* (−1). The words *en lui* are necessary to the sense.

The changes in 606, 1385, 1394, and 1707 consist in the substitution of a common for a less common word or phrase; those in 812 and 1834 are simplifications of construction; those in 53, 782, 987, and

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1801 are the result of fairly natural misinterpretations; all can have suggested themselves to different scribes independently. We cannot therefore regard this series of common readings as sufficient to overrule the classification set up in the preceding sections. B and D are so negligently written and contain so many errors, that it would be surprising if their errors did not sometimes coincide. Rarely (e.g. in v. 1766) do they agree in furnishing the correct reading when A and E fail us.[1]

BE. Readings in which B and E agree against A and D are fairly numerous, but of little significance. Variants such as *de ci* for *d'ici* 330, 770, 1335, *Quel... que* for *Quelque... que* 360 (B −1), *n'* for *nen* 541 (B −1), *vus* for *nus* 993 (cf. 992 AB *vus*, DE *nus*), *Messe* for *Messes* 1092, *que* for dative *qui* 1484, *a* for *en* 1548, *tant* for *mult* 1796, *pur* for *de* 1806, are trivial; moreover in many of these instances either reading is acceptable, and BE may have preserved the wording of the original text. Equally negligible are the omission of *mult* 40, *en* 1051, *si* 1230, and the introduction of *e* 552, 1791, and *nus* 641, all producing metrical irregularities in B alone; the frequent insertion of the definite article[2]; and the substitution of one tense for another, e.g. *estuet*: *puet* (supported by C) for *estout*: *pout* 179–80, *met* for *mist* 181 (so C), *dit* for *dist* 1475, 1829, *vint* for *vient* 1722. The alterations of the word-order in 201, 203, 481, 586, 1296, and 1319 are the result of a common tendency to modernize and normalize. In 766 B and E have both omitted *a vus* in order to make *soussum*, *seuson* trisyllabic. The same obvious syllable has been added to feminine lines in 237, 439, 494, 1031, 1040, 1218, 1264, 1488, and 1596; in 177 both B and E have added *fust* by anticipation from the following line. Not infrequently B and E have made identical alterations, but in different circumstances, thus revealing their independence, e.g. in 357 (*a beivre* for *le b.*), 520 (*semble* for *sembles*), 940 (omission of *qui*), 1007–8 (*fut* for *fust*), and 1017 (introduction of *de*). The following coincidences are more noteworthy:

102 AD (C) *qu'a Brandan dist*; BE *que Brandan(s) d.*

236 A (C) *par*, D alters; BE *sens* (cf. 235).

478 A missing, D *plus vus prendrez* (: *crendrez*); B *plus vus peneres* (+1), E *plus penerés*.

[1] In vv. 316 and 503 the reading common to BD may conceivably be that of the original.

[2] Cf. ch. viii, § 5, ii.

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511 AD *li vols* (: *cols*); B *la voiz*, E *sa vois*.
767 AD *solt* (: *volt*); BE *sot*.
902 A *curt*, D alters; BE *crut*. See the note to this line.
927 AD *Deus*; BE *Deu*. The omission of flexional *s* is here probably due to a misinterpretation.
1009 AD *ne crement*; BE *nel c.* (*l* = *le peril*).
1052 BE add *que*. The line probably lacked a syllable in the archetype; cf. p. xl.
1061 AD *Chantat*; BE *Chantez* (influenced by *Clamez* 1060).
1324 AD *quant* 'since'; BE *cum*.
1369 AD *ferliez* (<*ferro-ligatus*); BE *ferm liez*.
1374 AD *Que*; BE *Cume*.
1659 A *ne i targez*, D *n'i t.* (−1); B *ne targét* (−1), E *ne targiez*. This line was probably corrupt in the archetype.

The majority of these common mistakes are the result of fairly natural misinterpretations, or of misreadings easily explained palaeographically, and do not necessarily indicate any relationship between B and E. Others are probably due to corruptions in the archetype. The coincidence in 478 is striking, but both B and E may have found *penrez* for *prendrez* in the MSS. which they were copying. In a few instances (e.g. *erent* 562, *pelfiz* 1227, *pose* 1377) B and E have preserved an indisputably correct reading against A and D.

ABD, ABE, ADE. There is little possibility of grouping ABD against E, ABE against D, or ADE against B, although a few common errors might be alleged in support of each of these combinations. Thus ABD have minor errors in common, while E gives a satisfactory reading, in 1130 (ABD *tuneirs*, -1, E *tonoires*) and 1652 (ABD *poëstis*, AD -1, B adds pleonastic *en*, E *poëstëis*); ABE all omit *mult*, correctly given by D, in 1576[1]; and ADE present common errors, while B gives the correct reading, in 557 (AD *Quant vint le jurn al declinant*, E *li jors*, B *del jur*), 802 (ADE omit *a*), 1350 (ADE add *est*, expanding a feminine line; cf. 1349), and 1685 (ADE *grant*, B *granz*).[2] But these errors, nearly all trivial, cancel one another out; the very fact that a few instances, and a few only, can

[1] It is possible, however, that a syllable was missing in the archetype, and that D alone has made a satisfactory emendation. Note also 652, where D alone has preserved the authentic word-order, but B is missing.

[2] A peculiar case is 798, where ABDE all present different readings; see the note.

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be found to support each grouping shows that the agreement is in each case accidental.

BDE. More can be said in favour of grouping BDE against A. In a number of instances BDE present a common reading which is unsatisfactory, while the reading of A has every appearance of authenticity:

134 **A** *Sur les treis jurs la semaine*; BDE replace *Sur* by *Sul.* Cf. the note to this verse.

220 BDE omit *tuz* (but otherwise diverge).

433 BDE omit *la*, in order to make *truverai* trisyllabic.

568 A *quïez* (: *gracïez*); BDE *quidez* (destroying the leonine rime).

712 A *cil resirent*; BDE *se refirent* (cf. *Quant sunt refait* 707).

1043 A *chante*; BDE *chantez.* The singular is required, cf. *fras* 1044.

1205 A *veit*; BDE *vit* (cf. 1202). The present tense is used before and after.

1346 A *la mer de sal*; BDE *de mer le sal.* See the note to this verse.

1739 A *Gardins est la praierie*; BDE replace *est* by *e.*

In 259, 495, 674, 719, 893, and 949, BDE have employed the same devices for expanding feminine lines. Elsewhere, although either reading might stand, that of BDE is more hackneyed or otherwise inferior:

55 A *voldret* plupf. ind.; BDE *voldreit.* A historic tense is required (cf. 47), and it is improbable that the author would have used the two conditionals *voldreit* and *devreit* in close succession in so heavy a manner.

357 A *portet* 'brings'; BDE *aporte.* Cf. 1575.

471 A *sur les greinurs* 'greater than the greatest'; B *tut li g.*, D *tut des g.*, E *tos li g.*

769 A *Des* prep.; B *Del*, D *De*, E *De la.*

781 A *mist*; BDE *dist. Metre un jurn* is more idiomatic than *dire un jurn.*

1813 A *Puis*; BDE *Puis qu'.* The reading preserved by A breaks the unity of the couplet, and therefore invited alteration by scribes.

1821 A *Ja*; BDE *La.*

But the appearance of unity presented in these instances by BDE is deceptive. The scribes were dealing with a difficult text—difficult

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not only on account of its antiquity, its exceptional subject, and its unusual forms, but also because the author had chosen to write in an idiomatic and sometimes contorted style. While the scribe of A copied the poem with very fair fidelity, the scribes of B, D, and E (or their predecessors) did not scruple to replace exceptional words, forms, and turns of expression by those current in their own day. Their frequent agreement merely proves that different scribes misinterpreted or modernized the same words or passages in the same manner.

A. The archaic character of A, compared with the other MSS., has already been illustrated by several of the examples in the preceding paragraph. Further illustration is easy to supply. Very frequently A has retained archaic or uncommon words and forms, which the other MSS. have replaced or avoided, e. g.: 1 A *Donna*, BD *Dame*; 10 A *Secund* prep., BD *Sulunc* (so 807); 46 A *Quer*, BDE *Kar* (cf. 97, 231, 253); 55 A *nepurtant*, BDE *nepurquant* (so 577; in 629 AD have *nepurtant*); 194 A(C) *donz*, BE *danz* (cf. 454); 400 A *di*, BDE *jur* (so 751); 443 A *entrin*, BDE *enter(r)in* (cf. 686, 814); 529 A *pur oc que*, BDE *pur ço que*; 620 A *nael*, BD *noël*, E *noeil* (cf. 879); 801 A *denz* adv., BDE *enz*; 811 A *sumnes* 'sleep', BE *sumeilz*, D alters; 845 A *di paschur*, B *jur pascal*, DE *jur de pasches*; 1223 A *ila*, B *la*, D *il la*, E *iluec*; 1688 A *isselites*, BDE *eslites*. The sparing use of the articles, a characteristic of the author's style,[1] is a striking feature in A, but the other scribes have frequently added the article which appeared to them to be missing, e. g. in 25, 522, 552, 577, 710, 751, 780, 819, 893, 943, 953, 1070, 1081, 1139. Similarly BDE have added a personal pronoun subject in 1447, and BE have added *il* (D defective) as subject of an impersonal verb in 1486. The free use of the tonic forms of personal and possessive pronouns[2] is another archaic feature most conspicuous in A, e. g. 49 A *lui* dative (before the verb), BDE *li* (so 60, 1451, 1838; cf. 1447, 1541); 144 A *seon al[e]ment*, BDE *sun a.*; 737 A *lui* acc., BE *le*, D *nus*; 997 A *as vos suspeis*, BDE *a vo(z) s.* (cf. 999, 1092); 1435 A *mei repos* 'I rest', BDE *me r.* (cf. 520). Only A has preserved the neuter pronoun *el* 128 (B *ço*, CD *il*), and the phrase *le plus* 760 in which *le* (<*illo*) indicates difference of measure; cf. also the retention by A of the neuter form *cel* 60, 1457. In 491–2 A treats *arbre* as feminine, while the other MSS. give it the more usual mas-

[1] Cf. ch. viii, § 5, ii.

[2] Ibid., xi and xiii.

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culine gender. The peculiar verb-forms found in A (cf. ch. viii, § 3) have constantly been altered in the other MSS.; in addition to *voldret* 55 and *quïez* 568 (cf. *quïent* 1220) we may mention *dout* 158 (BDE *dut*), *estout* (pret. of *estuveir*) 179, 530 (replaced by *estuet* or *estut* in the other MSS.), *deient* 232 (BCD *deivent*, E alters), *fras* 426 (BDE *feras*, cf. 553, 878, 883), *cundïent* 639 (BDE *cunduient*), *streit* (for *streiz*) 863 (B *estrez*, DE *esterez*); nearly all these forms are guaranteed by metre or rime as having belonged to the original. In 788 BDE by adding *n'* have obliterated the rare use of *nul* without a negative particle, and in 1426 they have added the negative particle after *Ne guart quant* (see the notes to these lines); again in 1336 they have added a second *n'* (<*nec*) to the phrase *esteit ne ivern*. In 358 BDE have altered the rare construction of *rover* with an accusative of the person, and in 771 and 866 they have modified the prepositional use of *desque*. In 839 A alone has preserved the name *Ja[s]coines*, which the author derived from the *Navigatio*. On the liberties which the author took with the word-order, usually followed in A, but often modified in the other MSS., see ch. viii, § 5, xiv. The lines in which A alone offers a satisfactory text (e. g. 617–18, 688, 1717–18, 1757 ff.) are numerous. All readings of A are therefore entitled to our careful consideration, even when they conflict with those offered by B and DE, or by B and either D or E. But A is naturally not infallible. Its peculiar forms, when not guaranteed by rime or metre, are often to be attributed solely to the late Anglo-Norman scribe. In 169-70 A's rimes *estreits* : *dre[i]s* are opposed by C as well as BDE (all *estreit* : *dreit*). In 420 A alone has modified the word-order. In 456 the form *luigneit* given by A, though making excellent sense, is difficult to uphold against BDE *fuieit* (: *muveit*).[1] In 519 BDE *cil* has been preferred to A *li*, in 970 BDE *penez* to A *lassez*, in 1414 BE *m'esforcent* to A *me forcent* (D *me tolent*), in 1669 B *plein* (DE *plain*) to A *dreit*, on the ground that they are more graphic or less usual. In the following instances a choice is more difficult: 335 A *aparceut*, BDE *s'aperçut*; 370 A *dist*, BDE *dit*; 1269 A *Cil li respunt*, BDE *Cil* (*li*) *respundit*; 1272 A *que*, BDE *qui* acc.; 1400 A *tant fort*, BDE *si f.*

[1] Cf. ch. viii, § 3, xxix.

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§ 5. The Common Ancestors of AB (α), DE (β), and αβ (χ)

The common ancestors of our two pairs of MSS. can be reconstructed with a fair degree of precision. We will designate them α and β respectively.

α. The text of α can usually be determined without difficulty from a comparison of A and B, checked by the other MSS. When A or B is missing, certainty cannot always be attained; but as a rule the reading of the surviving MS. agrees so closely with that of the β group that both can be regarded as reproducing the archetype. The text thus reconstituted is an extremely good one, without a line missing, and preserving in the main the metrical and linguistic peculiarities of the original. The errors common to A and B (cf. § 1) may be ascribed to α, although in a few instances it is possible that A and B introduced the same error independently. A certain number of lines in α were metrically irregular. A syllable was probably missing in 108 (*qu'il* for *que il*), 303 (*cum* for *cume*), 353 (*Cist* for *Icist*), 411 (*nule* for *neüle*), 572 (*Halt*), 590 (*ci* for *ici*), 718 (*i*), 724 (*cest* for *icest*), 842 (*plus*), 933 (*cest* for *ceste*?), 969 (*i*), 1052 (*que* after *murir*?), 1098 (*l'abes* for *li abes*), 1130 (*tuneirs* for *tuneires*), 1239 *Turment* for *Turmente*), 1397 (*Dunc* for *Dunches*), 1436 (*Eneveis* for *Eneveies*), 1521 (*Eist* for *Eissit*), 1570 (*ert*), 1576 (*mult*), 1652 (*poëstis* for *poëstëis*) and 1659 (*vus*). A supernumerary syllable had been introduced in the following lines: masc., 246 (*ço*), 384 (*se*), 741 (*enfermetét* for *enfertét*), 752 (*le*), 1383 (*cume* for *cum*), 1696 (*od*), and perhaps 1563 (*en*); fem., 292 (*e*), 327 (*i*), 588 (*de*), 800 (*Cume* for *Cum*), 866 (*de*), 1553 (*que*), 1573 (*en*) and 1598 (*e*). The word-order had probably been altered in 1374, possibly also in 652 (missing in B).

The following lines contained errors: 43 (*fereit*), 97 (*del isle*), 254 (*entrer*), 465 (*E* or *E de* for *De*), 500 (*le clair*), 556 (*En sun arbre*), 588 (*As* for *Desque*), 609 (*s'en*), 870 (*set*), 924 (*en* omitted), 1020 (*par mer*), 1021 (*e* omitted), 1024 (*des* or *de* for *d'els*), 1172 (*cent*), 1173 (*e* omitted), 1197 (*est* omitted ?), 1390 (*ne* for *se*), 1402 (*dunt* omitted ?), 1476 (*lusdi*), 1735 (*Quant*); possibly also 478 (not in A), 812 (*gisent* for *giseient*) 860 (*la* for *l'an*), 918, 934 (*qui* or *quil veient* for *qui vient*), 1557 (*cunduit*), and other lines missing in B in which the reading of A is unsatisfactory.[1] Whether A and B respectively were

[1] Vv. 1549, 1564, 1610, 1620, 1716, 1760, 1764.

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copied direct from α can hardly be determined. They exhibit no divergence which, in view of the habits of the scribes, compels us to postulate the existence of intermediate MSS.; but at the same time the existence of one or more intermediate MSS. is possible in either case. In v. 798, where the reading of B probably represents the original, A has an entirely different line (modelled on 800), although there is no apparent reason for the change; but it would be rash to assume, on the strength of this single instance, that A was copied from a different MS., in which 798 was missing.

β. The text of β can likewise be determined from a comparison of D and E, checked by the other MSS., but with less completeness and precision. The greater divergence between the members of this group, their systematic but mostly independent expansion of the feminine lines, the thorough modernization of E and its transposition into another dialect, often make certainty impossible. In the passages where E is missing, the reading of D is often unsatisfactory or manifestly rewritten,[1] and there is then no means of reconstructing β; similarly in a few passages where D is missing.[2] When reconstituted as far as possible, the text of β appears tolerably good, but distinctly inferior to that of α. It seems certain that vv. 630, 798, 1304, and 1473,[3] each represented in D and E by entirely different lines, neither agreeing with the reading of α, were missing in β; also v. 1582, which in E is missing, and in D has been replaced by a stop-gap line. As shown in § 2, the process of lengthening the feminine lines had not been carried very far in β; it is true that D and E employed the same device in nearly a hundred instances, but a large proportion of these changes may well have been made independently. Of the other alterations and errors common to D and E, mentioned in §§ 2, 3, and 4, the majority may reasonably be attributed to β. A number of masculine lines were metrically irregular in β. A syllable was probably missing in 185 (*enz* for *enenz*), 204 (*sus*), 265 (*s'en*), 271 (*enz*), 283 (*sul*), 318 (*re-*), 368 (*cel* for *icel*), 427 (*en*), 445 (*tut*), 539 (*si*), 636 (*lur*), 737 (*mult*), 802 (*a*), 1052 (*que* after *murir*?), 1058 (*bons*), 1172 (*e*), 1173 (*mult*), 1174 (*par l'air*, -2), 1397 (*liu*), 1436 (*Eneveis* for *Eneveies*), 1545 (*mult* for *grant e*), 1599 (*t'* for *tei*), 1659 (*vus*), 1798 (*ad*?), 1799 (*A*), and 1801 (*O*). There were probably

[1] e.g. vv. 14, 17-18, 88-90, 92, 132, 138-9, 1143-4, 1511, 1556, 1560, 1565-6.

[2] e.g. vv. 1179-80, 1396, 1718.

[3] The line compensating for 1473 is placed in both D and E after 1474.

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supernumerary syllables in 365 (*vus*), 863 (*estrez* or *esterez* for *streiz*), 878 (*ferez* for *freiz*), and 881 (do.). The word-order had been altered in 378, 402, and 1780. The following lines, in addition to those mentioned in previous sections as containing alterations common to D and E, were probably corrupt in β: 476 (*En lui plus mielz crerrez*?), 691 (*e od* for *e* or *od*), 990 (*assez* for *a cez*?), 1038 (*De* for *A*?), 1454 (*Que* for *Quel*?), 1735 (*Quant*). In 178, 220, 461, 548, 556, 607, 617–18, 701, 803, 839, 886, 1266, 1321–2, 1520, 1654, and 1757–8 the reading of β seems to have been partially unintelligible to the copyists; while 688, 848, and 1807–8 had been entirely rewritten.

δ, ϵ. It is not likely that either D or E is a direct copy of β. The constant rewriting of whole lines, a characteristic of D, may usually be attributed either to the scribe of D or to a predecessor; but in some instances the reading of D can hardly be explained unless we assume that the scribe was copying a MS. other than β: 235 (*sanz vent* missing, D added *par mer* to complete the line), 454 (evidently a stop-gap line), 590 (do.), 809 (missing, but a compensatory line added after 810), 1162 (a feeble stop-gap line), 1565 (unintelligible, but *desevrat* may represent *desevrerat*, inspired by *frat seivrement* 1566), 1581 (similar to 809). We may conclude that between β and D there was at least one intermediate MS. (δ), in which 454, 590, 809, 1162, 1581, and perhaps others of the lines missing or rewritten in D were wanting.[1] The Picard reviser, whose work is preserved in E, seems to have had before him a text close to β, but introduced a large number of changes. The Anglo-Norman origin of his source can be inferred from the violent measures often adopted in order to get rid of non-continental forms (e. g. in 599–600, 643, 1180, 1657–8, 1706, 1708), possibly also from certain misreadings (e. g. *nul oretor* for *nul lorethur*? 745). He appears to have misread *veüt* as *vent* in 1181 (this entailed the rewriting of 1182), *eir* (< *heredem*) as *air* in 1654, and *uirent* (< *viderunt*) as *oïrent* in 1834. A good many lines have been entirely rewritten, sometimes for no apparent reason.[2] E can hardly be the actual work of the reviser, but may well be a copy of the revision (ϵ). Vv. 168, 1256, 1582, and 1644 have been

[1] The divergence of D in 188, 275-6, 407-10, 902, 1040, 1414, and 1632 may be due to either the last scribe or a predecessor. Cf. p. xvi.

[2] e. g. 108, 166, 256, 659-60, 749, 1137, 1222, 1421, 1529. The alterations in 204, 276, 304, 1084, 1390, and 1592 are the result of attempts to improve the rimes; cf. p. xxi.

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dropped out entirely, leaving the couplets incomplete.[1] Sixteen lines are a syllable short, according to the metrical system of the reviser [2]; in some of these instances the reviser probably neglected to add a syllable to the feminine lines, but in others (420, 461, 666, 855, 1147, 1226, 1323) it seems clear that the syllable was inadvertently dropped by a copyist. The mistakes made in 577 (*as* for *a* or *al*), 623 (*Dont* for *Vont*), 1011 (*vint avolant*, riming *an* with *en* contrary to both Anglo-Norman and Picard practice), 1127 (*fals* for *vals* and *de* for *des*), 1142 (*li* for *qui*), and 1309 (*Cel* for *C'est*) are those of a copyist rather than of the reviser; while 318, 461, 974, and 1762 are unintelligible in E as they stand.[3] It is unlikely that the reviser, who was endeavouring to make the text intelligible and metrically regular, would have tolerated all these defects in his own work.

x. A comparison of α and β enables us to reconstruct their common original (the archetype of the four MSS. which contain the whole text; here designated x) with surprising accuracy, except for a few minor details. The defects of α, not very numerous, are in nearly all cases corrected or explained by β. Where β fails us, owing to the absence of one MS. and the divergence of the other, or occasionally the divergence of both MSS., the text offered by α is almost uniformly satisfactory, and may be accepted as representing the archetype. Hesitation is possible only in a few lines where α and β offer different readings, both equally acceptable (cf. § 3), or where B agrees with β against A, without obviously modernizing.[4] In such instances the choice of reading has necessarily been somewhat arbitrary; elsewhere it has been almost mechanical. The text thus reconstructed, complete (so far as we can tell) in every line, is a most satisfactory one. It cannot however be the original itself; for though it preserves faithfully the metrical and other peculiarities of the original, it contains a small number of defects for which the author (in view of the minute care which he clearly bestowed upon his work) cannot be held responsible. A syllable is missing in 303 (*cum* for *cume*), 411 (*nule* for *neüle*), 590 (*ci* for *ici*), 842 (*plus*), 1052 (*que*), 1436 (*Eneveis*

[1] Four couplets also are missing, but these may have been omitted by the reviser.

[2] The defective feminine lines are mentioned in Appendix I; the masculine lines are 461, 737, 1226, 1323, 1801.

[3] Note also 466, the first words of which have been inadvertently written at the end of the preceding line. Vv. 934, 1012, and 1630 contain corrections which show the scribe at work.

[4] e. g. in 335, 902, 970, 1269.

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for *Eneveies*), 1659 (*vus*), and perhaps 1652 (*poëstis* for *poëste's*). There is a supernumerary syllable in 292 (*e*), 588 (*de*), 866 (*de*), 1598 (*e*), and perhaps 1696 (*od*). In 364 and 1151 *le* has been substituted for *la*, and perhaps in 1390 *ne* for *se*. On the reading *Quant* for *Avant* in 1735, see the note to this line. It is of course possible that in some of these instances the error was introduced independently in α and β. The existence of intermediate MSS. between x and α, x and β respectively cannot be demonstrated.

§ 6. The Position of C

To assign to the fragment C a position in the scheme of MSS. is not easy, comparatively few of the passages on which the classification is based occurring within the first 310 lines of the poem. The conclusions that can be drawn from a comparison of C with the other MSS. are mainly negative.

It is certain that C does not belong to the β group. In no instance does it share a mistake common to D and E: 26 C *ne*, DE *n'en*; 147 C *de*, D *tut*, E *trestot*; 151–3 B *Cummande ... baise*, DE *Comandat ... baisat*; 207 C *lievet*, DE *levat*; 249 C *Ki*, DE *Kar*; 295 C *portez*, DE *pernez*. When α and β present different readings, either of which is acceptable, C always agrees with the former: 19 C *Deu*, DE *huem*; 21 C *que*, DE *qu'il*; 116 C *les suens*, DE *ses*; 143 C *e certement*, DE *certeinement*; 167 C *E sur* (for *suz*), DE *Desuz*; 193 C *a*, DE *od*; 198 C *ceilet*, DE *celat*; 216 C *de*, DE *del*; 220 C *Desque*, DE *Tant que*; 228 C *Cum*, DE *Quant* (so 241, 309); 234 C *devrunt*, DE *deivent*; 237 C *lur*, DE *la*; 265 C *eissent s'en*, D *e.fors*, E *si issent*; 273 C *a*, DE *de*; 283 C *sul*, not in DE; 296 C *ço*, DE *jol*; 297 C *pur*, DE *par*. The feminine lines which D and E expanded in the same manner are unexpanded in C, viz. 145, 156, 207, 214, 221, 225, 233, 240, 251, 254; in v. 134 C and D have added *de*, but E is missing. The coincidences between C and either D or E are accidental: 5 CD *Par*; 22 C *De miels entent*, E *Entendi miex*; 92 CD omit *sul*; 108 CD *que il vit* (–1); 116 CD *seit* for *fei*; 131 CD *al* for *el*; 163 CE *a la roche*; 182 CD *aveit* for *aveient*; 192 CD *tei* (+1) for *t'*; 204 CE *dreçat*; 241 CE *avint*; 298 CD *mentez* (influenced by *priez* 297). In 42, C supports the reading *justes* against D (?) and E *vistes*.

At the same time, C cannot be assigned to the α group. It is true that in v. 303 ABC have *cum* (–1) for *cume* (DE *cum il*); but this

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corruption probably goes back to x, and in any case is insufficient to prove relationship. In the other passages where A and B have a common error, C presents the correct reading: 43 A *fereit*, B *freit*, C *feseit*; 246 AB add *ço* (+ 1), C does not; 254 AB *entrer*, C *munter*. If these instances are few, and if C agrees as a rule with AB against DE, the reason is that α and C preserved the original readings far more faithfully than β.[1]

Can C have been derived from x? The evidence available is slender and contradictory. On the one hand *cum* for *cume* 303 might be used to support such a view; but on the other hand C has preserved the original feminine line 292, to which x probably added a syllable. No other passage in vv. 1–310 appears to have been corrupt in x. It cannot be demonstrated that the readings of C in vv. 1 (*Mahali*) and 18 (*puis*) are better than those of x (*Aalis* and *mult* respectively). The rimes of C in vv. 131–2 (*espirt* : *virt*) have been regarded as those of the original; but see the note to these lines. The 'common error' *cum* for *cume* 303 is too trivial to allow us to postulate a common ancestor (other than the original) for x and C. We must tentatively regard C as derived independently from the original, probably (in view of the many individual errors which it contains) with several copies intervening.

C is of great utility, in spite of its shortness and imperfections. Its independence of both α and β having been established, the uncertainty as to its ultimate position is of no practical consequence. It covers the longest of the passages missing in E (vv. 1–18, 73–92, 123–42); and when in these passages the readings of α and D differ,[2] its support of α shows clearly that D is at fault. The effect is similar when D and E offer divergent readings, neither agreeing with α.[3] When A or B agrees with D or E against the other pair, C always supports the reading already preferred on other grounds: 26 BCD *demander plus*, AE *p. d.*; 102 ACD *que a Brandan*, BE *que Brandan(s)*; 107 BCD *eslit*, AE *eslist*; 181 BCE *met*, AD *mist*. The effect of this independent testimony of C is to increase our respect for the α group, whose reading we are encouraged to adopt throughout the text unless it can be definitely shown to be wrong. When the MSS. of the α group disagree, C more often supports A:

[1] Wien (*op. cit.*, pp. 29 ff.) and Calmund (*Prolegomena . . .*, p. 26) assigned C to the α group.

[2] Vv. 14, 17–18, 82, 84, 88, 89, 90, 138, 142.

[3] Vv. 115, 166, 172, 204, 255–6, 275, 286, 287.

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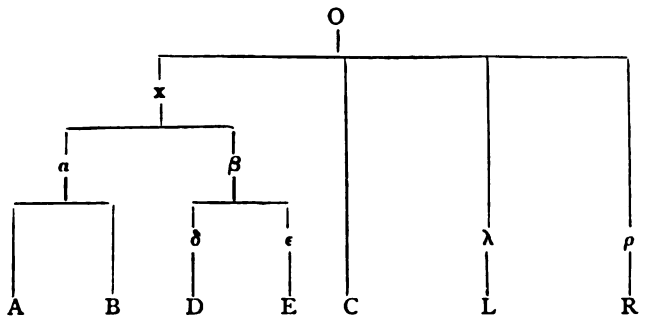
37 *pernanz*, 161 *tant quant*, 185 *entrez enenz*, 220 *tuz*, 228 *Cum venz n'i ert*, 236 *par*, 260 *i* not added, 282 *puis*; sometimes it supports B: 23 *la scripture* (preserving the medial break), 276 *Dun entaillét sunt li parét*.[1] C shares a faulty or altered reading with A in vv. 6 (addition of *E*), 224 (*cesset* for *cestet*), 232 (*aler* for *haler*), and 254 (omission of *tuz*); with B in vv. 134 (*Sul* for *Sur*), 188 (*la* for *ja*), and perhaps 280 (*Entrerent enz* for *Entrent enenz*). The vocabulary and forms of C are often as archaic as those of A, e. g. *donz* 8, 194, *aloekes* 173, *eret* 222, *beitrer* 233, *alceur* 279.

§ 7. Conclusion

The results arrived at in the preceding sections may be expressed schematically as follows:



L represents the Latin prose translation (see ch. vi), R the Latin rimed translation (see ch. vii), λ and ρ the lost MSS. of the Anglo-Norman poem on which they are respectively based; ε is the work of the Picard reviser of the poem. A critical text can be obtained only from the x family. The text of x has been reconstructed in the manner indicated in § 5; the few faulty readings that it contains have been eliminated as far as possible, on the ground that they cannot (for reasons already stated) be due to the author. In a small number of instances an alteration or choice of reading has been based on C, L, or R.

[1] Cf. ch. viii, § 2, xxi.

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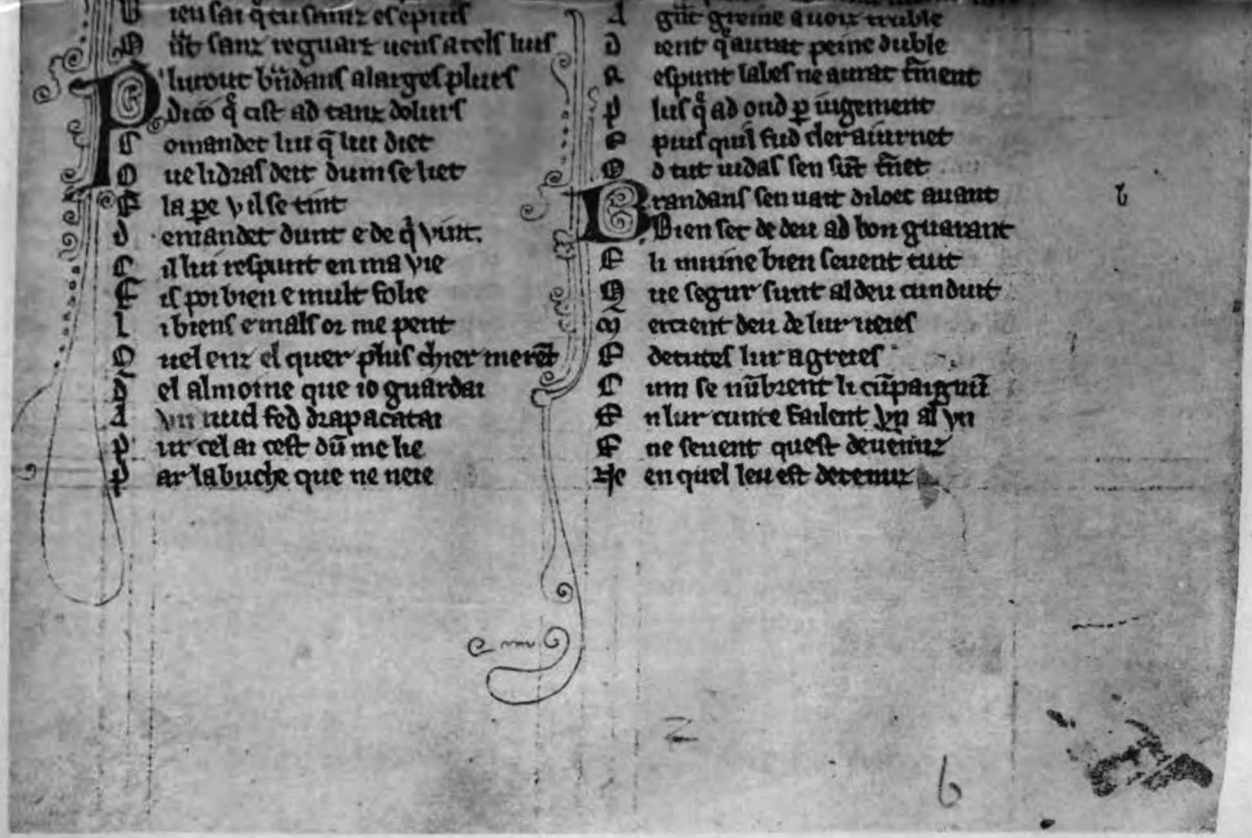
Epuis me fuit tut cest bevre
E plum remis od le quite
Al samedi puis me ruent
Li altre malf me muent
E puis sui mis en gaiole
Entur enfern nat si sole
En tut enfern nat si orde
En li descen e sanz corde
Loeces gis nai luur
En tenebres e en puur
Puurs i vient itant grande
E guart quant mes quer espande
E puis vomer pur le quere
Que cil la me firent beivre
Puis enfle fort e li quirs tent
Anguisus sui p poi ne fent
Tels calz tels freiz e tels iduls
Suffret iudas e tels dolurs
Siai fud er al samedi
Veine ci entre nune e midi
h vi mei repos a cest sedeir
Veneres aurai mal seir
Qd diables lenes vendrunt
Ne aurai repos quant mei tendunt
Mais si tu es de tel saveir

Dunt lunde vent en le vis devant
Alquels p cest ai de guarant
Ma en enfern ne me valt rien
Nunt de pre ne fud mun bien
Ayn aigue fis yn muntel
Puis de fuls yn fort puncel
V mult home pesseient
Mais puis bien i guatt sereient
Munt doc aici refrigerie
E si grande mansuetie.
Cum aprismout vers le pinseir
Dunc vit Brendans q q dist veir
Vit venir deables mil
Od turmentes e grant peril
Ferent dient a tel dolent
Salt luns avant al croc le prent
Brendans lur dist laisez li ci
Desq al matin q sent lets di
Cil li dient e calengent
Ne laissunt pas que nel pergent
Dunc dist Brendans io vus comant
De Jhesu faz mun guarant
Cil le laisent e alsorce
Tynt nient ale storce
Brendans estait iloec la nuit
...ad mal fez q mult ...



MS. BRIT. MUS. COTTON VESPASIAN B. X, fo. 9 r°

(MS. A, vv. 1415–1502)

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V. The Relation of the Anglo-Norman Poem to the Navigatio Sancti Brendani

The author of the poem gives no hint as to his source, merely stating, in vv. 9–13 of the prologue, that he has put into writing in the Romance (i.e. French) tongue the story of the good abbot Brendan. That the source was not French is clear from the wording of v. 11. In favour of a Celtic source there is no evidence whatever; the personal knowledge of Brendan's homeland which vv. 163–4 seem to imply is illusory.[1] It cannot be doubted that the source was a Latin one, in all probability the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*.[2] This celebrated prose work was read, copied, and translated throughout Europe in the Middle Ages, far surpassing in popularity all other versions of the legend.[3] The Anglo-Norman poem is by no means a close translation from the Latin, and its dependence on the *Navigatio* is not so obvious as in the case of most other renderings; but there is ample internal evidence to prove that the *Navigatio* was its source.

A detailed discussion of the origin and formation of the *Navigatio*, or of its historical and literary interest, would be out of place here.[4] It will suffice to say that, according to the view now generally held, the *Navigatio* is a Christianized *imram*, or prose story of an adventurous sea-voyage. The *imram* is a literary genre which flourished in Ireland between the sixth and twelfth centuries; a few *imrama* are still extant, including one which has striking affinities with the Brendan

[1] See the note to v. 164.

[2] H. Suchier, in Boehmer's *Romanische Studien*, i, p. 555, seems to have been the first to state this point explicitly. F. Novati (*La 'Navigatio Sancti Brendani' in antico veneziano*, Bergamo, 1892, ch. iii of Introduction) suggested that the source of the Anglo-Norman poem differed from the vulgate version of the *Navigatio*; but the present chapter aims at showing that all the divergences are the result of alterations by the Anglo-Norman author. On the Latin prose version in which C. Plummer believed that he had found the source of the poem, see ch. vi.

[3] On other medieval versions see H. Zimmer, in *Ztschr. f. deutsches Alterthum*, xxxiii, pp. 129 ff.; A. Schulze, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, xxx, pp. 257 ff.; C. Plummer, in *Ztschr. f. celt. Phil.*, v, pp. 124 ff. Zimmer believed in the existence of another Latin version, now lost, presumed to be the source of some of the German versions. Similarly F. Novati (*op. cit.*, ch. ii) postulated an altered form of the *Navigatio* as the source of the Italian versions.

[4] See G. Schirmer, *Zur Brendanus-Legende*, Habilitationsschrift, Leipzig, 1888; and the above-mentioned works of Zimmer and Schulze.

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story, namely the *Imram Maelduin.*[1] As to why the saintly Brendan of Clonfert (d. 576) became the hero of such a legend no convincing explanation has yet been put forward. The conversion of these romantic, often poetic, but entirely pagan stories into an edifying tale of saintly endeavour, suitable for monastic reading, is one of the most remarkable *tours de force* in the history of literature. The known facts regarding Brendan's career and the formation of his legend have been conveniently summarized by C. Wahlund,[2] whose work should also be consulted for its valuable bibliographical information. The date of composition of the *Navigatio* is unknown, but cannot have been later than the tenth century, and may have been as early as the ninth; the oldest extant MSS. date from the tenth century, and in them the text has already become corrupted.[3]

The vogue enjoyed by the *Navigatio* in the Middle Ages is attested by the existence to-day of not less than 80 MSS., scattered all over Europe.[4] Unfortunately this abundance of material has its drawbacks. The self-sacrificing scholar who will collate and classify the whole of these MSS. has not yet been found. A partial attempt at classification was made by C. Steinweg, on the basis of 31 MSS. wholly or partly collated; but his argumentation and conclusions are open to serious objections,[5] and the whole task needs to be taken in hand afresh. For the present we must depend on the editions, based on one or several MSS., published by A. Jubinal,[6] C. Schröder,[7]

[1] Edited, with English translation, by Whitley Stokes in *Revue celtique*, ix, pp. 447 ff., and x, pp. 50 ff.; with French translation, by F. Lot, in d'Arbois de Jubainville's *Cours de littérature celtique*, v, 1892, pp. 455 ff.; see also G. Schirmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 42 ff.; H. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 150 ff.; C. Boser, in *Romania*, xxii, pp. 578 ff.

[2] *Die altfranz. Prosaübersetzung von Brendans Meerfahrt*, Upsala, 1900, Introduction.

[3] G. Schirmer, *op. cit.*, p. 68, ascribed the *Navigatio* to the ninth century; C. Steinweg (see below), p. 48, to the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth. H. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, argued for the middle of the eleventh century as the date of composition; but this is much too late, cf. F. Novati, *op. cit.*, ch. i; C. Boser, in *Romania*, xxii, p. 589; C. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, i, Oxford, 1910, p. xli, note.

[4] 74 MSS. were listed by C. Steinweg, *Die handschriftlichen gestaltungen der lateinischen Navigatio Brendani*, in *Roman. Forschungen*, vii, Erlangen, 1891, pp. 2 ff.; seven others were mentioned by C. Wahlund, *op. cit.*, p. xxx.

[5] Cf. C. Boser, in *Romania*, xxii, pp. 578 ff.

[6] *La légende latine de S. Brandaines*, Paris, 1836, pp. 1–53; edition based on Paris MSS. Cf. Schröder, p. xviii; Steinweg, pp. 23 f.

[7] *Sanct Brandan*, Erlangen, 1871, pp. 3–36; based on two MSS., at Leipzig and Wolfenbüttel respectively.

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P. F. Moran,[1] the Benedictines of Monte Cassino,[2] the Bollandists,[3] and C. Wahlund,[4] and on those early MSS. which happen to be available.[5] For the purpose of this chapter, the texts of Schröder and Wahlund have been constantly utilized, while others have been consulted in special cases. Owing to the freedom with which the Anglo-Norman author has retold the story, the lack of a critical edition of the *Navigatio* does not seriously hamper our investigation of its relation to the poem.

A comparison of the two texts is facilitated by the character of the story. The poem, like the *Navigatio*, consists of a series of episodes, each usually self-contained and but loosely connected with the remainder. Although the order of the episodes is not wholly haphazard,[6] the unity of the tale depends mainly on the fact that the same party of voyagers undergoes each adventure. The Anglo-Norman text has therefore been divided up in this edition into sections corresponding as nearly as possible to those of the *Navigatio*; complete correspondence is impossible, owing to the alterations introduced by the poet. The sections of the poem have purposely not been numbered, the many different numberings of the sections of the *Navigatio* being already sufficiently confusing.[7] Calmund[8] has summarized in parallel columns the subject-matter of the *Navigatio* and the poem respectively, indicating the discrepancies between the two. Our present plan is to take each episode of the poem in turn, examine its relation to the *Navigatio*, and discuss the divergences.

(N = *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*; sections as in Wahlund's edition.
P = the Anglo-Norman poem.)

Vv. 1–18. The prologue or dedication in P naturally has no counterpart in N.

[1] *Acta Sancti Brendani*, Dublin, 1872, pp. 85–131. Cf. Steinweg, p. 23.

[2] *Bibliotheca Casinensis*, iii, Monte Cassino, 1877, pp. 411 ff.

[3] *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae ex Codice Salmanticensi* . . . edita opera C. de Smedt et J. de Backer, Edinburgh and London, 1888, cols. 113 ff. Cf. Steinweg, pp. 29–32.

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 2–100 ('Kompromiss-Text') and pp. 102–200 (text of MS. Bibl. Nat., lat. 15076).

[5] In Oxford, for instance, the Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 410, fol. 40 b–68 a. The tenth-century MS. at the British Museum (Add. 36736, fol. 168 b–240 b) has also been consulted.

[6] Cf. pp. cii ff.

[7] For a concordance, see the footnotes to Wahlund's second text of the *Navigatio* (pp. 102–200).

[8] *Prolegomena* . . ., pp. 152–207.

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Vv. 19–38. Saint Brendan: his ancestry, country, status and character; = N § 1. The poet has merely amplified the bald statements of N, but omitting the names of persons and places (all somewhat outlandish, and of no interest to an Anglo-Norman audience).

Vv. 39–70. His desire to see the Other World. Brendan beseeches God that before dying he may see paradise and hell. This passage corresponds to nothing in N, and appears to have been invented by the poet in order to account more satisfactorily for Brendan's surprising resolve. In N Brendan's desire is due (so far as we can tell) to curiosity, awakened by a chance meeting with Barintus; whereas in P it is the result of his pious reflections and enterprising spirit.[1] On the whole the innovation, though not specially ingenious, seems an improvement.

Vv. 71–102. The narrative of Barintus; = N § 2, but greatly altered and abridged. In N Barintus visits Brendan—whether purposely, is not stated; in P Brendan goes to Barintus for information and advice; in both Brendan clearly knows beforehand that Barintus has been on a marvellous voyage across the ocean. The poet has wisely ignored the incomprehensible melancholy and tears of Barintus on his meeting with Brendan. The only personal information about Barintus vouchsafed by N is the name of his uncle; P, on the other hand, describes him as a hermit living in the woods with three hundred monks. The Anglo-Norman author may well be held responsible for these alterations; the hermit in the wood, to whom all classes resorted for absolution and advice, was a stock figure in medieval literature.[2] Barintus' description of his voyage in search of his godson Mernoc,[3] and of his stay on the *insula deliciosa* is briefly (and rather obscurely) summarized in P. His visit to the *Terra repromissionis sanctorum*, described in detail in N, has been omitted altogether in P; although the mention in vv. 95–6 of the scent of the flowers of paradise shows that the poet was familiar with the whole episode. This important omission

[1] This point is insisted on in vv. 40–1: *Cum hoem qui ert de mult grant sens, De grans cunseils e de rustes.*

[2] Cf. Ogrin in Beroul's *Tristan*; branch viii of the *Roman de Renart*; *Le chevalier au barisel*; &c., &c.

[3] Contrary to the statement of Steinweg (p. 9), *Mernoc* appears to be the original form; cf. C. Wahlund, *Brendans Meerfahrt*, pp. lvii and 231. Some MSS. of the *Navigatio* have corrupted *Mernoc atque procurator* into *Mernocatus procurator*.

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is advantageous from a literary point of view, the description of paradise being reserved to form an effective climax at the end of the story. To introduce, as N does, a full description of the voyagers' goal at the very outset results not merely in repetition but also in an inartistic anti-climax. The presence on Mernoc's island of the scent which enabled Barintus to dispense with food and drink is explained in P as due to the nearness of the island to paradise; whereas in N Mernoc and Barintus are stated to have brought it back in their clothes on returning from paradise.

Vv. 103–156. Brendan chooses fourteen companions, secures their co-operation, and prepares for departure; = N § 3. In N Brendan, in order to make his first proposal to the fourteen chosen monks, shuts himself with them in an oratory; in P this detail is omitted, and the first speech is briefly and indirectly reported (vv. 109–10). On the other hand P adds a number of interesting details, for the most part such as would naturally suggest themselves to a clerical writer: the monks divide up into pairs to discuss Brendan's proposal (v. 112), Brendan exacts from them a pledge of constancy (vv. 117–22), he addresses them a second time in the chapter-house (vv. 125–34), and an angel brings him instructions for the voyage (vv. 137–44). In both N and P Brendan decrees a fast of three days a week for forty days, at the end of which he commends his community to the prior. Brendan's farewell, indicated in N, is more fully developed in P (vv. 145–56). At the end of this section, N mentions that Brendan and his fourteen companions paid a visit of three days and nights to the isle of a holy father named Aende; the poet has wisely omitted this episode, which contributes nothing to the story.

Vv. 157–184. Preparations for the voyage: the starting-point chosen, the boat constructed and provisioned; = N § 4. In this section P follows N fairly closely, but there are two interesting discrepancies. The point of embarkation, which is more fully described in P (vv. 167–72) than in N, is designated *sedes Brendani* in N, *le Salt Brandan* in P (v. 164). Again, whereas in N the boat is described as a coracle, with a frame of exceedingly light material (*naviculam levissimam costatam et columnatam ex vimine*,[1] *sicut mos est in illis partibus*), in P timber is mentioned (*mairen*

[1] So Wahlund's 'Kompromiss-Text', p. 10, line 25; his second text (p. 110, line 25) and Schröder's edition have *ex silva*.

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174, *fust sapin* 175). These discrepancies are discussed in the notes.

Vv. 185–202. The three intruding monks; = N § 5. There is one slight discrepancy: in N, when the monks appear, Brendan is standing alone on the shore and blessing the harbour before embarking; in P (v. 187) he is already on board when they appeal to him for admission.

Vv. 203–264. The first voyage; = N § 6. This section furnishes a particularly interesting example of re-treatment by the Anglo-Norman author, who has introduced into the narrative not only more logic and coherence, but also a different ideal from that of N. In N the monks do not row so long as the wind is favourable, but when (after fifteen days) the wind fails they row until their strength gives out; whereupon Brendan exhorts them not to lose heart but to leave their sail spread and entrust themselves to God. They therefore let themselves drift until forty days have gone by and their food comes to an end. In P, on the other hand, the monks begin, with excessive enthusiasm, by rowing[1] even though the wind is favourable; when the wind fails, they become dismayed, but Brendan encourages them, and wisely advises them to row only when necessary. They therefore continue to row energetically until forty days are completed, when their provisions come to an end, their strength fails, and fear enters their hearts. There is no doubt that the version of P is superior: the lack of food furnishes a reasonable explanation of the monks' fear and loss of strength. All through the poem the willingness, or rather anxiety, of Brendan and his monks to toil and undergo hardship for a pious purpose is their most conspicuous virtue. Vv. 241–6, which have no basis in N, emphasize the moral of this episode (viz. 'God helps those that help themselves') and justify the changes introduced. Apart from this main point, we may note that P has omitted certain details found in N: the monks' attempt to obtain fresh water from the streams which descend from the island, Brendan's stern rebuke, and his prohibition of the removal of any furniture from the ship. On the other hand P has added some picturesque details in vv. 203–8 (Brendan's prayer and blessing for his monks), 213–14 (the monks see naught save sea and sky), and 257–8 (the perils of the rocky shore).

[1] Note that *nager* in this text always signifies 'to row', though *navigare* in N means either 'to row' or 'to sail'. 'To sail' is either *curre* or *sigler*.

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Vv. 265–306. The uninhabited city; = N § 7, first part. In N (end of § 6) a dog meets the voyagers as they walk along the shore, and acts as guide; P omits this picturesque trait. The descriptions of the town and palace show numerous discrepancies. N speaks of a stronghold (*oppidum*) containing a single great hall (*aulam magnam*); P describes a city of many palaces (and yet uses the word *castel* in v. 267). P has omitted to mention the water for washing feet, the vessels, bridles, and horns hanging on the walls in the interior of the hall, the table which the voyagers find ready laid for them, with its linen and the repast of fishes and white loaves. On the other hand, P has added particulars of the splendour of the castle as seen from without (vv. 268–70), its wall of crystal (v. 272), the palaces all built of marble (vv. 273–4), the walls adorned inside with gems set in gold (vv. 275–6), and the plate of gold and silver (vv. 291–2). Apparently the poet has sought to add to the interest and marvellousness of the story, perhaps also to please his court audience, by increasing the magnificence of the descriptions and introducing in each case the most precious materials known to him. It may also be noted that P mentions explicitly (v. 278) what is left to inference in N—that no human being is visible in the city.

Vv. 307–354. The stolen goblet; = N § 7, middle part, but with important differences. The Anglo-Norman poet has made an intelligent alteration in this episode. In N (at the beginning of § 7) on arriving in the hall Brendan explicitly declares that he sees Satan tempting one of the three intruding monks to steal; the subsequent theft, committed in the face of this direct warning, becomes highly improbable. In P (vv. 297–8) Brendan merely gives the monks a general warning against disloyalty to God, and there is no serious improbability. The object stolen in N is a silver bridle (*frenum argenteum*),[1] apparently one of those previously described as hanging on the wall; in P this is replaced by a golden goblet (*un hanap d'or*), perhaps because the author did not regard a silver bridle as sufficiently desirable to justify the commission of the crime. The strange detail of the negro boy (*infantem ethyopem*) who in N plays with the bridle in front of the thievish monk, and is later seen to fly from the monk's bosom when he repents, was passed over by the poet, who speaks merely of

[1] The translation of *frenum* in this passage as 'bridle' has been disputed; cf. Wahlund's note, pp. 237 f.

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'a devil.' Other details omitted in P are the casting down of the stolen article by the detected thief, the devil's claim to have occupied his abode for seven years, and Brendan's reply forbidding him to harm any other human being until the Day of Judgement. The quaint passage (vv. 323–6) in which the poet emphasizes Brendan's ability to see in the dark without a candle has no counterpart in N.

Vv. 355–376. God provides all necessaries; = N § 7, last part. The passages in N and P correspond, except that N speaks of 'a youth' but P of 'a messenger', the message is somewhat expanded in P, and P adds reflections (vv. 371–6) on the all-providing solicitude of God.

Vv. 377–434. The Isle of Sheep; = N § 8. The poet has omitted to mention the abundance of streams and fish-pools on the island, the docility of the sheep which is captured for the voyagers' Easter dinner, and the seizure of a lamb as well as the sheep; and the conversation between Brendan and the messenger has been abridged and altered. Additions in P are the description of the messenger (vv. 407–8), Brendan's inquiry as to his mode of life, and the vague reply (vv. 413–16). In N the great sheep are compared to oxen, in P to stags.

Vv. 435–480. The great fish, on whose back the voyagers celebrate Easter; = N § 9. Several traits are omitted in P: the fact that the boat could not be brought to land, the rocky and bare (yet slightly wooded) character of the island,[1] the name *Jasconius*,[2] and the animal's unavailing efforts (according to Brendan) to unite head and tail; the last-mentioned detail is in any case quite out of place here, and one may doubt whether it was in the original text of N. On the other hand the poet has added some happy realistic touches: the steward's invitation to the monks to sit down to dinner (vv. 451–2), Brendan's reassuring words (vv. 457–60), his throwing of staves and ropes to the sinking monks (v. 461), and the wetting of the monks' clothes (v. 462). The pious reflections in vv. 472–8 are also peculiar to P. Unlike N, P avoids mentioning[3] that there is anything unusual about the island until it actually begins to move, and thus reserves an entertaining

[1] The *Navigatio* unskilfully combines two or more different versions of the fish-island legend. Cf. J. Runeberg, *Le Conte de l'Île-Poisson*, in *Memoires de la Société Néo-philologique à Helsingfors*, iii, 1902, pp. 343 ff.

[2] Given later, in v. 839; cf. the note to this verse.

[3] Except for a hint in v. 428.

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surprise for the reader. Whereas N tells us that the fire on the animal's back could be seen more than two miles off, P (v. 465) with poetic exaggeration extends the distance to ten leagues.

Vv. 481–580. The Paradise of Birds; = N § 10, first part. There are numerous minor divergences in this episode. P omits to mention the grassy and wooded character of the island and the fact that Brendan sits alone in the boat as the monks draw it up the narrow stream. The tree covered with white birds is described in N as immensely broad but of no great height, its branches and leaves being almost hidden by the birds; in P we are told that the tree rose above the clouds, and that its leaves were broad and spotted with red and white (vv. 493–6). In N Brendan is filled with the most violent curiosity on seeing the tree; P insists less on this state of mind, which hardly agrees with the poet's conception of the saint's character. In the speech by the talking bird, the account of Satan's wisdom, of his pre-eminent position, and of his fall (vv. 525–36),[1] and the disclosure of the name of the island to Brendan (v. 546) have been added in P; so also the passage in which the birds thank God for sending them consolation (vv. 560–8). Whereas in N the fallen angels are stated to receive bird form only on holy days and Sundays, in P their metamorphosis appears to be permanent. The poet has reduced the list of canonical hours sung by the birds, and omitted all the actual words of the versicles sung, whether by the birds or by the monks. In N, at the end of the episode Brendan proposes to use as food and drink the spring from which the stream issues, whereupon God's messenger arrives and warns him not to do so; this passage is not represented in P.

Vv. 581–622. Preparations for the second year; = N § 10, latter part, except the last sentence. The following details given by P are not in N: the bi-weekly visit of the messenger (vv. 593–4), the renovation of the boat (vv. 597–602), the directions given by the messenger (vv. 611–12), and the bird's prophecy of hardships to come (v. 616). The poet does not mention that the water (*beivre* 605) which the voyagers take with them comes from the spring which (in N) they had previously been forbidden to drink. The words *uit meis enters* P 617 seem to be a misinterpretation of the words used in N (*post octo menses*).[2]

Vv. 623–780. The Isle of Ailbe; = N § 11, with the last sentence

[1] See the note to v. 521.

[2] See the note to v. 607.

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of § 10. This episode has been thoroughly revised by the Anglo-Norman poet. At the outset (end of § 10) N is unusually vague as to the duration of the journey, merely stating that for three months the voyagers could see only sea and sky, and that after sighting an island they spent forty days sailing round it without finding a harbour. The poet has made his own calculation, filling in the period between Whitsun and Christmas: the voyagers sight land after four months, but are unable to draw near to it until the sixth month (vv. 627–30); then they skirt the coast for forty days before they find a haven. The aged monk who meets the voyagers shortly after they land is described in N as *senex nimie gravitatis*, i.e. exceedingly venerable; the author of P appears to have interpreted this expression as meaning that the monk was of great stature (v. 656), and explains that the company would have been frightened at him, but for his monastic habit. In N, when Brendan realizes that the monk may not speak, he orders his followers also to observe the rule of silence; not so in P. The procession organized by the disciples of Ailbe in order to welcome the voyagers gives the poet an opportunity to indulge his taste for gorgeous detail (vv. 675–92); on the other hand he omits the words of the versicle with which the newcomers are greeted. The scenes which follow are somewhat confused and long-drawn-out in N; in P they have been rearranged and condensed, the long descriptions of the church, the methods of observing the rule of silence, the celebration of compline, and the miraculous lighting of the lamps have been dispensed with, and the two explanatory speeches by the abbot (during dinner and after compline) have been combined into one (after the service following dinner). Other details omitted in P are the washing of feet and hands, the ringing of the bell during dinner, and the abbot's prediction of the fate of the two intruding monks. Details added in P are the *servise bel e leger* (v. 697), the reading aloud during dinner (v. 700), the singing of *miserere* (vv. 709-10), and the account of St. Ailbe (vv. 723–38).[1]

Vv. 781–822. The intoxicating spring; = N § 12. The briefly-mentioned episode of the becalmed and coagulated sea (vv. 791–4) is, however, derived from the beginning of N § 13. In the spring episode P follows N fairly closely, but uses terser and more vigorous language; the 'moral' in vv. 821–2 is an addition. The poet omits to mention in conclusion that the monks loaded their boat

[1] See the note on this passage.

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with supplies of fish, water, and roots, and that they travelled northwards.

Vv. 823–896. Friends revisited; = N § 13, but without the 'coagulated sea' episode. This passage being mainly repetition of the events of a year before, the poet has left out numerous details. A regrettable omission is that of the little scene in which Brendan asks the monks whether they recognize the land just sighted; as they do not, he informs them that it is the land where the *procurator* (God's messenger) dwells, whereupon they row with renewed (and excessive) vigour, until Brendan chides them for relying on their own strength rather than God's. P does not mention how the *procurator* puts out in a small boat to meet and guide the voyagers, how he pronounces a versicle and gives them instructions, or how he loads their boat with supplies for the period of their Easter rest. Other omissions are Brendan's hymn-singing and warnings on reaching the fish-island, the sacrificing of a lamb on board ship, the words of the birds' song, and the prophecy by the talking bird of the voyagers' visit to paradise and return home. Details added in P are the greater security felt by the monks on the fish-island (vv. 841–2 and 849), the use of chains to moor the boat on the Isle of Birds (v. 869), the monks' expectant watching for the *procurator* (v. 888), and the *procurator*'s farewell (vv. 893–6). Whereas in N it is the voyagers who pitch a tent on the Isle of Birds, in P it is the *procurator* who does so (v. 861). In N the *procurator*'s first leave-taking is placed after the bird's speech, but in P (vv. 863 ff.) before; and the description of the bird's flight in P (vv. 873–4) does not tally with that of N.

Vv. 897–968. The fight of the sea-serpents; = N § 14, first part, but greatly expanded. The first few sentences, describing the westward direction taken (v. 898), the sluggish sea (vv. 899–900),[1] and the storm which fills the monks with terror (vv. 903–6) have no basis in N. The creature which attacks the voyagers is described in N as a fish of immense size and speed, spouting foam from its nostrils; in P it is definitely called a sea-serpent (v. 909), and a vivid description is added (vv. 910–18) of its fiery breath, bull-like bellowings, and fearsome teeth. The combat between the two animals gave the poet another opportunity too good to be missed, and he made excellent use of it, developing the bald statement of N (*statim iniit bellum contra illam*) into an exciting and

[1] Apparently a mere repetition of the 'coagulated sea' episode (vv. 791 ff.).

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graphically described scene (vv. 937–56). The poet has omitted the words of Brendan's prayer before the combat, but added some pious reflections (vv.957–62)[1] and altered the form of the thanksgiving (vv. 963–6).

Vv. 969–1004. The voyagers are miraculously fed; = N § 14, latter part. This episode, an ingenious sequel to the preceding, presents several obscurities as related in N, but has been simplified and clarified in P. The poet makes it clear from the outset (N later only) that the voyagers are storm-bound on the island, and that their supplies are exhausted. Whereas in N the voyagers are detained for three months, and cut off portions of the slain sea-monster on two separate occasions, in P they quit the island as soon as the wind becomes favourable, and take a single supply of flesh sufficient to last them three months. The poet has omitted entirely the devouring of the remains of the sea-monster by wild beasts, and the finding of a spring with herbs and roots, both predicted by Brendan; though he mentions (vv. 1001–3) that the voyagers filled their casks with water and provided themselves with firewood. P also omits to mention the beauty and well-wooded character of the island, and ignores the statement (decidedly incongruous in this context) that Brendan had tasted nothing alcoholic since he became a priest. The lines explaining that the monks are now undismayed by perils (vv. 979–84) are an addition. P does not tell us that they resumed their voyage in a northerly direction.

At this point there occur in N two episodes which P has entirely omitted, viz. the Isle of the three Choirs (N § 15) and the Isle of Grapes (N § 16). The former is the most obscure and tedious episode in the whole work, and the poet showed sound judgement in omitting it. The mysterious *scaltae*, white and red, with which the island is covered,[2] puzzled the medieval as much as the modern reader. The long list of psalms sung by the choirs gives the episode an excessively ecclesiastical flavour, such as the Anglo-Norman poet avoided. In N one of the supernumerary monks is left behind to become a member of one of the choirs; the poet therefore has to devise some other fate for him (vv. 1499 ff.). The Isle of Grapes episode is shorter and more comprehensible,

[1] Possibly these lines were intended to form part of Brendan's speech; see the note.

[2] Variously explained as some kind of fruit or as mollusca; cf. Wahlund's note, pp. 251 f.

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and the scene in which a great bird drops a bunch of magnificent grapes into Brendan's lap is picturesque; but when compared with the exciting episodes which precede and follow, it appears relatively uninteresting. The omission of these two sections has made possible a steady progression of interest in this part of the story.

Vv. 1005–1034. Griffin versus dragon; = N § 17. The omission of the Isle of Grapes episode led the poet to introduce an alteration in this section. The *grips flammanz* of P (v. 1011) corresponds to the *avis que vocatur Griffa* of N; but its opponent the dragon has been substituted in P (v. 1020) for a bird of undefined nature. The reason is that, according to N, the bird which attacked the griffin was that very bird which a few days previously had dropped the grapes into Brendan's lap; the poet was therefore obliged to invent another adversary. In this episode, as in that of the sea-serpents, P has added vivid touches to the description of the two combatants (vv. 1013–21), as well as an account of the combat (vv. 1023–30). The lines describing the monks' confidence in God (vv. 1007–10) have no basis in N, which on the contrary depicts them as terrified by the new peril and needing encouragement from Brendan. The mention of the voyagers' Easter and Christmas rests, introduced at the end of the episode in N, has been omitted in P.

Vv. 1035–1066. The congregation of sea-monsters; = N § 18. In the presentation of this spirited little scene, N and P differ somewhat in their details, but not in any essential point. In N Brendan reminds the monks that they have frequently sat on the back of a sea-monster, lit a fire on him, &c.; P refers to their previous perils in general terms only (vv. 1057–8). At the end of the episode N mentions that it took Brendan eight days, with sails set and the wind favourable, to cross the transparent sea; this is missing in P.

Vv. 1067–1106. The great pillar and canopy; = N § 19. A number of divergences may be noted. Whereas N describes the pillar as of clearest crystal, in P it is of blue jacinth (v. 1069). The poet refuses to admit ignorance, as the monks do in N, of the material of which the canopy is made, and describes it as of finely-worked gold (v. 1077). In N the monks ship their oars, mast, and sails on reaching the canopy, while some of them are holding the fastenings of the canopy; in P they sail straight through it. P does not mention that it was a mile from canopy to column, that the sea

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was transparent, that the sun was as bright inside as outside the canopy, that Brendan measured an opening in the canopy, or that he spent four days in measuring the sides of the column. On the other hand P adds a description of the altar and its appurtenances (vv. 1083–9), and explains (somewhat incongruously) that Brendan decided not to probe too deeply into God's secrets (vv. 1093–4). In N Brendan appropriates a chalice and a paten, in P a chalice only (vv. 1097–8). According to N the monks had suffered no hunger or thirst since sighting the column; nothing is said of this in P. Vv. 1101–6 of P, developing a favourite idea of the Anglo-Norman author (viz., the monks' eagerness to endure hardship) have no basis in N.

Vv. 1107–1186. The smithy of hell; =N § 20. According to N the monks set up their mast and sails again on passing out of the canopy, and then journeyed northwards with a favourable wind for eight days; these particulars are not in P. In P Brendan informs the monks explicitly of the proximity of hell as they near the Isle of Smiths (vv. 1119–20), in N not until the very close of the episode. Whereas in N Brendan prays for deliverance and makes the sign of the cross over himself, in P (vv. 1121–4) he warns the monks of their danger and makes the sign of the cross over them. The poet has taken a delight in adding lurid details to the descriptions of the island (vv. 1108–14), the smithy (vv. 1127–34), and the demon who tries to annihilate the voyagers (vv. 1137–46), and in expanding the description of the hurling of a missile at them (vv. 1149–64). The fiery mass of slag (*massam igneam de scoria*) which the demon hurls in N is rather oddly rendered in P by *lamme* 'blade of metal' (v. 1147, &c.). In N, when one demon had set the example, all the other inhabitants of the island rushed to the shore and hurled masses of metal either at the voyagers or at one another, and the sea behind the boat seethed 'like a cooking-pot full of meat when it is well heated by fire'; the poet, rather strangely, has omitted this effective scene (although v. 1169, mentioning the lighting-up of the island by its inhabitants, is based on the same passage). The poet's reflections on the blessedness of enduring peril and hardship (vv. 1177–86) have no basis in N.

Vv. 1187–1214. The smoke-capped mountain; = N § 21. The passages in N and P correspond fairly closely. A few details have been added in P to the description of the mountain (vv. 1195–6, not very clear) and its volcanic activity (vv. 1211–14). The monk who

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leaps overboard explains in P that he is snatched away on account of his sins (v. 1204), but this might be inferred from the narrative of N.

Vv. 1215–1498. Judas; = N § 22, but greatly expanded. The poet has sought to heighten the effect of this episode in two principal ways: by adding terrifying details to the description of hell and the torments undergone by Judas, and by evoking sympathy for the sufferer. Few if any individuals exercised the medieval imagination more than Judas Iscariot, whose early career, life as a disciple, death, and punishment all became the subject of legend and conjecture.[1] The elaborate account of Judas's weekly round of torments (vv. 1359–1432), intended to inspire horror and awe, is a product of the poet's own imagination; or rather, perhaps, it is a condensation in literary form of the popular medieval view of hell, such as is constantly reflected in medieval painting and sculpture. This was doubtless the passage of the poem which most impressed the medieval hearer or reader[2]; but to the modern reader such a cycle of horrors, all purely physical, appears merely repulsive and grotesque. Of greater interest is the attempt to create sympathy for Judas, already indeed indicated in N, but elaborated in the poem to a remarkable degree. Thus the passages describing Judas's piteous lamentations (vv. 1241–54), his hoarse and weary voice (vv. 1269–70), and his experience of the two different but equally terrible hells (vv. 1323–58) have all been added in P; and the intense grief felt by Brendan and manifested in his abundant tears (vv. 1256, 1267–8, 1445–6) had been left to inference in N. Judas's account of his own misdeeds (vv. 1271–1306) is another addition for which the poet is responsible.[3] Few of the details found in N have been omitted by the poet in this section. At the beginning of the episode he has omitted the direction and duration of the voyage, and the pointless dispute between the monks as to whether the object sighted was a bird or a ship. More important is his omission of the two iron forks (*duas furcillas ferreas*) to which the

[1] Cf. W. Creizenach, *Judas Ischarioth in Legende und Sage des Mittelalters*, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, ii (1876), pp. 177 ff.; P. F. Baum, *The Mediaeval Legend of Judas Iscariot*, in *Publications M. L. A. America*, xxxi (1916), pp. 481–632; id., *Judas' Sunday Rest*, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xviii, pp. 168 ff.

[2] The scribes of MSS. A, B, and E in this passage made lavish use of ornamented capitals, one to indicate the beginning of each day's torments.

[3] See the note.

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cloth protecting Judas's face was hung, and of the reason for their presence[1]; his description of the cloth as bound round Judas's face (v.1229) is relatively unconvincing. He has also neglected to mention a link between this episode and the preceding one; in N (but not in P) Judas explains that the place where he burns in hell-fire is the smoky mountain where the voyagers lost one of their number, and that the emission of flames seen by them (vv. 1211 ff. in P) was hell's rejoicing at the engulfing of a sinner. The latter part of the episode, describing the protection which Brendan for a while gives Judas against his tormentors, has been abridged in P; their appeal to Brendan to be gone, and their subsequent maledictions because he has caused them to be maltreated by their master, have been entirely omitted, and the dispute on the subject of the torments to be meted out to Judas has been shortened (vv. 1487–90). The following minor difference is worth noting: in N the devils complain that they cannot approach their companion Judas while Brendan is with him, whereas in P one rushes up to Judas and seizes him with a crook (v. 1474).

Vv. 1499–1510. A monk mysteriously disappears. This brief and rather unsatisfactory episode does not figure in N, but has been introduced by the author of P to account for the disappearance of the third of the intruding monks, and to fulfil Brendan's prophecy concerning them (vv. 199–202). In N one of these monks had been left behind on the Isle of the Three Choirs; but this episode was omitted by the poet, who therefore had to invent some substitute.[2]

Vv. 1511–1612. Paul the Hermit; = N § 23, except the last part. This episode, though interesting in itself, loses something of its effectiveness through being inserted between the episodes of hell and paradise; probably on that account the poet was inclined to shorten it, omitting even important details. He has at least avoided the mistake, made in N, of divulging (through the mouth of Brendan) the mystery of the rocky islet before the voyagers reach it. The

[1] Because Judas had given them to the priests of the Temple for the purpose of supporting the flesh-pots.

[2] It is noteworthy that neither N nor P accurately fulfils Brendan's prophecy. In both Brendan prophesies that one monk will be saved, the other two damned. In both, one of the monks commits theft, but repents of his sin and goes to paradise; another is left on the Isle of the Smoke-capped Mountain, i. e. in hell. As for the third, N leaves him on the Isle of the Three Choirs, presumably in beatitude; while P (vv. 1509–10) leaves his fate undecided.

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islet is somewhat differently described in N and P; according to N it is a small round island, the length, breadth, and height of which are equal, whereas P (v. 1512) speaks of *un munt mult halt tut sul en mer*. By not explicitly describing the two caves, the single bare rock (*nuda petra . . . in modum silicis*[1]), and the tiny spring issuing from the rock, the poet has rendered his account of the hermit's surroundings decidedly obscure (vv. 1520–1, 1591). The first part of the long interview between Paul and Brendan, in which each becomes filled with envy of the condition of the other, is omitted in P; so also is Paul's account of his life (as sexton) in the monastery of St. Patrick, and of the strange apparition which caused him to cross the ocean. Other points omitted in P are the southerly direction taken by the voyagers, the versicle with which Paul greets Brendan, the naïve description of the otter walking on its hind legs and carrying fuel in its fore paws,[2] the details of Paul's fire-making, and the use which he made of the spring (once a week only, for the first thirty years) for drinking and washing his hands. Details added in P are the angelic look of the hermit (v. 1537), the perpetual summer enjoyed on the islet (v. 1560), the hermit's freedom from all bodily ills (v. 1564), and the account of the cessation of the otter's visits (vv. 1585–90). Whereas according to N the otter brought a fish every third day, according to P (vv. 1573 ff.) a fish was brought three times a week.

Vv. 1613–1640. The end of the seventh year; = N § 23, last part. P does not mention the southerly direction of the voyage and its forty days' duration, the use made of the water supplied by the hermit, the reception of the voyagers by the *procurator*, the farewell wishes of the birds, and the last visit to the isle of the *procurator*, where (according to N) the ship was laden with provisions for the final stage of the voyage. A really surprising omission by P is that of the passage in which Jasconius, not giving the monks time to re-embark after their Easter mass, carries them on his back direct to the Isle of Birds.

Vv. 1641–1808. Paradise; = N § 24, but considerably expanded and altered. It was far more difficult for a medieval writer to interest himself, and his hearers or readers, in paradise than in hell. The author of N had, moreover, foolishly exhausted his ideas on

[1] Inadequately rendered by *une bodne*, v. 1520.

[2] According to P, the otter brings a bagful of dry sea-wrack hanging from its neck (vv. 1577–8).

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this subject at the very beginning of his work. The description in N of paradise as seen by Brendan and his monks is therefore brief, hackneyed, and uninteresting. The Anglo-Norman poet, who had left paradise undescribed at the outset, required a fairly full description of it at the conclusion in order to round off his work effectively. He made a limited use of the inadequate data supplied by N, but did not (so far as one can see) refer back to the description in N § 2. The greater part of his picture of paradise is derived from the Bible,[1] from current medieval ideas, and from his own imagination. The descriptions of the wall surrounding paradise (vv. 1675–1708), of the voyagers' entry through the gate (vv. 1709–34), of the beauties and joys of paradise (vv. 1737–72), and of the tour conducted by an angel (vv. 1773–1800) have all been added by the poet. In several respects P definitely disagrees with N. According to N, the *procurator* precedes the voyagers (in a boat?) in order to guide them on their journey; according to P (v. 1643) he is with them in their boat. In N they traverse the mist surrounding paradise after one hour; whereas in P (vv. 1661–72) a passage opens, along which they sail for three whole days. Paradise, as described in P, is enclosed by a great wall set on a mountain, only to be entered through a well-guarded gate; whereas in N there is no hint of any obstacle to the voyagers' entry. In N the voyagers wander through paradise for forty days by themselves, eating apples and drinking of springs, until they reach a great untraversable river, where a youth meets them; in P an angelic youth meets them as they approach the gate of paradise, and the whole of their tour is personally conducted. P does not, like N, mention that the visitors took away fruits as well as precious stones. It is not difficult to see that N has on the whole preserved the Celtic pagan conception of the promised land,[2] whereas the modifications introduced in P are largely based on the Bible. One other small but significant omission by P in this section will be dealt with later.[3]

Vv. 1809–40. Brendan's return and death; = N § 25. The MSS. of N may be divided into at least three groups, according to the development which they give to this episode.[4] The shortest

[1] See the notes to vv. 1675 ff. and 1709 ff.

[2] Cf. H. Zimmer, in *Ztschr. f. deutsches Alterthum*, xxxiii, pp. 257 ff.; A. Graf, *Il Mito del Paradiso Terrestre*, in *Miti, Leggende e Superstizioni del Medio Evo*, Turin, 1892 and 1925.

[3] p. ciii.

[4] Cf. Steinweg, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

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version[1] states merely that the voyagers returned to the Isle of Delights (*ad insulam que vocatur 'Deliciarum'*) and spent three days there, and that after receiving a blessing Brendan returned home. To this abrupt ending has been added in other MSS.[2] a passage describing the welcome which Brendan received from his community on his return, the relation by Brendan of his experiences, and his saintly death shortly after. In a third group of MSS. a similar but briefer addition is made. On the basis of this section, Steinweg divided the MSS. into three families, which he designated *m*, *c*, and *g* respectively. The Anglo-Norman poet followed a MS. belonging to either the *c* or the *g* group. He omitted, however, the visit to the Isle of Delights and the pious details concerning Brendan's death; and he did not state (as do MSS. of the *c* family) that Brendan's death took place shortly after his return, though the angel's prophecy in v. 1802 indicates that this detail was known to him. He added that the return voyage lasted three months (v. 1819), and that many of those who heard Brendan's narrative became pious or saintly (vv. 1833, 1836; cf. 1840).

It might be suggested that the Anglo-Norman writer utilized a form of the *Navigatio* differing from that which is known to-day, and that some of the simplifications, rearrangements, and other changes which we have ascribed to the poet may really be derived from a more primitive version of the story. Undoubtedly the *Navigatio* contains phrases and passages which create a strong impression that they are interpolations, and the removal of which would improve the coherence and the artistic effect of the work. It is conceivable that among the many MSS. of the *Navigatio* which still await examination there may be found an earlier and purer version. But the MSS. that have hitherto been printed or examined do not show notable divergences, apart from the final episode and the vagaries of individual scribes. All the principal differences between the *Navigatio* and the poem can be equally well, and often better, explained as alterations introduced by the Anglo-Norman author in accordance with his own views, tastes, or purposes. All the evidence as to the poet's habits which we have been able to gather from a close study of his work makes it unlikely that he would have been content with a mere translation. It is moreover very improbable that his poem would

[1] e.g. in Wahlund's edition, pp. 98–100.

[2] Cf. Schröder's edition, p. 36.

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have been twice rendered back into Latin, if it had been itself a close translation from the Latin. In several instances where the poet has omitted a passage found in the *Navigatio* (e.g. Barintus' visit to the *Terra Repromissionis*, the warning against using the spring on the Isle of Birds, the concerted attack on the voyagers by the inhabitants of the Isle of Smiths), the context furnishes clear evidence that he was familiar with the whole episode. Moreover, from time to time he has rendered lines or phrases of the *Navigatio* almost literally, e.g.:

251–2 *Mais n'i truvent nul' entrethe U lur nef fust eschipede* = N § 6 *tamen minime potuerunt invenire portum ubi staret navis.*

261–3 *Un port truvent . . . Mais n'i out leu fors de une nef* = N § 6 *invenerunt portum ubi erat aditus unius navis.*

420–1 *Ja ci traite n'ert öeile ; L'ivers nen i fait rancune* = N § 8 *Nemo colligit lac de ovibus in hac insula, nec hiems destringit illas.*

469–71 *N'est pas terre, ainz est beste U feïmes nostre feste, Pessuns de mer sur les greinurs* = N § 9 *Insula non est ubi fuimus, sed piscis, prior omnium natantium in oceano.*

645–6 *E funtaine trovent duble, L'une clere, l'altre truble* = N § 11 *duo fontes, unus turbidus et alter clarus.*

805–6 *L'abes lur dist: 'N'aiez cure De beivre trop sans mesure'* = N § 12 *dixit vir Dei: 'Cavete, fratres, ne ultra modum utamini his aquis.'*

811–14 *Quar li sumnes lur cureit sus . . . ; Qui trop beveit giseit enclins, Tel jurn, tel dous, tel tres entrins* = N § 12 *in quos irruit sopor trium dierum ac noctium, in alios quoque duorum dierum, in reliquos vero unius diei et noctis.*

Many similar parallels could be quoted, notably from the description of Brendan's preparations for the voyage, from the 'Paradise of Birds' episode, and from the speech of the abbot of the monastery of St. Ailbe. In view of these verbal coincidences we may reasonably hold that the version of the *Navigatio* followed by Benedeit was the same as that which is still extant.

As a result of our detailed comparison between the Anglo-Norman poem and the *Navigatio*, we are now in a position to judge the poet's attitude towards his source, and to throw some light on his own temperament and literary powers. The general outline of the story has been little altered. The poet has omitted two of the main

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episodes, those of the Isle of the Three Choirs and the Isle of Grapes; also a few minor episodes or parts of episodes, notably Barintus' visit to the *terra repromissionis*, the visit of Brendan and his companions to Aende, the measuring of the pillar and canopy, and the voyage on the back of Jasconius. He has added certain episodes or parts of episodes for which no basis can be found in the *Navigatio*, notably Brendân's supplications to God that he may be shown paradise and hell (vv. 39–70), the mysterious disappearance of a monk (vv. 1499–1510), and the entry through the gates of paradise (vv. 1709–34). Other episodes have been transformed: the visit of Barintus to Brendan has become a visit paid by Brendan to Barintus (vv. 73 ff.), the bird which attacks the griffin has become a dragon (vv. 1020 ff.), and the aimless wandering through paradise has become a systematic survey with an angel as guide (vv. 1735 ff.). The brief episode of the 'coagulated sea' (vv. 791–4) has been placed before instead of after the episode of the intoxicating spring. Apart from these differences, none of which are fundamental, the narrative is the same in the poem as in the *Navigatio*, and the episodes follow each other in precisely the same order.

The reasons for the alterations introduced by the poet are usually not difficult to detect, especially if we remember that he was an intelligent and well-educated cleric, that he possessed a certain artistic sense and took a keen pride in his work (cf. ch. iii), and that he was rewriting the story for the benefit (probably) of a court audience, at the command of a young queen. He had to make the narrative coherent, and intelligible to the average mind; hence the omission of obscure or pointless passages such as the melancholy behaviour of Barintus (N § 2), the visit to Aende, the devouring of the sea-monster's remains by wild beasts (N § 14), and the early history of Paul the Hermit. He had to avoid tedium; hence the omission of an uninteresting episode such as that of the Isle of the Three Choirs, and the reduction of an over-long episode like that of the Isle of Ailbe. He sought to avoid anti-climax (hence the description of paradise was reserved for the end of the story), to give the tale a more orthodox Christian flavour (hence the thorough renovation of the description of paradise), and to adapt it to his own conception of Brendan's character and motives (hence the alterations in the opening episode and elsewhere). Certain alterations were consequential; the omission of the Isle of the Three Choirs entailed the insertion of vv. 1499–1510, and the omission of the Isle of Grapes

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led the poet to substitute a dragon for a bird as adversary of the griffin.

If we consider the detail, further evidence of intentional alteration of the original narrative, guided by literary instinct and the destination of the work, is readily found. The author, writing for lay-folk, has omitted a great deal of the ecclesiastical detail which fills certain pages of the *Navigatio*, reducing for instance the long list of canonical hours celebrated on the Isle of Birds, and omitting entirely the liturgical versicles which the Latin author was fond of putting into the mouth of his personages. At the same time, the poet was ever ready to insert pious reflections, impressing upon his lay audience the religious or moral lesson to be derived from each episode, e. g. vv. 241–6, 371–6, 472–8, 821–2, 957–62, 1177–86; behind these lines it is easy to detect the practised hand of the priest and preacher. The poet's frequent omission of the direction taken by the voyagers may be ascribed either to indifference or to a consciousness that in any case the geography of the voyage was hopelessly obscure. His rearrangement of certain sections, notably the episodes of the first voyage, the stolen bridle, the Isle of Ailbe, and the miraculous feeding of the voyagers when storm-bound, has made them more intelligible and more artistic than in the *Navigatio*. He has suppressed needless repetitions, e. g. of the annual round of visits, of the description of paradise, and of the cutting up of the sea-serpent. His avoidance of the mistake made by the Latin author, in prematurely divulging or hinting at the explanation of a mystery (e. g. the Paradise of Birds, the great fish, and the islet of Paul the Hermit)[1] renders his version of these episodes more dramatic and effective. The poet's additions are even more characteristic than his omissions. The frequent insertion of small realistic touches, often picturesque and sometimes even poetic, helps to bring the whole marvellous story within the comprehension of ordinary mortals, e. g. in the monastery scenes (vv. 111 ff., 691 ff.), in the scene on the back of the great fish (vv. 445 ff.), and in numerous isolated lines (vv. 213–14, 407–8, 869, 1474, 1647–8, &c.). All the more regrettable therefore is his omission of certain picturesque scenes or traits found in the

[1] Cf. N § 8 (Wahlund, p. 22, line 16) *Postea navigabitis usque ad illam insulam . . . que vocatur 'paradisus avium'*; § 9 (24, 6) *vir Dei solus remanserat intus: sciebat enim qualis erat illa insula, settamen noluit indicare fratribus ne terreri potuissent*; § 23 (88, 7) *nam modo videbitis Paulum heremitam spiritualem*, &c.

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Navigatio, notably the descriptions of the dog which acts as messenger (N § 6), of Brendan sitting alone in the boat while his monks haul it up a stream (N § 10), of the sea seething with lumps of molten slag (N § 20), and of the voyage on the back of the great fish (N § 23). With the poet's love of realism was connected his fondness for sumptuous detail, for costly materials and precious stones, exhibited in his descriptions of the uninhabited city (vv. 267 ff.), of the procession organized by the disciples of Ailbe (vv. 675 ff.), and of the wall surrounding paradise (vv. 1675 ff.). Such embellishments were doubtless intended to enhance the dignity of the work, or possibly were a concession to the tastes of an aristocratic audience; but they ill agree with the fundamental primitiveness and simplicity of the story. The substitution of a golden goblet (v. 315) for a silver (or silvered) bridle illustrates the same tendency. The poet's dramatic sense enabled him to obtain great effect from the more exciting episodes. The zest with which he narrated the fight between sea-serpents, or between griffin and dragon, and enlivened his descriptions of hell with lurid or painful details, suggests that such developments suited his own taste as well as that of his public. In the Judas episode he made an attempt to create pathos, and not without success.

The independent attitude of the poet towards his source is strikingly illustrated by the new ideal on which he based his version of the story. The uninitiated hearer or reader, whether medieval or modern, may well ask on what grounds Brendan and his monks have been made to undergo this seven years' odyssey. Their homeward voyage after visiting paradise is relatively short, and is accomplished without a halt, lasting for an undefined period in the *Navigatio*, three months in the poem. The length of time taken and the effort expended in reaching their goal surely require some justification. The explanation of the author of the *Navigatio* is contained in a single sentence near the end of the work, spoken by the youth who meets Brendan in paradise. God, he says, wished to show Brendan his manifold secrets in the great ocean; this was the reason why he could not find paradise sooner.[1] Thus the purpose of the voyage, according to the Latin work, was to satisfy curiosity[2] and exhibit marvels. The Anglo-Norman poet has omitted this sentence; but it would be false to suppose that he has left so important a point

[1] '*Sed ideo non potuisti invenire eam quia Deus voluit tibi ostendere diversa sua secreta in oceano magno*' (Wahlund, p. 98, lines 13–14).

[2] Cf. N § 2.

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unexplained. Several passages indicate that he based his version of the story on a different *motif*. The series of adventures has become a series of trials; it was necessary that the monks should be purified by voluntarily enduring toil, hardship, and peril, that they should learn wisdom and acquire complete confidence in God, before they could be worthy to enter paradise. The alterations introduced in the account of their first voyage (vv. 215 ff.)[1] reveal the poet's intention almost at the outset. In vv. 473–8, when the monks have been thrown into consternation by the sudden awakening of the great fish, Brendan explains to them that the sight of God's wonders will make them wise, and will lead them to believe in God, to fear Him, and obey His commands. In spite of lapses into disobedience (vv. 805 ff.) and distrust (vv. 1035 ff.), the monks on the whole steadily gain confidence in God (vv. 371–6, 965–6, 1007–10). In vv. 1101–6 we learn that the farther they go, the harder they toil. The completest expression of the poet's point of view is conveyed by vv. 1177–86: the more hardships and perils a holy man endures, the greater becomes his blessedness in the sight of God. The original *motif* of mere curiosity cannot be entirely suppressed, but the poet has attenuated it by his innovations in vv. 39–70 and elsewhere.[2] Thus the tale acquires a deeper significance than in the *Navigatio*. From a mere odyssey it becomes a pilgrims' progress, in which the pilgrims[3] pass through a graduated series of trials and so fit themselves to taste the joys of paradise.

The Anglo-Norman poem is therefore to be regarded, not as a translation, but as a complete re-telling of the story contained in the *Navigatio*. On the whole the transformation was a successful one. The poet cannot, it is true, be credited with any imaginative power; the minor episodes invented by him are decidedly weak. But he has manifested intelligence and artistic feeling, considerable skill in presentation (apart from the obscurity of the first hundred lines), a sense of the dramatic, and the power of imparting reality to an extremely fantastic tale. He entered thoroughly into the spirit of the story, revelled in the exciting adventures, and produced a particularly attractive portrait of the central figure, St. Brendan—pious

[1] See p. lxxxvi.

[2] Notably vv. 503 ff., where the poet has moderated Brendan's transports of curiosity on seeing the bird-covered tree, and vv. 1093–4, where Brendan deprecates excessive inquisitiveness.

[3] Cf. vv. 921, 1101, 1672.

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yet worldly-wise, paternally stern at need yet tender-hearted and good-humoured. Without being in any way irreverent, the author could enjoy the humorous side of a situation; his account of the Jasconius episode, and that of the congregation of sea-monsters, are accompanied by almost audible chuckles. He had one other gift, quite unusual in a medieval author—the gift of conciseness. Without tedious moralizings and without the least trace of padding, he has retold the story in pithy phraseology and a compact style, hitting off each scene and situation with a few happy traits. We are unable to agree with G. Gröber,[1] who spoke of the clumsy presentation of the story by the Anglo-Norman poet, of his close adherence to the Latin original, of his inability to develop his material or to quit the role of impassive narrator. The poem, though in no way a great work, deserved its relative popularity, attested by the existence to-day of five MSS. and two Latin translations. When compared with the only contemporary Anglo-Norman author whose works are known to us, namely the childish and inarticulate Philippe de Thaün, Benedeit appears to be an author of distinction.

Seeing that the Anglo-Norman author treated his source with such freedom, the *Navigatio* has not on the whole given much aid in the establishment of the text of the poem. In a few instances (e. g. vv. 252, 420, 471, 588, 745, 803–4, 1172, 1203, 1598) it has determined the choice between two or more readings, or supported a reading adopted on other grounds, or given a clue as to the author's meaning. It has also assisted greatly, as the following chapter will show, in determining the position of the Latin prose translation.

VI. THE LATIN PROSE TRANSLATION

MS. no. 3496 of the Bodleian Library[2] contains on pp. 213–26 a Latin prose version of the Brendan story, differing considerably from the *Navigatio* and showing close affinity with the Anglo-Norman poem. Its existence was first made known by the late Rev. C. Plummer in his article *Some new light on the Brendan legend*,[3] and the text was subsequently published by the same scholar in his *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ii (Oxford, 1910), pp. 270–92. Without any important

[1] In *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, ii, part 1, Strassburg, 1902, p. 479.

[2] Until recently numbered Bodl. e Musaeo 3. It formerly belonged to the monastery of Valle Crucis in Wales.

[3] In *Ztschr. f. celtische Philologie*, v (1905), pp. 124–141; see p. 138.

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exception, the same episodes and details are omitted from the *Navigatio* story, and the same added, in this version as in the poem. No mention is made of the visit to Aende, the Isle of the Three Choirs, or the Isle of Grapes; on the other hand the details of Judas's torments, the mysterious disappearance of a monk, and the apocalyptic description of Paradise are included. The promontory where Brendan first embarks is called *Saltus Brandani* (= *le Salt Brandan*) not *Sedes Brendani* as in the *Navigatio*. Brendan visits Barintus (not vice versa), the thievish monk steals a gold cup (not a silver bridle), the griffin is overcome by a dragon (not by a bird), &c. The *Jasconius* is not mentioned by name until the second Easter. Not only does the Latin version agree with the poem as regards the sequence of the episodes,[1] the subject-matter and treatment of each, but in many passages the two coincide line for line and even word for word.[2] Beyond the fact that the MS. was written about 1200, and that various omissions and corruptions show it to be a copy only, there is no direct evidence as to the date when this version was composed. The Anglo-Norman author's words on the subject of his source (vv. 9 ff.), unfortunately very vague, are modest enough, and may quite well refer to a literal rendering from Latin into French; he appears to disclaim any literary pretensions and to request that his efforts may not be scorned. The discoverer of this Latin work therefore concluded, not unnaturally, that he had brought to light the source of the Anglo-Norman poem.

On purely sentimental grounds one might feel reluctant to deprive the author of the earliest Anglo-Norman narrative work of his small claim to literary fame. If the *Navigatio* was his sole source, Benedeit can claim a certain originality in his presentment of the story; whereas if the newly-discovered version was his source, he did little more than render it into French sentence by sentence, and the poem ceases to have more than a linguistic and metrical interest. Fortunately the relationship of the texts in question can be determined by other than sentimental arguments. The very closeness of the French and Latin versions awakens suspicion. It is no easy matter for

[1] The passages corresponding to vv. 1175–1186 and 1187–1214 of the poem are transposed in the Latin version; otherwise there is no discrepancy.

[2] Good examples of close and often verbal coincidence will be found in the passages corresponding to vv. 285–306, 453–66, 1024–8, 1042–80, 1071, 1341–58, 1683–98, and 1761–72. Many other instances are quoted by Pfitzner (see below), pp. 11 ff.

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a writer of verse, especially of verse constructed on such rigid principles as that of the *Brendan*,[1] to follow a prose model word for word or line for line; whereas the opposite is relatively simple. There is no doubt that the Anglo-Norman poem was widely read and esteemed. That it was deemed worthy of translation into Latin, like a number of other medieval French works,[2] is proved by the existence of a rendering in Latin verse.[3] A dissertation by E. Pfitzner[4] assailed Plummer's conclusions, and sought to prove that the Latin prose version was based on the Anglo-Norman poem. A careful comparison of the two texts places the correctness of Pfitzner's view beyond a doubt.

(N = *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*.[5]
P = the Anglo-Norman version.
L = the Latin prose version.[6])

Either P is based on L, or L on P. P contains many details which are not to be found in L. This fact by itself proves little, for there was nothing to prevent any writer from abridging or expanding the tale if he thought fit. The prologue to the poem (vv. 1–18), for instance, and the outburst against the sin of pride (vv. 66–70) were not integral parts of the story; while many descriptive touches, repetitions, &c. peculiar to P could have been either added by the poet or omitted by the Latin author. But when we find that a number of details missing from L occur in N as well as in P, and that P is therefore nearer than L to the ultimate source of both, we are bound to conclude that L is based on P, and not vice versa. The claim of L to priority can only be defended if we assume that there are many *lacunae* in the Latin text, and of this there is no evidence.[7] The following details of N are reproduced in P, but not in L:

N § 2 (p. 2, l. 19): *confugit a facie mea et voluit esse solitarius*; = P 87–8.

[1] See ch. iii.

[2] e. g. *La Chanson de Roland*, *Le Roman des Sept Sages*, Bozon's *Contes moralisés*.

[3] See ch. vii.

[4] *Das anglonormannische Gedicht von Brendan als Quelle einer lateinischen Prosafassung*, Halle, 1910. P. F. Baum, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xvii, p. 170, does not accept his argument, but omits to state why.

[5] The references are to Wahlund's edition.

[6] The references are to the corresponding lines of P.

[7] Lacunae can be detected in the Latin corresponding to vv. 235-9 and 1283–5, and one or two words have dropped out from the paraphrase of vv. 1252–3.

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N § 3 (8. 27 and 10. 1): '*consilium et adjutorium a vobis postulo . . . Quid vobis videtur aut quod consilium mihi vultis dare?*' = P 110.

N § 4 (10. 18): [*profectus est*] *in ultimam partem regionis sue, ubi demorabantur parentes ejus. Attamen noluit illos videre . . .* = P 159–62.

N § 6 (14. 13): *Erat namque petra incisa ex utraque parte mire altitudinis sicut murus*; = P 262 and 264.

N § 7 (18. 15 and 18): *dixit: 'Sume corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri . . .' Itaque accepta eucharistia* [*anima fratris egressa est de corpore*]; = P 347. L mentions confession and absolution, but not communion.

N § 9 (24. 13): *Cum autem ministrassent ligna igni . . .* = P 449.

N § 10 (26. 10): *funibus*; = P 490 *od cordes.*

N § 11 (36. 3): [*se ad terram prostravit*] *antequam oscularetur virum Dei . . .: osculantibus autem se invicem . . .* = P 662.

N § 12 (46. 9): *invenerunt fontem lucidissimum et herbas diversas ac radices in circuitu fontis*; = P 803–4.

N § 17 (70. 10): *coram fratribus*; = P 1026 *veiant eals tuz.*

N § 19 (76. 2): *Precepit vir sanctus fratribus divinum officium peragere*; = P 1092.

N § 20 (76. 22): *audierunt sonitum follium sufflantium*; = P 1129. L has merely *sonus quidam gignitur.*[1]

On the other hand, L contains a number of details which are not to be found in P. Is the reading of L, in any such case, supported by N? A close search has revealed only one instance in which L and N agree against P. This occurs in the passage where Brendan directs his monks to embark for the first time:

N § 4 (10. 33): *Sanctus Brendanus fratribus suis precepit in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti intrare navem*; = L *Dixit deinde Brendanus: 'Intrate, fratres, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti; quoniam prosperum ventum dedit nobis Dominus.'* P has merely (vv. 185–6): *Dist as freres: 'Entrez enenz. Deu graciez, bons est li venz.'*

But the words *in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti* were doubtless part of the accepted formula for blessing an embarkation, and may well have been added in L independently of N; this coincidence of wording cannot, in the absence of any other instance, be held to prove a connexion between the two. The other details peculiar to

[1] Other instances quoted by Pfitzner (*op. cit.*, pp. 5 ff.) are inconclusive.

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L are all such as a translator may well have introduced on his own initiative, viz.:

a new prologue;

explanatory notes: vv. 35 *partim in cellis partim in abbatia constituti* (explaining P *par divers leus*), 1100 *non cupiditatis stimulo citatus, set . . .*, 1105 *non quia labor infestus eis fuerit, set . . .*, and 1214 (the translator explains that hell-fire is everlasting because mixed with sulphur);

religious and moral reflections: vv. 30 *animadvertens quia a convictu hominum non est facile labem non contrahere*, 34 *quorum anime pro merito eorum in sinu Abrahe collocate sunt*, 46 *memoriter tenens illud: Qui pro aliis orat, pro se ipso laborat*, 296 [*temperantie adherentes,*] *que maxima virtutum est anime*, and 1214 *A quo* [sc. hell] *Ipse nos eripiat, qui regnat in secula seculorum. Amen*;

additional descriptive touches: vv. 282 *cathedram preciosam* (P *un banc*), 897 [*velum . . .*] *gibboso quodam tractu ad proram distentum*, 1089 (description of lamps), and 1236 (description of Judas buffeted by waves);

plays on words: v. 532 *virtutem in vitium redigens, ex Lucifero Letifer dictus*;

expansion of speeches: vv. 127 ff. and 923 ff.

other small additions justified by the context, e. g.: vv. 206 *et in viam rectam dirigat*, 902 *et nervos contraxit*, 937 *clamoribus*, 1674 [*Terram enim illam viderunt*] *quam toto mentis affectu videre cupierunt, et quam sudore et labore ineffabili diu quesierunt*, and 1832 *et etiam plura quam quesierat.*

In at least two instances the translator's addition is unjustified, and due probably to a misunderstanding:

v. 307 *Totaque nocte perendinare cupientes* (but neither N nor P suggests that the monks were anxious for the night to be over);

v. 1380 [*ad postem ligatus sum*] *in fetore, qui solus ad mortem jure posset sufficere* (but in P the torment of stench is reserved for Saturdays, cf. 1425 ff., and is not combined with the torment of fire).

The translator is not to be held responsible[1] for the unskilful interpolations which follow vv. 386 (*Secundo ad insulam, ubi greges ovium*

[1] Cf. Pfitzner, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

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erant, venerunt) and 485 (*Tercio veneruntad insulam . . . que vocabatur Paradisus Avium*).[1] Except for *secundo* 'on the second day' and *tercio* 'on the third day', which correspond to nothing in N or P, these sentences merely repeat what precedes or follows, and have every appearance of being due to a scribe.[2] Moreover, it is not the habit of either the poet or the translator thus to explain mysteries prematurely.

Conclusive evidence of the dependence of L on P is also furnished by a series of instances in which the translator either misunderstood P, or followed a corrupt reading, or misread the MS. that lay before him:

75 P *Barinz*; L *Barrus*. Cf. N *Barintus*. The form *Barrus* is a misreading of *Barins* or *Barrins* (forms which actually occur in B and D respectively).

167–8 P *E suz le gruign aveit un port Par un la mer receit un gort*; L *in cujus frontem mare se provolvens, portum quendam parvum fecerat*. OF *gort* could signify either 'raging abyss, whirlpool' or 'stream'; here it has the latter meaning (cf. 169–70), but the translator interpreted it in the former sense.

211–12 P *L'orrez lur veint del orïent Quis en meinet vers occident*; L *et Choro flante, iter versus orientem dirigitur*. Cf. N § 6 (12. 16) *ceperunt navigare contra solstitium estivale*.[3] *Corus* or *Caurus* is the north-west wind; but Brendan cannot have sailed eastwards from the west coast of Ireland. The words *orïent* and *occident* had probably been transposed in the MS. used by the translator (cf. D 212 *orïent*). Similarly in v. 898 *vers occident* is translated *ad partes orientales*; but in this case any direction is possible.[4]

630 P *Al siste meis virent la fin*; L *in fine sexti mensis*. The translator misinterpreted *la fin* as referring to the end of the month.

[1] The words *que vocabatur Paradisus Avium* (as well as *ad quam cito perveniunt* just before) were added later by the scribe, but were probably in the MS. that he was copying.

[2] The words [*vi manuum*] *aut magna* in the passage corresponding to vv. 1235-6 seem to be another insertion, due to a scribe, which has found its way into the text. Cf. the gloss *.i. miliarium* added above *leucarum* (= P *liwes*), v. 465.

[3] = westwards; cf. R (the Latin rimed translation) 45b: *Eurus ratem provehens mittit occidenti.*

[4] R (145a) says westwards.

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687–8 P *Od tupazes e od jaspes Itant cleres sunt les haspes*; L *et topasiis et jaspidibus; clariores vero jaspides non habent.* The translator read *jaspes* in both lines, perhaps as the result of a corruption in the MS. that he was using. The word *haspes*, preserved only by A, evidently puzzled the medieval reader.

712 P *En refreitur cil resirent*; L *in refectorio sunt refecti.* The MS. followed by the translator had *se refirent* for *cil resirent*; see the note to this verse.

791–2 P *E la mer fud tant paisible Pur quei le curs unt peinible*; L *et maris et aeris nimia tranquillitas corpora eorum languida fecit.* The translator understood *curs* as *corpus* (cf. DE *cors*) instead of *cursum.*

1085 P *sardoine*; L *ex sardonio.* The French word has been incorrectly Latinized. Cf. 1692.

1133 P *Par cel aïr tant halt volent*; L *Que quidem in aere vagantia alteque commeantia.* The translator interpreted *aïr* (from *aïrier* < **adirare*) as *air* (< *aer*).

1195–6 The description of the smoke-capped mountain is obscure in N and P as well as in L; but whereas P depicts it as cone-shaped, L misinterprets the words of P as meaning a plateau.

1203–4 P '*Seignur, de vus or sui preiez, Pur mes pecchez, bien le creez*'; L '*Pro peccatis meis, fratres, rogatus et raptus a vobis discedo.*' The translator misunderstood *pre(i)ez* < *praedatus* as *preiez* < *precatus*, and rendered the word by *rogatus*, adding *raptus* to complete the sense.[1]

1276 P *Descordai quant dui apaiser*; L *mente vero discors factus sum.* The translator misinterpreted *descordai* as 'I became divided in mind', and so lost the antithesis with *apaiser.*

1354 P *enjus*; L *jusa* (corr. *jusum*?).[2] The French word has been barbarously Latinized.

1406 P *U tantes morz cuntre mei sunt*; L *mortuis infinitis obvius.* The translator read *tanz morz* (as in D).

1434 P *entre nune e midi*; L *infra nonam et meridiem.* The normal

[1] Not infrequently the translator used two almost synonymous words or expressions to represent a single word or expression in the French text, e. g. 32 *electus est et receptus*, 33 *arte et industria*, 94 *nec aeris corruptio nec tempestatum sevitia*; but *rogatus* and *raptus* cannot be regarded as synonyms.

[2] Du Cange quotes examples of *jusum*, *josum*, *juso*, but not of *jusa*.

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order would be *entre midi e none* (3 p.m.), but the poet has transposed the words for the sake of rime and metre; the translator, who had no such justification, followed the French slavishly.

1531–2 P *Puis les menet A sun estre, lur enseignet*; L *et postea esse suum eis manifestavit.* The translator interpreted *estre* as 'condition, mode of life',[1] instead of 'dwelling, house', probably also following a corrupt reading (cf. D).

1549-50 P *Secund le sens que aveie poi, Deu serveie si cume soi*; L *et pro posse meo et sensu Domino libens serviebam.* The translator regarded *poi* as part of the verb *poeir*, whereas it is an adjective (< *paucum*). The scribe of A made the same mistake.

1759–60 P *Si munt i at, cil est tut d'or; Si grant piere, i at tensor*; L *Montes aurum purissimum erant, et arena gemme preciosissime.* The translation is based on an altered text; cf. the variants of D and E.

Mistranslations may also be detected in vv. 53–5, 587 (?), 743, 933–4,[2] 1114, 1520 (*bodne*), 1687, and elsewhere. Certain apparent mistranslations such as *fluminis* (for *fulminis*) 1011, *ad naves* (for *ad aves*) 1629, and *indicabat* (for *judicabat*) 1774 are probably mere scribal errors. The translator omitted a number of difficult words and lines, e. g. vv. 601–2, 803–4, 888 (*abootet*), 941–2, 1072, 1159, 1717–18, and 1745–8; but whether this was due to an inadequate knowledge of Anglo-Norman, or to imperfections in the MS. that he was following, cannot be determined.

Thanks to the closeness with which the translator followed the French text, it is possible to form an opinion as to the character of the MS. that he was using, perhaps even to assign to it a definite place in the scheme of MSS. In the first place it is clear that the translation cannot have been made from any of the MSS. now extant, as each omits lines which it reproduces: A 1243–4, B 221–2, 603–4, 617, 651–2, 661, 665–6, 669–70, 679 ff., etc., C 271 (*Entrerent enz*), D 1023–4, 1179–80, 1395, 1723–4, E 1143–4, 1256, 1582, 1644. Each, moreover, has mistakes where L followed the correct reading.

The MS. followed by L (to be designated λ) clearly did not belong

[1] *Esse* has this sense also in the passage corresponding to v. 413. In v. 664 *estre* is correctly translated by *mansionem*; cf. the note.

[2] See the note to these verses.

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to the β group (represented by D and E); where D and E present a common error, or where they present different readings, both erroneous, L regularly [1] supports group α:

221 (B missing) A *se maient*, C *se esmaient*, L *desolantur*; DE *s'esma(i)erent* (+1).

249 ABC *Qui*, L *qui*; DE *Kar*.

295 ABC *portez*, L *afferte*; DE *pernez*.

556 AB *dun devalat*, L *de qua descenderat*; D *s'en muntat*, E *s'en vola*.

590 AB *Dous meis estrez* [*i*]*ci*, L *mora duorum mensium*; DE diverge (line missing from β).

630 AB *Al siste meis virent la fin*, L (with mistranslation) *in fine sexti mensis*; DE diverge (line missing from β).

1245 AB *reis de majestét*, L *rex in majestate*; DE omit *reis*.

1304 A *me tuai*, B *me pendi*, L *me ipsum occidi*; DE diverge (line missing from β).

1456 A *A un nud fed*, B *A un fed* (−1), L *cuidam nudo*; D *A un puvre*, E *Un povre*.

1682 A *Fatters fut* (−1), B *Faitres en fud*, cf. L *ab illo artifice factum*; DE *Meistres* (*en*) *fut*.

1793 A *Ne vus list pas*, B *Ne nus laist* (−1), L *non licet vobis*; D *Ne vus estuet*, E *Ne vos lais pas*.

There are also clear indications that λ did not belong to the α group, as L follows the correct reading in several passages where A and B have a common mistake:

43 CDE *ne faiseit fin*, L *insistebat* (retaining the imperfect); AB *ne f(e)reit fin*.

556 DE *Ensum l'arbre*, L *super arborem*; AB *En sun arbre*.

870 D *oet*, E *.viii.*, L *octo* (the correct number); AB *set*.

917–8 *Peril n'i oust fors sul des denz, Sil fuireient mil e cinc cenz*; L *Dentium ejus atrocissime voracitati hominum mille et octingenti non resisterent*. The essential word *fuireient* is corrupt in A (*furent*) and B (*fussent*), but correctly given by D and E.

1020 DE *flammant mult cler*, L *ignis candore inflammatus*; AB *flammanz par mer*.

1172 *Criz de dampnez oënt e plurs*; L *Ululatus et fletus et planctus et clamores dampnatorum audierunt*. The word *oënt* or *oient*

[1] Naturally this refers only to cases where the reading followed by the translator can be determined.

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(D) was preserved in the β group, but altered to *cent* in the α group.

1521 D *Eissit*, E *Issi*, L *exivit*; AB *Eist* (–1).

It has been shown[1] that the α and β groups are descended from a common original (x) which already contained a small number of mistakes; λ seems to have been free from some at least of these:

364 *Par la vertud de Deu la grant*; ABDE all have *le grant*, but L translates correctly *virtute Christi, que magna quidem est.*

841–2 *Plus asoür sur lui estunt, E lur feste plus bele i funt*; *plus* before *bele* is not found in any MS., and was probably missing in x, though DE supply *mult.* The rendering of L, *securiores sunt super eum, et pulcrius festum faciunt*, postulates the reading *plus bele* for λ.

1151 *Halcet la* [sc. *la lamme*] *sus*; ABDE all have *le*, but L translates correctly *Quam alte erectam.*

These instances, though not so conclusive as one could wish (for the errors may possibly have been introduced by α and β independently), make it reasonable to suppose that λ was independent of x; hence the position assigned to λ in the scheme of MSS.[2] Noteworthy also are the following passages, in which L appears to have translated the authentic text, more or less corrupted in all the MSS.:

1389–90 *Nen est marbres nuls itant durs Ne fust remis, se fust mis surs*; L *Non est marmor adeo durus qui huic pene posset resistere, quin statim adnichilaretur.*

1610 *Ne deit sun vent hom sururer*; L *Ventus adest prosper . . .* (justifying the reading *sun vent*, not in any MS.).[3]

The relation of L to the fragment C can hardly be determined. Each has errors not shared by the other (L in vv. 211–12, C in vv. 134, 224, etc.), but there is no trace of common errors.

MS. λ was, however, not free from corruptions. Several instances in which L was most probably translated from a corrupt text have already been pointed out, viz. 211–12 (*orïent* and *occident* transposed), 688 (*jaspes* for *haspes*), 712 (*se refirent* for *cil resirent*),

[1] Ch. iv, § 5.

[2] p. lxxx. It is possible that λ may have contained lines which were missing in x. Here and there (e. g. between 106 and 107, 114 and 115, 246 and 247, 896 and 897 respectively) L has passages, unrepresented in the MSS. of the poem, which seem to be required by the context and may well reproduce a French couplet. But in the absence of any confirmatory evidence, these passages must be regarded as interpolations by the translator.

[3] Cf. R 264 d, *date vela vento.*

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898 (*orient* for *occident*), 1406 (*tanz* for *tantes*), 1532 (*E* for *A*?), 1549 (?), and 1760. In v. 327 the superfluous word *i*, which makes the line hypermetric in ABE, is translated by *ibi* in L; but in any case it would have been difficult for the translator to avoid inserting some adverb of place. A good many lines of the poem have no equivalent in L; but whether this was due to lacunae in λ cannot be determined. On the whole λ seems to have preserved the original text at least as faithfully as any of the extant MSS.

Thanks to its independent position, L possesses considerable critical value, and for this reason has been printed *pari passu* with the French text, at the foot of each page. On several occasions its testimony has turned the scales in favour of a particular reading, or has given welcome support to a reading accepted on other grounds as that of the original text. It supports readings given by A alone, in vv. 86 (*in quo*), 134, 757, 1504 (*istum*), 1584 (*aut potus*), and 1654; given by B alone, in vv. 716 (*ejus = de lui*) and 798; and given by E alone, in v. 782 (*ab eo = de lui*). The Latin version, though not always reliable, constantly throws light on the meaning (often somewhat obscure) of the Anglo-Norman text. It is both interesting and helpful to know how the *Brendan* was interpreted by an almost contemporary reader.

Concerning the literary merit of L there is little to be said. The brief prologue and the expansion of certain passages (e. g. vv. 127 ff., 297–8) reveal the pen of one familiar with ecclesiastical language. Occasionally the rendering is clumsy or pedantic (vv. 420, 532, 786, 992–6, 1089–90); but for the most part it is clear and concise, and in tolerable Latin.

The text of the unique MS. has been reproduced with a minimum of corrections, all of which are indicated. Unimportant palaeographical details have not been mentioned. As the result of collations by Pfitzner[1] and the present editor, a number of misreadings and omissions by the previous editor have been corrected.

VII. THE LATIN RIMED TRANSLATION

The existence of a metrical Latin version of the Brendan story, preserved in a MS. of the British Museum (Cotton, Vesp. D. ix, fol. 2–10 b), was mentioned by T. Wright in his preface to the Middle

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 4 f.

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English versions of the legend.[1] Subsequently the text was published almost simultaneously by Ernst Martin[2] and Cardinal Moran.[3] The poem consists of 311 stanzas, each containing four thirteen-syllable lines (7+6) riming together; the three opening stanzas may serve as a specimen:

Vana vanis garriat pagina pagana,
Greges agros prelia vox Virgiliana.
Mundi dilectoribus placeant mundana:
Alexandri studia pia sint, non vana.

Is per viam tridui liber in deserto
Corde deo proximus azimis referto
Pie sitit seriem ad quam stilum verto.
Dulcis sitis pia sit viam hanc experto.

Usus sese sequitur, ut est jus nature.
Voluptate trahitur mens infecta jure,
Jugiter jus sitiunt quibus jura cure,
Deo nubit pia mens fraglans tali ture.

The MS. was written in the fourteenth century.[4] The text of the poem contains a certain number of mistakes which indicate that it is a copy.[5] In the same MS., on fols. 213–18 (arbitrarily separated from fols. 1–10 by the insertion of a paper MS.), is a Latin life of St. Alexis in the same metre, written by the same hand. This Alexis-poem has been preserved also in a shorter form in MS. 251 of the library of the University of Leipzig, from which it was published by Leyser,[6] who ascribed the MS. to the thirteenth century.

As v. 1 d (quoted above) indicates, the poem was written for a certain Alexander, whose name occurs again in the concluding line (311 d):

Vigeat et valeat Alexander meus!

[1] T. Wright, *St. Brandan: A Medieval Legend of the Sea*, London, for the Percy Society, 1844, p. vii.

[2] In *Ztschr. f. deutsches Alterthum*, xvi (1873), pp. 289–322. This is the more satisfactory edition.

[3] P. F. Moran, *Acta Sancti Brendani*, Dublin, 1872, pp. 45–84.

[4] Thirteenth or fourteenth century, according to Martin (p. 321); late fourteenth century, according to H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, ii, 1893, p. 539.

[5] Martin, p. 322.

[6] In M. Haupt and H. Hoffmann's *Altdeutsche Blätter*, ii, Leipzig, 1840, pp. 273 ff. Cf. Massmann, *Sanct Alexius Leben*, Quedlinburg, 1843, p. 28; J. Brauns, *Über Quelle und Entwicklung der altfrans. Cançun de Saint Alexis*, Diss. Kiel, 1884, pp. vii and 16.

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Was *Alexander* the name of some man or youth of distinguished birth, for whose instruction and edification the work was composed? Was it perhaps merely a sobriquet recalling or prophesying a glorious military career? Martin suggested that he was a young ecclesiastic, but this seems to be contradicted by stanza 4:

Pius ille signifer cujus jussu scribo
Pio petit refici me ferente cibo.
Pietatis cibus est via per quam ibo.
Sed tantillus talia qualiter subibo?

Signifer 'ensign' may conceivably have been used metaphorically for an ecclesiastic (a 'standard-bearer' of the Church), but is far more likely to refer to a layman; it was sometimes used as a title in the Middle Ages.[1] No reliable means of identifying the author or his patron has been found. It is true that in a poem ascribed to Gautier de Châtillon, the celebrated satire on Rome beginning *Propter Sion non tacebo*,[2] we find the same expression *Alexander meus* as in v. 311 d quoted above[3]; also that the Brendan-poem exhibits certain artifices of style and classical allusions which are very reminiscent of Gautier's poetry. But Gautier's style and Latin culture were shared with a whole school of medieval poets, and it would be rash to assign our poem on such weak grounds to the distinguished author of the *Alexandreis*.[4] Moreover, his *Alexander* is no less a person than Pope Alexander III (pope from 1159 to 1181), whose piety, beneficence, and protection of letters are held up as a contrast to the conduct of his *entourage*; whereas lines 1 d and 4 a of the Brendan-poem are quite inapplicable to so exalted a patron.

In stanzas 5–7 the author apologizes for his temerity in undertaking

[1] Cf. Du Cange.

[2] Printed by E. du Méril, *Poésies populaires latines antérieures au douzième siècle*, Paris, 1843, pp. 231 f.; and in *Carmina Burana*, ed. J. A. Schmeller, Breslau, 1904, pp. 16 ff. Cf. K. Strecker, in *Ztschr. f. deutsches Alterthum*, lxi, p. 220; id., *Die Gedichte Walters von Chatillon*, i, Berlin, 1925, p. xii.

[3] Stanza 22: Est et ibi [*sc.* at Rome] major portus,
Fetus ager, florens hortus,
Pietatis balsamum:
Alexander ille meus,
Meus, inquam, cui det Deus
Paradisi thalamum.

[4] The allusions to Scylla and Charybdis in 80 d, and the use of *Thetis* for 'the sea', recur in *Propter Sion non tacebo*, vv. 4 a b, 16 b.

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so exacting a task, excusing himself on the ground that his master (*vatis*) has selected him for it:

(5) Secretorum seriem sorte singulari
Que Brandanus peregre meruit rimari
Ausus preter ceteros metrice prefari,
Ausum talem talia possum me mirari.

(6) Ausus talis taliter talia scrutari
Montem bos contamino dignus lapidari,
Digne nisi video dignos indignari,
Dum tantillus audeo tantis implicari.

(7) Sed qui me perelegit ad hoc opus vatis
Facit excusabilem rem temeritatis.
Suus sum auriculis subula foratis:
Suus sum ad omnia debito, non gratis.

From this passage we learn merely that the writer occupied a subordinate position and was relatively undistinguished. It is possible, but by no means certain, that he was also the author of the Alexis-poem contained in the same MS. The latter is written in a less pretentious style, with fewer alliterations and plays on words, and contains no personal details.

It is hardly possible to fix with any degree of accuracy the date of composition of this Latin version of the *Brendan*. The MS. was written in the fourteenth century, but the text may well be much earlier; the companion poem on St. Alexis, probably composed about the same time, is found also in a thirteenth-century MS. The Anglo-Norman poem is referred to (8 c) as 'scriptum vetus', but whether *vetus* means 50, 100, or 200 years old cannot be determined. It may be noted that vv. 865–6:

Ici mandrez, e sanz custe,
Desque uitaves Pentecoste

are represented in the Latin translation by:

Erit quies placida vobis hic locatis,
Festum donec transeat sancte Trinitatis (142 a b);

i.e. the translator regarded the Sunday after Whitsunday as the feast of the holy Trinity, not merely as the octave of Pentecost. Unfortunately it is impossible to state precisely at what date Trinity Sunday became a recognized Church feast; Pope John XXII in 1334 ordered its general observance on the octave of Whitsunday, but the feast had been celebrated locally at a much earlier date.

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Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, 1162–70, introduced the custom into England; while there exist offices of the Trinity composed in the tenth century or even earlier.[1] The suggestion made by E. Martin (see below) that our translator derived his knowledge of precious stones in part from Albertus Magnus' *Liber Mineralium* (thirteenth century) was a mere conjecture. We can only conclude vaguely that the translation was probably made by some member of the school of Latin poets who flourished in France during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but not earlier than the second half of the twelfth century.

There can be no doubt that the author of the poem normally spoke French; but whether his French was continental or that of England can hardly be determined. Although his Latin vocabulary was very extensive and precise, it did not wholly escape French influence; e. g. *presto sum* 76 c = *prest sui* or *je sui prest*, *reclamate* 84 a = *reclamez*, *elongatam* 85 b = *esloigniee*, *inde* 169 c = *en* 'about it'. The same influence was probably responsible for a few inaccurate rimes:

h ignored, 234 *adamantis* : *tantis* : *cruciant hiis* : *tolerantis* (so 247, 248);

m and *n* confused after a vowel owing to nasalization, 182 *secundo* : *profundo* : *fundo* : *precium do*, 251 *ponti* : *monti* : *incompti* : *insonti*;

x pronounced as *s*, 28 *felix* : *loquelis* : *fidelis* : *celis* (so 63, 278), 159 *testis* : *vestis* : *subestis* : *textis*, 185 *erexit* : *provexit* : *impressit* : *excessit*;

sc before *e* or *i* pronounced as *s*, 67 *tabescit* : *succrescit* : *decessit* : *spes sit* (so 294);

c ignored between consonants, 271 *tantus* : *cantus* : *planctus* : *sanctus* (so 24, 44, 137, 247).

The following licences are more striking, but can readily be paralleled from medieval French poetry:

p ignored before a consonant, 190 *ipsis* : *eclipsis* : *abyssis* : *spissis*[2];

[1] Cf. F. Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications*, i, London, 1899, pp. 25 f.; F. Cabrol et H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, v, Paris, 1922, col. 1415; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 'Trinity Sunday'.

[2] *Roman de la Rose* 5355 *abelisse* : *eclisse* (< *eclipsis*), 12067 *lisse* : *Apocalisse*; Villon, *Testament*, v. 280 *ceptres* : *ancestres*; &c.

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gn confused with *n*, 210 *pinnam* : *inconcinnam* : *malignam* : *dignam*[1]; *r* ignored after *t*, 16 *patre* : *matre* : *grate* : *imperate*.[2]

In this case there is fortunately no need to demonstrate the dependence of the Latin version on the Anglo-Norman poem.[3] The author tells us explicitly that at his master's injunction he is translating an ancient Romance (i. e. French) poem:

(8) Modis hec ut precipit rithmicis explano.
Hunc in modum transferens rithmo de Romano
Scriptum vetus renovo, dum hec nova cano.
Sic vetustas precinit scribens de Brandano.

He follows the poem of Benedeit episode by episode, hardly even altering any detail, though sometimes abridging or expanding his original.

Two important passages have, however, been added from other sources. The first of these extends from stanzas 153 to 169 (inclusive), and consists of the episode of the Isle of the Three Choirs, added at the special request of the author's friends from a Latin source, evidently the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*. The author makes no attempt to conceal the interpolation, but expressly indicates its beginning and end:

(153) In Latini texitur textus exemplari
Hic sortita seriem serii res clari.
Rem a piis rithmice petor hanc effari.
Pie piis obsequi non est ociari.

(169) Hec Romanus preterit, inserit Latinus.
Quod vicissim disserunt dissona plus minus,
Certent inde judices. Transi, nostra pinus,
Vehere qua precipit ille vir divinus.

Thus he refuses to express an opinion as to the relative authenticity of his French and Latin sources. The interpolation has been inserted rather awkwardly in the poem between two closely-linked episodes, viz. the fight of the two sea-monsters and the miraculous feeding of the voyagers when storm-bound; whereas in the *Navigatio* it is

[1] OF words such as *digne*, *benigne*, *maligne*, borrowed from Latin, commonly rime with *-ine*; cf. *beghines* : *benignes*, quoted in Tobler-Lommatzsch, *Altfranz. Wörterbuch*, i, col. 921; *Roman de la Poire* 1426 *encline* : *digne*; Tobler, *Versbau*[5], p. 146 note.

[2] Rustebeuf, passim; cf. L. Jordan, *Metrik und Sprache Rutebeufs*, Diss. Göttingen, 1888, p. 55.

[3] Cf. H. Suchier, in *Roman. Studien*, i, pp. 556 f.; C. Plummer, in *Ztschr. f. celtische Philologie*, v, p. 140; E. Pfitzner, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

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placed after both these adventures. The poet appears to have been more concerned with his versification and style than with the coherence of his story; for although (in accordance with the *Navigatio*) he makes one of the three supernumerary monks remain on the Isle of the Three Choirs, he nevertheless describes later (in accordance with the Anglo-Norman poem) the mysterious disappearance of this monk after the Judas episode (stanzas 249–50). No mention is made of the Isle of Grapes episode, which had also been omitted in the Anglo-Norman poem; and there is no sign that the Latin poet derived any other passage or detail from the *Navigatio*.

The second interpolation is a veritable dissertation on precious stones, a 'lapidary' in miniature, extending from stanzas 277 to 287. The Anglo-Norman poet, in describing the wall surrounding Paradise, had introduced a short list (derived from the Apocalypse) of the precious stones with which the wall glittered (vv. 1687–96), viz. chrysolite, topaz, chrysoprasus, 'jargunce', chalcedony, emerald, sardonyx, jasper, amethyst, jacinth, crystal, and beryl. The Latin poet mentions all these,[1] but adds a great number of others, his total list including no fewer than fifty items; and to each he adds a brief mention of either the appearance or the property of the stone. Evidently the opportunity of airing his knowledge and at the same time instructing his patron in lapidary lore was too good to miss. According to Martin,[2] the poet derived his catalogue of precious stones from Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, ch. 37, and Albertus Magnus' *Liber Mineralium*. But it is more probable that he followed some medieval lapidary, presumably a version of Marbode; though the actual source (if indeed he followed a single source) has not been determined. It is true that the stones mentioned have all, with one or two unimportant exceptions,[3] been traced in Pliny, and that some of them have not been traced in medieval lapidaries.[4] Yet the forms

[1] Except *jargunce*, which is of course identical with jacinth.

[2] p. 322. Cf. Suchier, *op. cit.*, p. 557.

[3] *Corarius* 286 c, which has the property of stanching blood (*Sanguinem corarius sistens desperatis*), presumably represents Marbode's *corneolus*; neither form has been traced in Pliny. *Pigarea* 285 d, beloved by wild animals, is a corruption of the *liparea* of Pliny and Marbode. *Pantera* 278 b (Marbode's *pantheros*) corresponds to Pliny's *pardalios*. Albertus Magnus (*Liber Mineralium*) has *cornelius*, *lippares*, and *pantherus* respectively.

[4] viz.: *pangrus* 280 d = *panchrus*, *mirrites* 281 c = *myrrhites*, *licnis* 281 d = *lychnis*, *dactilus* 282 a, *crisolampsis* 283 c = *chrysolampis*. *Cianea* 282 c is Pliny's *cyanos*, and *murrina* 284 b represents classical *murra*.

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of many of the names correspond closely to those used in versions of Marbode's lapidary,[1] and the poet may well have utilized some version of Marbode in which additional stones were included.[2]

The requirements of metre and rime, and the ingenuity of the poet, prevented any slavish adherence to the wording of the Anglo-Norman text. Yet it is often possible to determine the reading followed by the translator, or the interpretation that he gave to some particular word or phrase. The data, however, are hardly sufficient to enable us to classify with precision the MS. (ρ) on which the rimed translation (R) was based.[3]

Certain points can be definitely established. MS. ρ cannot have been identical with any of the extant MSS. of the Anglo-Norman poem; R translates lines omitted by A (87 d = 477–8, 139 a b = 849–50), by B (112 d = 651–2, 260 c = 1589–90, etc.), by C (56 a = 269–70), by D (175 b = 1023, 291 c d = 1717–18, 293 c = 1724), and by E (40 c = 168, 56 a = 269–70, 215 a = 1256). It is clear also that ρ did not belong to the β group, as the translator sometimes followed the correct reading where D and E have a common error:

590 AB *Dous meis estrez* [*i*]*ci enturn* (A *en iurn*, B *enuirun*), cf. R 104 c *Erit binis mensibus requies hic sitis*; D and E diverge, probably owing to a corruption in their common source.

630 AB *Al siste meis virent* (A *iurn*) *la fin*, cf. R 110 a *Mense sexto proximum hos repellit litus*; the line was most probably missing in the common ancestor of D and E.

1584 A [*Que*] *n'oi mester de beivre rien*, B missing, cf. R 259 c d *Sola trium piscium largitas optenta Pastus atque poculi dedit supplementa*; DE have *de nule rien*.

In v. 757 the correct reading, given by A alone, is *E as hures que nus devum* (cf. N § 11); for *devum* B has *levum*, and this is the reading followed by R (126 a *Horis quibus surgimus*); DE have

[1] e.g. *echites* 285 b = *aetites*, *gerathites* 285 c = *hieracitis*, *gelacia* 286 d = *chalazias*, *sadda* 281 c = *sagda*, *optallius* 283 d = *opalus*. Cf. P. Studer and J. Evans, *Anglo-Norman Lapidaries*, Paris, 1924.

[2] Thus *pedorus* 279 b = *paederos*, *asterites* 282 d and *belloculus* 283 b, not mentioned by Marbode, were added to certain later versions. The table given by Studer and Evans, *op. cit.*, pp. 13–18, greatly facilitates the identification of the various stones.

[3] Cf. M. Wien, *Das Verhältnis der Handschriften . . .*, pp. 53 ff.

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chantum, destroying the leonine rime. At the same time, R has avoided at least one error common to A and B:

97 D *cel isle*, E *cis isles*, cf. R 28 a *locus ille*; AB *del isle*.

MS. ρ, though apparently complete and good, was not free from corruptions, as the translation of v. 757 has already shown. In the following instances R has followed a corrupt reading:

177 BCD *Oindre la fist* (the correct reading, cf. N § 4 *linieruntque foris omnes juncturas pellium ex butiro*); R 39 a *jungitur*, cf. AE *Juindre la fist*.

716 AB *D'els e de lui* (A *leu*) *lur enseignet*, supported by L; R 119 d *Tunc de loci seriis cepit hoc docere*, cf. DE *del liu*.

1061 AD *Chantat* (correct); R 180 c *Psallite*, cf. BE *Chantez*.

1531–2 A *Puis les menet A sun estre, lur enseignet*, supported by E; R 253 c d *Salutatis assidet pandens suum esse, Que sors eum fecerit locis hiis inesse*, cf. D.

Thus ρ was not the original text; it certainly did not belong to the β group, probably not to the α group; it had a corrupt reading (v. 177) where C is correct; it had a corrupt reading (v. 716) where λ (the MS. on which L was based) was correct; its relation to x (the common source of groups α and β) can hardly be determined. It has therefore been assigned tentatively to an independent position in the scheme of MSS.[1]

The following mistranslations are worthy of note:

390 *par ces landes*; R 73 c *Celticis in oris* (treating *ces* as demonstrative, whereas it is equivalent here to the definite article).

420 *Ja ci traite n'ert ŏeile*; R 78 a *Erit harum ovium nulla transportata* (but *traite* here means 'milked', cf. N § 8).

1071 *De jargunce fud saphire*; R 183 a *Tota vel jacinctina vel est saphirina* (taking *jargunce* and *saphire* as alternatives; but *saphire* is here used adjectivally, defining *jargunce*).

1782 *Sur un halt munt cume ciprés*; R 303 a *Mons cipressis consitus Libano cognatus* (but the hill was lofty like a cypress, not planted with cypresses).

This metrical translation of the *Brendan* is not undeserving of attention from the literary standpoint. For the most part it is a succinct and accurate paraphrase of the Anglo-Norman poem. To have transferred the contents of the ancient poem successfully into so elaborate and artificial a form of Latin verse is a *tour de force* in

[1] See p. lxxx.

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itself. Not satisfied with this, the translator has sought to adorn his poem with all kinds of artifices and conceits—alliteration, antitheses, plays on words, metaphors, biblical and classical allusions, &c. A few examples will illustrate these points :

12 (Brendan, on reaching maturity, conceives a dislike for worldly life)

Evo jam maturior mente maturescit,
Mente mundo dissona decrescendo crescit.
Quo plus mundus floruit ei plus vilescit.
Instans sic insistere perstat nec tepescit.

15 (Brendan becomes a monk)

Ergo leves passeris emulans volatus
Passer ipse misticus et pusilli status
Ad montanum evolat statum monachatus,
Postmodum de monacho monachis prelatus.

46 (the voyagers are becalmed)

Jam diebus .xv. prospere completis
Eurus fessus siluit. Pax fit tibi, Thetis.
Pax fit nautis turbida planctus, non quietis,
Pax qua cursus demitur dempto flatu fretis.

97 (the fallen angels explain their condition)

Nos a patre liberat pene rex supremus
Pene sed non penitus: regno nam caremus.
Has pro regni sedibus sedes possidemus.
Paradisus noster est hoc amenum nemus.

132 (the voyagers are caught in the coagulated sea)

Vite spem ademerant fames, sitis dira,
Longus labor, languidus flatus, maris ira:
Cum divina pietas vere satis mira
Tali talem subito luctum lenit lira.

196 (Judas describes the lower hell)

Ibi nox palpabilis, loca larvis plena,
Morte non marcentium vermium venena,
Quibus non est trucior leo vel leena.
Ibi desperatio pejor omni pena.

Whether this involved style was suited to the primitive and ingenuous Brendan story may well be doubted. Yet it would be interesting to know the identity of so ingenious a translator.

R has occasionally assisted in the interpretation of the Anglo-Norman poem,[1] but hardly ever in the establishing of the text.

[1] e. g. in vv. 337 (*cunuit*), 745 (*lorsür*), 1125.

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Seeing that two editions already exist, there can be no question of printing the translation *in extenso* in the present volume.

VIII. THE LANGUAGE OF THE AUTHOR

§ 1. Lists of Rimes

In view of the philological importance of the *Voyage of St. Brendan*, a complete rime-list is indispensable, and will form the principal basis for an investigation of the author's language. Three lists are given: I includes the whole of the 920 rimes of the poem, classified according to the tonic vowels of the rime-words; II includes all ordinary rich rimes, classified according to the reinforcing consonant; III includes all the leonine rimes so characteristic of this poem, classified according to the vowels which precede the tonic vowels. The rich and leonine rimes are of interest, not only for the history of versification, but also for the light they throw on the pronunciation of consonants and pretonic vowels.[1] Statistics of the various types of rime (masculine and feminine; simple, rich, and leonine) and a further analysis of the leonine rimes have already been given.[2]

I. GENERAL TABLE.

Masc.	*Fem.*
A	
a 423.	ables 341.
al 551, 1097, 1125, 1345, 1367, 1395.	ace 993.
als 577.	ace(t) 989.
alt 939.	age 355, 569, 725, 795, 1191, 1303, 1723.
alz: ailz 1177.	alte 247, 1645.
an 199, 379, 481, 547, 825, 1319.	ames 731.
ant 189, 255, 363, 371, 541, 557, 623, 635, 1033, 1121, 1173, 1459, 1479, 1493, 1523, 1719, 1793, 1797.	amme 1147, 1163.
anz 11, 1057, 1383, 1623.	ammes 1131, 1211.
	ample 37.
	ance 121, 923, 955, 1183.
	anche 853.

[1] Cf. E. Langlois, *Le Roman de la Rose*, i, pp. 59 f.

[2] Ch. iii, § 6.

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Masc.

aps *v.* as.
art, ard 383, 655, 985, 1079, 1141, 1161, 1347, 1399, 1485.
as 425, 461 (: aps), 523, 1043, 1799, 1803.
ast 613, 995, 1575.
at 25, 139, 141, 317, 509, 525, 555, 591, 885, 929, 953, 1053, 1765, 1807, 1829, 1837.

Fem.

ande 239, 289, 585, 903, 1425, 1819.
andent 573.
andes 389.
ante 177, 1109, 1595, 1597.
arbre 273, 491.
ardent 1711.
arge 621.
argent 1749.
arge(t) 135.
ase 1689.
aspes 687.
asse 1243, 1269.
asse(t) 1159.
ate 1289.
atre 719.
avies *v.* aives.

AI

ai 433, 867, 1277, 1455, 1555, 1567.
ailz *v.* alz.
aim 821.
ain 89, 163,[1] 659,[1] 701.
ains 203.[1]
ainz 851.
air 499, 1023, 1363, 1763.
ais 279.
aist 375, 933.
ait 153, 669, 759, 1153, 1517, 1755, 1813.
aie 225.
aient 907, 979.
aigres, 1027.
ail(l)e 237, 1683.
aindre 1255.
aindres, eindres 1007.
aine, eine 133, 393, 439, 593, 779, 951, 1307, 1313, 1573, 1591, 1617.
aines, eines 869, 901, 1001, 1325.
aintes, eintes 1241.
aire 173, 397, 615, 1205.
airent 1741.
aise 911.
aistre 527.
aite 1767.
aives, avies 1713.

[1] A *Brandan(s)*; read *Brandain(s)*.

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Masc. *Fem.*

Ē

ef 263, 489, 513, 849, 861, 971, 1081, 1557.
el 963, 1409, 1537.
els 1049.
er 157, 193, 231, 307, 325, 473, 597, 871, 957, 1019, 1061, 1067, 1083, 1215, 1297, 1511, 1609, 1805.
ert 1647, 1675.
et, eth 13, 51, 249, 275, 293, 311, 535, 575, 681, 705, 741, 797, 809, 831, 881, 981, 1245, 1283, 1491, 1503, 1551, 1559, 1697, 1769, 1777, 1827.
ez 125, 201, 367, 399, 427, 451, 457, 467, 475, 477, 771, 1055, 1137, 1203, 1227, 1369, 1373, 1375, 1387, 1707.

e(d)es 493.
ee, ede, ethe 251, 713, 799, 839, 1169, 1667.
ere 85, 221, 441, 483, 709, 991, 1041, 1539, 1825.
erent 287, 327, 943, 973, 1167, 1223, 1453.
eres 145, 155, 333, 353.

Ĕ

el 267, 519, 1463, 1721.
els[1] 501, 579, 1633, 1735.
en 369, 1095.
ens 39, 109, 787, 1009, 1545.
ent 47, 59, 73, 113, 143, 159, 205, 211, 295, 337, 347, 453, 625, 649, 661, 897, 959, 1011, 1017, 1075, 1157, 1195, 1219, 1355, 1385, 1411, 1429, 1473, 1489, 1509, 1565, 1611, 1641, 1801, 1817, 1823.
enz 185, 801, 909, 917, 1261, 1351, 1361.
ern 1335.
ert 1209.
es 187, 377, 737, 1265, 1781.
est 727, 1143, 1381, 1751, 1771.

ele 291.
endre 233, 1115, 1789.
enge 119.
engent 1477, 1615.[2]
ente 905, 1301, 1401.
erbe 531.
erie *v.* eire.
ermes 895.
erne 873.
erre 3, 83, 449, 497, 627, 775, 987, 1047, 1729.
erte 1625, 1733.
esse(t) 1005.
este 469, 553, 883, 1155.
estes 937.
este(t) 223.
estre 207, 663, 1239.

[1] A *eus, eals.*

[2] A *eingent.*

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Masc. *Fem.*

IE

iel 1757.
ien 411, 1185, 1461, 1583.
ien : oen 751.
ier 503, 697, 749, 1275, 1357.
iers 285, 601, 773, 965, 1541, 1569.
iet 889.
iez 359, 365, 567, 829, 1119, 1295, 1659, 1727.

iement 653.
iere 935, 1231, 1737.
ierent 847.
ieres 679.

E

ec 1577.
es 405, 703.

ece 1189.
etent 229.

EI

ei 5, 69, 115, 297, 301, 331, 459, 583, 1093, 1529, 1607.
eid *v.* eit.
eil 105, 209, 581, 1535, 1761.
ein, eign 235.
eint 129, 761.
eir 55, 61, 381, 529, 1435, 1439, 1469, 1775.
eirs 27.
eis 19, 563, 607, 997, 1681.
eit, eid (*dental weakening*) 789, 803, 807.
eit (*dental persisting*) 149, 169, 195, 313, 323, 455, 505, 875, 919, 1087, 1149, 1229, 1593, 1725.
eiz 7, 1377.

eie 1271.
eient 671, 967, 1465, 1619.
eies 517, 1497.
eil(l)e 419.
eindres *v.* aindres.
eine *v.* aine.
einent, eignent 215, 1103, 1339.
eines *v.* aines.
eine(t), eigne(t) 715, 1117, 1257, 1531.
eingent *v.* engent.
eintes *v.* aintes.
eire 147, 243, 983, 1197, 1467 (erie), 1679 (eire : erie).
eivre 357, 605, 1415, 1427.

EU

eu 619, 785, 879. *Cf.* iu.

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Masc. *Fem.*

I

i 117, 329, 391, 417, 769, 819, 833, 1273, 1285, 1287, 1305, 1323, 1433, 1475, 1581.
if 87.
il 29, 429, 539, 561, 1077, 1089, 1309, 1471, 1587, 1695, 1839.
ilz 407.
in, ign 21, 43, 175, 319, 443, 629, 721, 843, 857, 1101, 1187, 1649, 1663, 1671, 1703.
ins 479, 813, 921.
int 1065, 1449, 1519.
ir 71, 151, 299, 931, 1321, 1527, 1731.
is 9, 45, 49, 183, 261, 281, 349, 395, 409, 545, 549, 617, 633, 667, 735, 777, 1253, 1403, 1601, 1651, 1795, 1809, 1821.
ist 57, 101, 413, 781, 1059, 1831.
it, id (*dental weakening*) 565, 1029, 1113.
it (*dental persisting*) 23, 107, 131, 197, 283, 435, 657, 1201, 1533, 1599, 1779.
iz 31, 81, 123, 977, 1365.

ible 791.
ibles 1337, 1349.
ie, ide 99, 571, 695, 893, 1251, 1315, 1451, 1457, 1739, 1747, 1787.
ient 305, 559, 845.
ies 1263.
iet 1447, 1717.
igne 665.
imes 533, 733.
indrent 33, 817.
ine 1.
ines 685.
ire 1071, 1391, 1579.
irent 465, 595 (: istrent), 711, 837, 855, 999, 1833.
ise 445, 1039, 1561.
isle 93.
isse 1553.
issent 603, 1003.
istes 677, 753, 1693.
istrent 259, 447. (*For* 595, *v.* irent.)
ite 75, 1441.
ites 1543, 1687.
ive 1513.
ivent 485.

IU

iu[1] 91, 269, 431, 723, 1397, 1521, 1605.
ius[1] 35, 729, 1291, 1329, 1443, 1815.

O

ol 1021.
ols 511.

oche 1217.
oches 1371.

[1] Often written *eu*, *eus* in A.

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Masc.

olt 345, 767.
or 315, 683, 1759.
ors 217, 641, 675, 915, 945, 969, 1249, 1407, 1515, 1589.
ort 167, 257, 859, 913, 1015, 1233.
orz 961.
os 79, 1563. (*For* 637, *v.* oes.)
ost 1379.
ot *v.* out.

Fem.

oes, odes 941, 1013.
ole 1419.
olent 1133.
one 673, 1247.
onie *v.* oine.
orbe(t) 1655.
orce 1481.
orcent 1413.
orde 1421.
orge 1145.
orie *v.* oire.
orte 899, 1709.
ortent 1699.
orte(t) 1099.
ose 253, 1111.
osses 1127.
oste 1613, 1665.
ote(t) 887.
ovent *v.* oevent.

OE

oec, eoc 65, 181, 631, 1639.
oen *v.* ien.
oes 637.[1]
oet, eot 15, 245,[3] 1051,[3] 1637.
oevent 1627.[2]

OI

oi 863, 1331, 1549.
ois 1547.
oie 1773.
oient 1785.
oil(l)e 17.
oine, onie 1085, 1691.
oire, orie 53, 543, 1031, 1037.

QU

out 77, 179, 277, 303, 321, 335, 1139, 1193, 1259,[4] 1267, 1279, 1505, 1571. (*For* 245 *and* 1051, *v.* oet.)
ouent 1293.
ourent 1175, 1199.

[1] A *os.* [2] A *ovent.* [3] A *out.* [4] A *ot.*

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Masc.	*Fem.*
Ọ, U	
u 1327.	uble 645, 1107, 1487.
ud *v.* ut.	ue 103, 495, 1151, 1657, 1661.
um 127, 401, 415, 651, 743, 747, 755, 757, 765, 1221.	uent 1417.
um : un 835.	ues, uthes 213, 1213.
un[1] 343, 387, 1035, 1499, 1745, 1753.	ulte 949.
unc 227.	umes 521.
uns 643, 1525, 1783.	unce 1069.
unt 63, 403, 609, 639, 707, 717, 841, 1105, 1135, 1207, 1235, 1405, 1437, 1621, 1629, 1653, 1673, 1715. (For 1035. *v.* un.)	unde 1045.
ur 95, 271, 361, 691, 699, 745, 891, 925, 1423, 1585, 1677, 1701.	undes 947.
urn 137, 589, 877, 1063, 1091, 1311, 1359, 1603.	une 421.
urs 471, 611, 1171, 1179, 1389, 1431, 1445, 1669, 1685, 1705.	ure 161, 351, 515, 763, 805.
urz 219.	urses 1281.
us 385, 647, 811, 975, 1073, 1237, 1341, 1353, 1743, 1791.	usent 599.
ut, ud 97, 191, 373, 437, 537, 689, 793, 823, 827, 1181, 1225, 1835.	uste, oste 587, 865, 1317, 1333.
uz 507, 739, 1025, 1299, 1501.	ustes 41.
	ute 1507.
	utent 487.
Ọi, UI	
ui 111, 171, 339.	uines 815.
uil 67.	uite 1165.
uin, uign 165.	
uinz 241, 1635.	
uit 265, 309, 463, 693, 783, 927, 1129, 1393, 1483, 1495, 1631, 1643, 1811.	
uiz 1123.[2]	
Ọu	
ous 1343.	

[1] Sometimes written *unt* in A.

[2] A *us*.

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II. ORDINARY RICH RIMES

c—custe : Pentecuste 587, 865, 1317.

d—di : samadi 833, sardoine : calcedoine 1085, 1691, samedi : midi 1433, deduit : cunduit 1631, 1643.

f—parfin : fin 629.

j—sujurn : jurn 589, 1311.

l—(*entire*) ledes : taceledes 493, grisolites : isselites 1687 ; (*imperfect*) l'air : esclair 499, 1023, 1763, cler : piler 1067, lamme : flamme 1131, 1147, 1163, flammes : lammes 1211, plurs : dolurs 1445.

m—romanz : cumanz 11, escordement : turment 205, mot : commot 1259, hastivement : turment 1411, turment : jugement 1489, 1509.

n—guarnir : venir 299, guarnissent : s'en issent 1003, an(n)uit : nuit 1393, 1483.

pr—enprent : reprent 1157, aprés : ciprés 1781.

r—(*entire*) reis : Ireis 19, cunrei : desrei 301, sujurnerez : irez 771, guerrere : arere 935,[1] praierie : flurie 1739 ; (*imperfect*) prent : rent 73, estreit : dreit 169, entrer : errer 193, querant : grant 363, estras : fras 425, truvrai : porterai 433, raps : dras 461, crement : prement 653, miserere : frere 709, grande : brande 903, traist : braist 933, mescreire : lur eire 983, granz : guaranz 1057, grant : guarant 1121, traire : braire 1205, Marie : crie 1251, trente : rente 1301, broches : roches 1371, prent : rent 1611.

s—(*entire*) les en : alat s'en 369,[2] sen : nus en 1095[2] ; (*imperfect*) eisil : cil 561, ici : si 1581.

t—voluntif : sultif 87, fait unt : estunt 403, refreitur : litur 699,[3] tut el : tel 963, pertint : tint 1065, sutil : fust il 1077, a tart : fort art 1399.

[1] The scribe of A seems to have tried to make this rime leonine, writing *guarrere* : *s'arere*.

[2] As the author did not separate voiced and unvoiced *s* in rime (cf. *veneisun* : *peisun* 1753), these rimes may be classed as rich.

[3] AB *litur*, D *letur*, E *refrotoir* : *litoir*. If we could be sure that *leitur* was the form used by the author, this rime would be classed as leonine.

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III. LEONINE RIMES

Penultimate vowel A

a—baïs : païs 617, chaït : haït 1029, haï : trahi 1287, ? païs : paraïs[1] 1821.
ach—sachez : cachez 1119.
al—aler : haler 231, alat : enmalat 317, alat : devalat 555, 885, palud : salud 793, aler : avaler 871, la lur : valur 891, arbaleste : galeste 1155, galiz : acaliz 1365.
alf—malfez : eschalfez 1137.
alm—comunalment : vassalment 113, carnalment : spiritalment 1801.
am—amis : tramis 395, tamez : reclamez 457, afamét : amét 797.
and—mandét : cumandét 831, 881.
ant—surplantez : hantez 1707.
ard—guardai : debardai 1277.
arg—targerent : rechargerent 847, targét : chargét 889, targez : chargez 1659.
arm—par mer : armer 1215.
[arr—? guarrere : arere 935.[2]]
art—clartét : enartét 1697.
asm—blasmat : aasmat 1053.
ass—lassét : passét 575, amassét : encassét 681.
ast—as tu : vas tu 1327.
at—Satan : Dathan 199.
av—saveir : aveir 61, 529, avum : savum 127, 415, 651, savez ; avez 467, savum : nus avum 743, avum : lavum 755, avant : savant 1033, 1523, 1793, saveir : repos aveir 1439.
avr—avrat : savrat 25, 1765.

AI

ai—esmaiez : aiez 365.
ail(l)—sailiz : failiz 977. *Cf.* eil.
ais—raisun : maisun 343, baiser : apaiser 1275, baisez : apaisez 1727.
ait—traitez : dehaitez 1295.

[1] Cf. examples of *paraïs* under E. The author may have used *paraïs* and *parrïs* concurrently.
[2] See list II.

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E

e—veüe : receüe 103, meüd : seüd 191,[1] ? veables : deables 341,[2] cunreez : aseez 451, ? queïs : pareïs 545,[3] loreür : aporteür 745, veïstes : preïstes 753, pre(i)ez : creez 1203, espeez : veez 1373, ? pareïs : poëstelïs 1651,[4] ? pareïs : requeïs 1795.[5]

ed, eth—vetheir : setheir 55, vedeir : sedeir 1775.

eg—leger : agreger 697, aleger : agreger 1357.

el—celét : apelét 809, celét : estelét 1283.

em—tenablement : veablement 59, certement : alement 143, prestement : vestement 959, verablement : creablement 1219, jugement : seivrement 1565, haitïement : retenement 1817.

embl—emblét : ensemblét 311.

en—menez : senez 125, penét : menét 249, mener : asener 473, sustenuz : venuz 739, venir : cuntretenir 931, venud : homme nud 1225, de nus : penus 1341, devenuz : detenuz 1501, venir : tenir 1527, pleners[6] : suveners 1569, retenir : venir 1731, menét : asenét 1777.

end—tendant : pendant 255, vendi : pendi 1273, defendi : mendi 1285, penduz : venduz 1299, rendi : en di 1305.

endr—vendrez : prendrez 367, crendrez : prendrez 477, vendrunt : tendrunt 1437, aprendras : revendras 1799, revendras : atendras 1803.

ent—temptez : sustentez 201, plentét : volentét[7] 1769.

er—deraine : primeraine 951, desperer : averer 957, Per(r)unt : Nerunt 1035,[8] beril : peril 1089, peril : seril 1309, aserir : asperir 1321.

err—verrez : encrerrez 475, errer : serrer 597, recrerrunt : verrunt 1105, erret : enserrét 1503, 1827.

ert—enfertét : amertét 741.

esd—des dous : ambesdous[9] 1343.

est—mesters : mesters 285, ? les tistes : amestistes 677,[10] majestét : estét 1245, estét : estét 1559.

[1] Cf. *soüt* : *voüt*, &c., under O.

[2] ABE *diables*, D *deables*.

[3] MSS. *quesis* : *paraïs* (D *pareïs*, E *paradis*).

[4] A *paraïs* : *poëstis*, BD *pareïs* : *poëstis*, E *paradis* : *poëstelïs*.

[5] A *paraïs* : *requeïs*, BD *pareïs* : *requesis*, E *paradis* : *requesis*.

[6] A *pleiners*.

[7] A *voluntét*.

[8] Cf. § 2, para. lxvi.

[9] A *de dous* : *amedous*.

[10] But cf. 1693 *amestistes* : *les listes*. The first *s* in *amestistes* may be due to the scribe.

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eth *v.* ed.
ev—devum : recevum 757.
evr—devrunt : recevrunt 63.

EI

ei—enveiat : aveiat 139, seiez : veiez 359.
ei(g)n—greinurs : seignurs 471, seignur : greignur 1585.
eil(l)—merveiller : conseller 503, travailez : apareilez 829.[1]
eis—peisun : eisum 835, veneisun : peisun 1753.
[eit—? refreitur : leitur 699.[2]]

I

i—gracïez : quïez 567, qui es : ci es 1265, ferlïez : escrïez 1369, i est : n'i est 1381, angelïel : celestïel 1537, orïent : nïent 1641, delicius : precius 1743, avisiuns : divisiuns 1783.
in—finat : destinat 1837.
ir—irat : aspirat 141, detirat : descirat 953, detirez : descirez 1227.
is—periseient : guariseient 1465.
it—heritét : deseritét 51, deseritét : veritét 535.
iv—ariverent : aviverent 973.

Ǫ

o—poür : oür 361, 925, soüt : voüt 373, oïd : goïd 565, 1113, oïrent : goïrent 855, poürs : oürs 1179, voüd : reçoüd 1181.
ol—tolud : absolud 823.
ort—portout : enhortout 1279, porter : conforter 1805.
os—oser : reposer 307.

Ǫ, U

u—tüer : süer 1297, rüez : müez 1375, rüez : enlüez 1387, luur : puur 1423.
ul—ulurs : dolurs 1431.
ull—sullenz : pullenz 1351.
um—umeit : betumeit 803, alumee : fumee 1169.
un—sermunét : dunét 981.
unc—muncel : puncel 1463.
unt—buntét : cuntét 1551.

[1] Cf. § 2, para. ix.

[2] See list II.

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ur—seürance : demurance 121, savurét : murét 705, urat : demurat 929, demurum : curum 1221, demurer : sururer 1609.
urn—sujurnerent : turnerent 327, ajurnét : turnét 1491.
urr—demurrai : succurrai 867.
ut—dutez : debutez 1055.
uv—ruvum : truvum 401, 747, muveit : stuveit 919, descuvert : aüvert 1209, truvat : ruvat 1829.

ọI, UI

ui—pluius : ennuius 975.
uis—fuisun : tuisun 387.

OU

ous—sousum : ousum 765.

§ 2. Phonology

(*a*) Vowels

(i) Tonic blocked **a** remains. For combinations in rime with *a* of other origins, see paras. iv–vi. The suffix *-abile* appears as *-able* :—*veables* (: *diables*) 341. The suffix *-aticu* appears as *-age*, and rimes with *-age* < *-agiu* :—*rivage* : *message* 355, : *aiguage* < *aquagium* 569 ; cf. also *sage* : *rage* 1303. *Haspes* (: *jaspes*) 688, of which no other OF example is known, is a loan-word from Mid. Eng. (OE *hæpse*).

(ii) Tonic free **a** > **e** ($\bar{ę}$), except in monosyllables (*la* : *va* 423). This *e* does not rime with *e* < $\bar{ę}$ or *e* < $ę$; e. g. *tels* does not rime with *bels* or *cels*. In v. 1410 *pel* (: *sel*) represents *palum*, not *pellem* ; see the note to this line. Note *blef* < **blavu*, Frankish *blao* (: *nef*) 264.

(iii) The archaic imperfect indicative of *estre* rimes, as usual in OF texts, with *e* < tonic free *a* :—*ere* : *frere* 86, 222, 442, 992, *erent* : *nafrerent* 944, : *perent* 1454, *ert* : *pert* (< *paret*) 1648, 1676. *Deu*(*s*), which in assonanced texts is included in *e* < *a* tirades, in this text rimes only with the proper name *Albeu* 620, 785, 879. In words borrowed from Latin, *e* of any quality was liable to be pronounced $\bar{ę}$; hence the rimes *parét* (< *parietem*) : *clartét* 276, and *miserere* : *frere* 709.[1]

[1] Cf. Ph. de Thaün, *Cumpos* 751 *truvé* : *tempore* ; W. Foerster, *Li Chevaliers as deus espees*, p. xxxv ; Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. franz. Grammatik*, i, § 62 ; T. A. Jenkins, in *Mod. Philology*, xxi, p. 441.

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(iv) Lat. *sal* 'salt' appears in rime as *sel* (: *pel* < *palum*) 1409, but also *sal* (: *aval*) 1346. The *a* form might be explained in this particular phrase (*la mer de sal*, or possibly *de mer le sal*) as a Latinism; yet we find *Cesar* : *guardar* in the *Cumpoz* 775, *pal* (< *palum*) : *mal*, *egal*, *leal* in the *Mystère d'Adam* 66, *tal* for *tel* and similar forms sporadically in north-western French texts and normally in south-western texts.[1] The well-known opening influence exerted by *l* and *r* on a preceding vowel readily explains such forms. *Mal* < *malum* (: *aval* 551, : *val* 1125, 1368, 1396) is a pretonic form; the tonic form *mel* does not occur in this text. On *salt* < *salit* (: *halt*) 939 see § 3, xxi.

(v) The suffix **-ale** appears as *-al*, and the use of this form by the author is guaranteed by the rimes *festival* : *cristal* (< *-allu*) 1097, *gals* (< *gallos*) : *jurnals* 577, and *comunalment* : *vassalment* (leonine rime) 113; cf. *carnalment* : *spiritalment* 1801. But we find also *angeltel* : *celestïel* 1537, given by the three MSS. ADE[2]; while *crüels* (: *tels*) 1049, in which the suffix *-ale* has replaced *-ęle* (cf. *cruel* in Beneeit, and the parallel form *feal* for *feeil*[3]), is certified by the rime.

(vi) Certain borrowed words preserved their tonic **a** unchanged though followed by only one consonant:—*raps*, from OE *rāp* 'rope' (: *dras*) 461,[4] *Pilate* 1289, *mate* < Arabic *māt* (the chess term) 1290, and *grisopase* < *chrysoprasum* (: *abrase*) 1690. On *abrase* see § 3, xxi.

(vii) When preceded by a palatal consonant, or when the preceding syllable contains yod, tonic free **a** > **ie**, often reduced to *e* by the Anglo-Norman scribes, but riming only with itself or with *ie* < tonic free *ę*:—*esma*[*i*]*ez* : *aiez* 365, *merveill*[*i*]*er* (: *conseil*[*i*]*er*) 503, *ch*[*i*]*ers* (: *volunt*[*i*]*ers*) 773, *targ*[*i*]*erent* : *recharg*[*i*]*erent* 847, *sach*[*i*]*ez* : *cach*[*i*]*ez* (< **coacticatos*) 1119, *trait*[*i*]*ez* : *dehait*[*i*]*ez*[5] 1295. A presents one apparent exception, viz.:

vv. 275–6 Gemmes od l'or funt grant clarté
Dun li pareit sunt entailét.

[1] Cf. H. Suchier, *Les Voyelles toniques du Vieux Français*, § 17 c; M. K. Pope, *Étude sur la langue de Frère Angier*, Paris, 1903, pp. 7 f.

[2] *-al* is more frequent in Anglo-Norman than in Central French; cf. P. Studer, *Le Mystère d'Adam*, p. xl.

[3] Suchier, *op. cit.*, § 17 c.

[4] Hence borrowed from English prior to the change of *ā* to *ǭ*, which took place in the twelfth century (but north of the Humber *ā* remained till about 1400, and in Scotland to the present day).

[5] Derived from the Germanic stem **haiða-* or **haiðra-* (cf. Gamillscheg *F. E. W.*, s. v. *dehait*, and Kluge, *Etymol. Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, s. v. *heiter*) and assimilated to verbs like *traitier*, *afaitier*.

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But the word-order of v. 276 has been altered by the scribe. The original reading was that of BC:

Dunt entaillied sunt li pared.

The scribe of A probably wrote the line thus in the first instance, but was offended by the rime *clartét* : *pare[i]t*, and rewrote the same words in a different order so as to bring *entail[i]et* into final position. A close examination of the MS. reveals the fact that all the words after *Dun* are written on an erasure, and that the first *e* of the original *entailét* is still visible. Cf. paras. iii, xvii, and xxi.[1] The rimes *gracïez* : *quïez* (< *cogitatis*) 567 and *ferlïez* : *escrïez* 1369 do not indicate whether the author rimed such words in *e* or *ie*.[2]

(viii) **a** + yod > **ai**. This diphthong rimes normally with itself alone, not with *ei* or *e*. The only exceptions are *estre* 'house' (: *destre*) 664[3] and *lermes* < *lacrimas* (: *termes*) 896, which show early reduction of *ai* to *e* before a group of consonants.[4] The former instance (*aistre* > *estre*) might be disputed, in view of the likelihood of confusion with *estres* < *exteras*; yet *-aistre* and *-est(r)e* were already rimed together freely by Philippe de Thaün.[5] The rime *air* : *clair* (apparently for *cler* < *clarum*) 500 AB, 1764 A, is due to the scribes, not to the poet, and has been corrected with DE to *air* : *esclair* (verbal substantive from *esclairier*). OF *hait* (: *fait*) 670, *dehait* (: *vait*) 154, *dehaitez* (: *traitez*) 1296, and *dehaite* (: *suffraite*) 1767, often wrongly derived from O.Norse *heit* 'vow', regularly rime in *ai*. So also does OF *manaie* (*maneie* : *esmaie* 225), the etymology of which is unknown. The borrowed words *glávies* and *sávies* rime together, v. 1713; to judge from the spelling the atonic *i* in these words had not been drawn into combination with the tonic vowel (yet cf. *semaine* : *Thephaine*, para. xiii, and *veire* : *materie*, para. xx). In the loan-word *atre* < *atrium* (: *quatre*) 720, *i* has been dropped. On the confusion of *ai* and *ei* before a nasal consonant see para. xiii, and on *vait* for *vet* < *vadit* see § 3, xxiii. In pretonic position *ai* and *ei* are distinct, except before *n*-mouillé and perhaps before *l*-mouillé

[1] The rime *clartét* : *entailét* was accepted as authentic by Birkenhoff (*Ueber Metrum und Reim* . . ., p. 57), but doubted by Vising (*Études* . . ., p. 76) and Calmund (*Prolegomena* . . ., p. 110).

[2] *ie* would be normal; cf. Suchier, *Voy. ton.*, p. 85.

[3] See the note to this verse.

[4] Cf. Suchier, *Voy. ton.*, p. 72; Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. franz. Grammatik*, i, § 90.

[5] Cf. Mall, *Cumpos*, p. 59; Walberg, *Bestiaire*, p. xliv.

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(see para. ix); cf. list of leonine rimes. In *veneisun* (: *peisun*) 1753, *ei* is correctly developed from atonic *a* + yod.

(ix) **a** + l-mouillé > **ail**:—*vitaile* : *defaile* 237, *antaile* : *travaile* 1683. In all probability *ai* was a diphthong in such cases, like *ei*; cf. para. xxii. There are no examples of the riming of *a* + *l*-mouillé with *e* + *l*-mouillé, but this may be accidental. In atonic position the confusion of these sounds seems to be indicated by the leonine rime *travailez* : *apareilez* 829; yet **tripaliare* > *traveillier*, with atonic *a* weakening to *e*, is the normal phonetic development, and is a prevalent Anglo-Norman form.[1] On the rime *travailz* : *calz* 1177 see para. lxiii.

(x) **a** + atonic **u** > **ou**. This is clearly a diphthong, riming with *ou* < *ǫ* + *u*, but not with any simple vowel. In this text it occurs only in the imperfect indicative of *-are* verbs and in certain strong preterites and imperfect subjunctives:—*estout* (< *stabat*) : *out* 77, *desplout* (< *displacuit*) : *out* 277, *plout* (: *estout*, pret. 3 sg. of *estuveir*) 303, *sousum* : *ousum* 765, *sourent* (: *pourent*) 1176, etc. Cf. § 3, xxix, xxxvii, and xl.

(xi) The developments of **a** when followed by a nasal consonant are normal. Among the words riming in *-an* we find the biblical names *Satan* and *Dathan* 199–200, and the onomatopoeic *han*, *ahan* 380, 548, 1320. The author appears to have used two forms of Brendan's name, one (showing popular development) ending in *-ain*, the other (reproducing the Latin form) in *-an*[2]; thus *Branda*[*i*]*n* rimes with *vilain* 164, *main* 203, 659, but also with *pan* 481, *an* 825. The MSS. constantly present the *-an* form, except that B has *Brandein* (: *vilein*) in v. 164, and E twice has *Brandain*. The combination in rime of *-an* and *-ain* is by no means impossible,[3] but cannot safely be attributed to the author of this poem.

(xii) There is no confusion of **an** and **en** in this text, save by the copyists. The distinction is as rigid in pretonic as in tonic position; cf. the list of leonine rimes. An apparent exception is *ensample* < *exemplum* (: *ample*) 37; but this is one of the recognized instances

[1] Cf. Suchier, *Reimpredigt*, p. xxvii.

[2] Cf. Hammer, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, ix, p. 89.

[3] The rime *vains* : *eschignans* in Ph. de Thaün's *Bestiaire* 1903 is doubtful (MS. L has *echivains*); but cf. *Mystère d'Adam* 435 *hahan* : *pa*[*i*]*n*, *Eneas* 205 *esturman* : *certa*[*i*]*n*, Beroul's *Tristan* 3323 *frans* : *mains*, &c. The question is discussed by Suchier, *Voy. ton.*, § 44; Matzke, in *Publications M. L. A. America*, xxi, p. 644; M. K. Pope, *Étude sur la langue de Frère Angier*, p. 12. Forms like *pan*, *certan* could be regarded as Latinisms.

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in which *an*, *am* replaced *en*, *em*, even in texts which normally kept *an* and *en* distinct.[1] *Servant* (: *cumant*) 371, *servanz* (: *anz*) 1624, *guarant* (: *grant*) 1122, (: *devant*) 1460, (: *avant*) 1494, and *guaranz* (: *granz*) 1058, though substantives, show the same substitution of *-ant* for *-(i)entem* as in present participles. The abstract nouns *remanance* (: *venjance*) 956, *fiance* 1183, and *mescreance* 1184 are formed with the suffix *-antia*, not *-entia*. *Viande* (: *grande*) 239, 289, 585, is derived from V. Lat. **vivanda* or **vitanda* rather than *vivenda*. Words in which the substitution of *an* for *en* has not taken place are mentioned in para. xxiv.

(xiii) In masculine rimes **ain** and **ein** are kept apart:—*parain* [2] : *vain* 89, *pain* : *sain* 701, *faim* : *reclaim* 821, *sainz* : *ainz* 851, but *enseint* : *meint* (< **mĭnet*) 129, *plein* : *desdeign* 235, *esteint* : *peint* (< **poenet*) 761. In feminine rimes, on the other hand, *ain* and *ein* are combined in 6 instances out of 25:—*quaranteine* : *semaine* 133, *chaeines* : *semaines* 869, *funtaines* : *pleines* 1001, *meindres* : *graindres* 1007, *empeintes* : *plaintes* 1241, *funtaine* : *pleine* 1591.[3] The Anglo-Norman copyists confuse the two entirely. In v. 1007 *meindres* could also be read (with D) as *mendres*; but a rime combining *ain* with *en*, though by no means impossible,[4] would be without a parallel in this text. The early confusion of *ain* and *ein* is characteristic of north-western French and Anglo-Norman, and the *Brendan* furnishes the earliest evidence of this confusion.[5] In the works of Philippe de Thaün there is only one dubious example.[6] Suchier maintained [7] that *ein* (*ĕi*) became pronounced as *ain* (*ãi*), but the opposite is undoubtedly the case.[8] The fact that tonic *ai* and *ei* are never confused before *n*-mouillé in this text (7 instances, each combining *n* and *n*-mouillé in rime, cf. para. xxvii) may be purely accidental [9]; in pretonic position

[1] Cf. P. Meyer, in *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*, i, p. 273; Suchier, *Reimpredigt*, pp. 69–71; Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. franz. Grammatik*, i, § 70; Walberg, *Bestiaire*, p. xlii.

[2] The copyist of A has substituted *parin* (< *patrinum*), an older form but inadmissible here.

[3] On the relation between *ain* and *ein* see the valuable article by J. E. Matzke, in *Publications M. L. A. America*, xxi (1906), pp. 637–686.

[4] Cf. *Mystère d'Adam* 149 *defens* : *mains*, Beroul's *Tristan* 3721 *grisens* (for *grisains*) : *pens*, and examples quoted by Suchier, *Voy. ton.*, § 44, and Matzke, pp. 645 ff.

[5] Matzke, *op. cit.*, p. 642.

[6] *Bestiaire* 2865 *desteint* : *refraint*; cf. Walberg, p. xlviii.

[7] *Voy. ton.*, § 45 b; cf. Calmund, *Prolegomena* . . ., p. 109.

[8] Cf. Matzke, p. 653.

[9] Cf. id., p. 668.

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the two are combined :—*graignur(s)* (<*grandiores*) : *seignur(s)* 471, 1585. Note that *Thephaine* < *Theophania* rimes with *semaine* 780, though spelt *Thephanie* in v. 769.

(xiv) Tonic blocked ę and ę remain, and are not confused except before nasal consonants, before *l*+consonant, and in one instance before *r*+consonant. Rimes containing ę are numerous :—*terre* : *guerre* (<Germanic *wĕrra*)[1] 3, 1047, 1729, *terre* : *querre* 83, *amonestet* : *cestet* (< *caespital*) 223, *castel* : *bel* 267, *beste* : *feste* 469, *destre* (: *estre*) 663, *prest* : *est* 727, *pres* : *decés* 737, *termes* (: *lermes*) 895, *æsset* : *apresset* 1005, *senestre* (< **senęster*, on analogy of *dexter*) 1239, *enfern* : *ivern* 1335, *perte* : *certe* 1625, *juvencel* (<-ęllu) : *bel* 1721, *uverte* : *certe* 1733, &c. OF *adés* 'forthwith' (: *aprés* 188, *pres* 377), though derived from *ad id ipsum* [*tempus*], regularly has ę.[2] Note *superbe* : *verbe* 531, both borrowed from Latin. On *estre* 664 and *lermes* 896 see para. viii. Rimes containing ę are relatively few :—*metent* : *regretent* 229, *arbaleste* : *galeste*[3] 1155, *nublece* : *destrece* 1189 ; note also *werec* (< O.Norse **wreki*)[4] : *sec* 1577, and *mes* (<*missu*) : *les* (<*illos*) 405, 703.

(xv) The rime *cerne* : *verne* 873 needs special explanation. OF *verne* (<Gallic *vĕrna* ; Meyer-Lübke, *R. E. W.*, 9233) regularly assonances or rimes in ę,[5] whereas *cerne* (<*cĭrcinu*) might be expected to rime in ę at this early date. In all probability we have here a rime in ę, the ę in *cerne* having become opened by the influence of the following *r*.[6] It is but natural that the opening of ę to ę should have occurred first before *r*+consonant. An exact parallel may be found in the treatment of ǫ ; cf. para. xxxii. To assume, however, on the basis of this particular instance, that ę had become ę in all cases in the language of the author of the *Brendan*[7] would be unjustifiable.

(xvi) When followed by *l*+consonant, both ę and ę produced the same result in the language of the *Brendan*. In Central French *ĭllos* > *ęls* > *eus*, *bĕllus* > *bęls* > *beaus* ; whereas in northern dialects and

[1] Rather than Gothic **wirro* (Meyer-Lübke, *R. E. W.*, 9554). The OF word regularly assonances and rimes in ę. Cf. Gamillscheg, *F. E. W.*

[2] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *R. E. W.*, 164.

[3] A derivative of **galire* 'to hurl', doubtless with the same suffix (*-Ista*) as in *arbaleste* ; cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, p. 31.

[4] Icelandic *reki* ; cf. *New Eng. Dict.*, s. v. *wreck*.

[5] e. g. *Roland*, v. 2632.

[6] Words with tonic ę followed by *r*+consonant are relatively few in number, but a similar development took place in *cercle* ; cf. Suchier, *Voy. ton.*, p. 34.

[7] e. g. P. Marchot, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, xxi, p. 102.

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in Anglo-Norman *els* and *bels* developed alike.[1] Hence we find the rimes *eals* : *oiseals* (B *els* : *oisels*) 579, *eals* : *beals* (D *els* : *bels*) 1633, *juvenceals* : *eals* (BE *juvencels* : *els*) 1735. Thus *ę* became *ę* before *l*+consonant, as before *r*+consonant, and probably for the same reason, viz. the opening influence of the following consonant. It might be suggested that the opening of *ę* took place simultaneously with the vocalization of *l*; but we cannot be certain that *l* was vocalized in the language of the author of the *Brendan*, cf. para. lxiv.

(xvii) Tonic free **ę**>**ie**. This diphthong, though frequently reduced to *e* by the Anglo-Norman scribes (regularly by the scribe of A), rimes only with itself and with *ie* from *a* preceded by a palatal consonant. The rime *clarté* : *entail[i]et* 275 A has been rejected; cf. para. vii. The writings of Philippe de Thaün similarly offer no reliable example of the riming of *ie* with *e*.[2] The suffixes *-ariu*, *-aria*, *-eriu* have developed, as usual (through *-ęru*, *-ęra*, *-ęru*) into *-ier*, *-iere*, *-ier* respectively, e. g. *volunt[i]ers* (: *ch[i]ers*) 774, *guerr[i]ere* (: *ar[i]ere*) 935, *mest[i]ers* : *mest[i]ers* 285. *Integrum* appears as *entier*, not *entir*, thus already having the analogical suffix *-ier* :—*remu[i]ers* : *ent[i]ers* 601, *p[i]eres* : *ent[i]eres* 679, *uvr[i]er* : *ent[i]er* 749.

(xviii) Tonic **ę**+yod>**i** (through **iei*). This *i* rimes with *i* from any other source :—*esliz*<**ex-lectos* (: *habiz*) 32, (: *diz*) 123, *respiz*<*respectos* (: *diz*) 82, *eslit*<**ex-lęgit* (: *vit*) 107, *pri*<*preco* (: *ici*) 329, *sis*<*sex* (: *paraïs*) 549, *sire*<**sęjor* for *senior* (: *quire*) 1580, *isselites*<**ex-selectas* (: *grisolites*) 1688. In *vendi* 1273, *pendi* 1274, *defendi* (: *mendi*) 1285 the *i* may have arisen from the triphthong *iei* (**vendędi*>**vendiei*>*vendi*), or may be analogical. *Delit* (: *dit*) 24, 1600, 1780 is a verbal substantive from *delitier*<*delectare*,[3] in which the *i* is taken from the stem-accented forms. In the ecclesiastical word *tistes*<*textŭs* or **textos*[4] (: *amestistes*) 677, the *i* is perhaps due to the influence of *tistre*<*texere*.

(xix) Tonic **ę**+atonic **u**>**iu** (through *ieu*), written also *eu* in the MSS. :—*siu*<**sequo* (: *liu*) 432, (: *piu*) 1605, *fiu*<*feudum* (: *leu*) 723, *fius* (: *lius*) 1330, (: *pius*) 1816, *Jud[e]us* (: *pius*) 1291, *ceu*<*caecum* (: *leu*) 1398. This reduction of *ieu* to *iu*, guaranteed by the rimes with *piu*, is frequent in northern French and Anglo-Norman texts.[5]

[1] Cf. L. Menger, *The Anglo-Norman Dialect*, pp. 54, 58.
[2] The examples quoted by Walberg (*Bestiaire*, p. li) are of doubtful validity.
[3] Meyer-Lübke, *R. E. W.*, 2532a.
[4] Not *textas* (Calmund, *Prolegomena* . . ., p. 86). See the note to v. 677.
[5] Cf. Suchier, *Voy. ton.*, § 32.

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(xx) Tonic free ę, tonic ę+yod, and pretonic ę and ę+yod, all give ei. In the *Brendan* this diphthong is always distinct from *oi*; also, except before a nasal consonant, from *ai*, though it is occasionally written *ai* in A. Note the rimes *feiz* : *Benedeiz* (the author's name) 7, *avei* (verbal substantive from *aveier* < **ad-viare*) : *cunrei* 583, *umeit* : *betumeit* (both with the suffix *-ētum*) 803, *peisun* : *eisum* (combining ę+yod with ę+yod in pretonic position) 835, *sei* : *secrei* (borrowed from Lat. *secretum*) 1093, *veies* : *agreies* (from O. Norse *greiða* 'to equip')[1] 1497. The rime *veire* : *matérie* 1679 suggests that in borrowed Latin words of the *matérie* type (cf. *refrigérie* : *misérie* 1467) the *i* had already formed a diphthong with the preceding *e*.[2] A number of verbs of the *plicare* type have their original stem-vowel *ei* replaced by analogical *i*; see § 3, para. xx. Infinitives in *-eir* and *-er* are not confused except by the scribes; cf. Appendix II, § 64. On the 2 pl. ending *-eiz* see § 3, xix. On *miserere* 709 and *criëls* (: *tels*) 1049 see paras. iii and v respectively.

(xxi) A single rime appears to indicate confusion of ei with e< free tonic a, viz. *clartét* : *pare(i)t* (<*parietem*) 275. The reading adopted is assured by the agreement of B and C; though v. 276 was rearranged by the scribe of A (cf. para. vii), and rewritten in D and E. We cannot, however, regard the form *parét* (so C; B *pared*) as a reduction of *pareit*; *ei* was commonly reduced in Anglo-Norman, from very early times, to ę̄ (the vowel dealt with in para. xiv),[3] but not to ē (para. ii). *Parét* was probably borrowed direct from Lat. *parietem*, Lat. *e* of any quality being pronounced in borrowed words like *e*<*a* (cf. para. iii).

(xxii) ę followed by l-mouillé appears to become a diphthong in this text, whereas in Central French it remains a simple vowel; thus *soleil* rimes with *fedeil* 581 and *peil* 1761. Rimes and assonances of this kind are not infrequent in early Norman and Anglo-Norman texts.[4] On the probable reduction of *l*-mouillé to *l* see para. lxiii.

[1] Cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxi, p. 393.

[2] Cf. paras. viii and xliv. It is not impossible that the author may have used the *-eire* (French) and *-erie* (Anglo-Norman) forms concurrently; cf. Mall, *Cumpos*, pp. 54 f.

[3] F. Hildebrand, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, viii, p. 358, quotes examples from Domesday Book, occurring in place-names. Cf. Behrens, in *Franz. Studien*, v, 2, p. 138; Suchier, *Voy. ton.*, p. 92; Stimming, *Boeve*, p. 197; Tanquerey, *L'Évolution du Verbe . . .*, p. 763.

[4] Ph. de Thaün, *Cumpos* 761 *feeil* : *cunseil*, *Bestiaire* 2933 and 3097 *soleil* : *feeil*; *Roland* 78, 2750, &c., *cunseill* in *ei* assonances, 985 *vermeill* in an *ei* assonance;

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(xxiii) After a palatal consonant tonic free ę is raised to i in the usual manner:—*païs* (: *alis*) 409, *mercïent* (: *crïent*) 560. Tonic ę followed by final *i* is modified to *i*:—*cist* (: *dist*) 1059, *forfis* (: *pris*) 1253, *nasquis* (: *païs*) 778, &c., and this *i* is extended by analogy to various other verb-forms.

(xxiv) Blocked ę and ę develop alike when followed by a nasal consonant, e. g. *trente* : *rente* 1301, *tent* : *fent* 1429, and in pretonic position *crendrez* : *prendrez* 477, *rendi* : *en di* 1305. Though sometimes written *an* in the MSS., *en* was not confused with *an* by the author; on *ensample* 37 and some other apparent exceptions, see para. xii. OF *talent*, *orïent*, *denz* < *de-intus*, *dolent*, probably also *nïent*, which sometimes rime or assonance in *an*, even in texts which otherwise keep *an* and *en* separate,[1] here rime only in *en*:—*talent* : *suvent* 47, *orïent* : *occident* 211, *denz* : *cenz* 801, *dolenz* : *turmenz* 1261, *orïent* : *nïent* 1641.

(xxv) Free tonic ę followed by a nasal consonant becomes ie:—*rien* : *bien* 411, *cr*[*i*]*ement* : *pr*[*i*]*ement* 653, &c. In vv. 1615–16 we may read either *vengent* : *tengent* or *viengent* : *tiengent* (subj. pr. 3 pl. of *venir*, *tenir*), more probably the latter[2]; the forms *veingent* : *teingent* in A can be attributed to the scribe, cf. Appendix II, § 7. On the rime *mien* : *soen* 751 see para. xl.

(xxvi) Free tonic ę followed by a nasal consonant becomes ei. On the combination of *ein* and *ain* in feminine rimes, see para xiii. The form *menge* (subj. pres. 1 sg. of *mener*), certified by the rime with *prenge* 119, shows development of the stem-vowel in blocked position, though A has *meinge*.[3]

(xxvii) ę followed by n-mouillé (as before *l*-mouillé, cf. para. xxii) becomes a diphthong in the language of the *Brendan*; hence the rimes *feignent* : *peinent* 215, 1103, *plein* : *desdeign* 235, *meinet* : *enseignet* 715, 1117, 1531, *seignet* : *peinet* 1257. On the pronunciation of the nasal consonant in these words see para. lxviii.

(xxviii) Latin tonic ī, whether free or blocked, or combined with yod, remains as i. In a number of borrowed words Lat. *ĭ* is reproduced as *i*:—*eisil* (: *vil*) 30, (: *cil*) 561, *habiz* (: *eslïz*) 31, cf. 657, 1534,

Mystère d'Adam 817 *steille* : *vermeille*; Thomas, *Tristan* 1913 *merveille* : *candele*; cf. Walberg, *Bestiaire*, p. xlix.

[1] For references see note to para. xii. Cf. *Roland* 1770 *nïent*, 1776 *denz*, in a tirade otherwise containing only *an* assonances.

[2] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatik der roman. Sprachen*, ii, § 147.

[3] Matzke, *op. cit.*, p. 650, accepted the rime *meinge* : *prenge*, but as an isolated example.

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Esp(i)rit (: *guit*) 131,[1] *servise* (: *iglise*) 445, (: *asise*) 1039, *signe* : *digne* 665, *defire* < *deficere* (: *ire*) 1392, *merite* (: *quite*) 1441, *juïse* (: *cumandise*) 1561. OF *cumplie* < *complēta* (: *psalmodie*) 571 was doubtless affected by the change of conjugation of the verb *complere* > *cumplir*. OF *quite(s)* (: *merite*) 1442, (: *hermites*) 1544, irregularly developed from *quietum*, is a legal term. Several Greek vowels occurring in words borrowed through Latin are reproduced as *i*:—ī in *ermite* (: *vitte*) 75, *hermites* (: *quites*) 1544; ĭ in *grisolites* (: *isselites*) 1687; η in *iglise* (: *servise*) 446; ει in *saphire* (: *sire*) 1071; υ (Lat. *y*) in *amestistes* (: *tistes*) 678, (: *listes*) 1693, *beril* (: *peril*) 1089, (: *il*) 1696. Germanic ī remains in *eschivent* (: *arivent*) 486, *escive* (: *rive*) 1514, *listes* (: *amestistes*) 1694. The etymology of *bis* (: *mis*) 262 is still disputed.[2] Note *cisle* (: *isle*) 94, *alis* < *allīsum* : *païs* 410, *baïs* < **bat-ivus* (: *païs*) 617, *galiz* < **galītus* : *acaliz* < **ad-callītus* 1365.[3] On *aserir* : *asperir* 1321 see § 3, xiv. The development of *i* when followed by a nasal consonant calls for no special comment.

(xxix) ī + atonic **u** > **iu**:—*pius* (: *lius*) 36, 730, 1443, (: *Judus*) 1292, (: *fius*) 1815, *piu* (: *liu*) 92, 1522, 1606. Cf. para. xix.

(xxx) Tonic blocked **o** remains unchanged:—*fort* : *mort* 913, *resortet* : *portet* 1099, *fosses* : *grosses* 1127, *boche* (Central Fr. *bǫce*) : *roche* (< **rǫcca*) 1217, *scorcent* (< *excorticant*) : *forcent* 1413, *orde* (< *horrida*) : *corde* 1421, *force* : *estorce*[4] 1481, *aorbet* (< **ad-orbat*) : *asorbet* (< *ex-orbat*) 1655, *hoste* : *encoste* 1665, etc. *Resort* (: *fort*) 257 is from *resortir*, not from *resurdre* < *re-surgere*,[5] although the scribe of A wrote *resurt*. *Ados* (: *los*) 80 has no connexion with *adǫp*, from *adober*,[6] but is a verbal substantive from *adosser* < **addorsare*; cf. OF *dǫs* < *dorsum*. The loan-word *misericors* (: *fors*) 1249 rimes in *ǫ*. On *flotet* : *abootet* 887 see para. lv and the note to v. 888. On *Pentecoste* 588, etc., see para. xlii.

(xxxi) **o** < **au** rimes with **o**:—*los* < *laus* (: *ados*) 79, *tors* < *tauros* (: *cors* < *corpus*) 916, *podes* < Germ. *pauta* (: *noës*) 942, *rost* < Germ. *raust-* (: *post*) 1379, *repos* < *repaus-* (: *os* < *ossum*) 1564. To this

[1] Calmund, *Prolegomena* . . ., p. 116, preferred *Espirt* : *virt*, following C; but see the note to v. 131.

[2] See T. A. Jenkins, in *The Manly Anniversary Studies in Language and Literature*, p. 351; Gamillscheg, *F. E. W.*

[3] On *acaliz*, *cisle*, *galiz*, see *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxi, p. 392, and xxii, pp. 28 and 32.

[4] See the note to v. 1482.

[5] Calmund, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

[6] Godefroy's error is corrected in Tobler-Lommatzsch.

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group of words belong also *sor* < Germ. *saur* (: *or*) 684, *pose* < *pausa* (: *enclose*) 1112, and *forge* < **faurga* < *fabrica* (: *gorge*) 1146.

(xxxii) In three instances **o** from ǫ followed by *r* + consonant rimes with ǫ :—*gort* < *gurgitem*[1] (: *port*) 168, 859, *gorge* < *gurga* (: *forge*) 1145. As in the case of *cerne* 873 (cf. para. xv), the vowel has been opened by the influence of the following *r*.[2]

(xxxiii) Tonic free ǫ was probably diphthongized in the language of our author; but the words containing this vowel (mainly verb-forms and derivatives of *hoc*) nearly always rime together. The spellings presented by the MSS. are extremely varied, A showing a preference for undiphthongized forms, whereas the others prefer the diphthong. Examples:—*poet* : (*e*)*stoet* (A *peot* : *steot*, B *pot* : *estot*) 15, *ovoec* : *iloec* (A *oveoc* : *ileoc*, B *avoc* : *iloc*) 65, *croes*[3] : *oes* < *opus* (A *cros* : *os*) 637, *cumoet* : *estoet* (A *commout* : *estout*, 1051, *movent* : *trovent* 1627 AD (B missing), *estoet* (A *estot*) : *poet* 1637, etc. Indirect proofs of the diphthongization of ǫ will be found in paras. xxxv, xxxvi, and xl.

(xxxiv) In a number of instances ǫ remained undiphthongized for special reasons. *Vols* (: *cols*) 511, *vol* (: *col*) 1022 is a verbal substantive from *voler*. *Noës* 'fins' (: *podes*) 941 appears to have been formed from the verb *noër* < **notare* for *natare* 'to swim'. *Fors* (: *cors*) 218, etc., is rarely found with other than pretonic development. *Gaiole* (: *fole*) 1419 shows no diphthong in any Romance language, in spite of the ǫ in *caveola*.[4] On *volent* 1133 and *solt* 767 see § 3, xxi, and the note to v. 767.

(xxxv) Tonic ǫ + yod > **ui** (through *uei*):—*an*(*n*)*uit* < **inodiet* : *nuit* 1393, 1483, *pui* (: *cestui*) 172, *encui* < ? + *hodie* (: *lui*) 340. The latter instances, combining ǫ + *i* with *u* + *i*, prove that ǫ in this position had been diphthongized and *uei* reduced to *ui*, and that the author made no distinction between this diphthong and *ui* from any other source.[5] The rime *quire* (< *coquere*) : *sire* 1579, supported by the leonine rime *gracïez* : *quïez* 567, indicates that *ui* was already an ascending diphthong; similar rimes occur in the writings of Philippe de Thaün, but only with *ui* < *u* + *i*,[6] while the *Chanson de Roland* treats *ui* still as

[1] Not from *gurgus* (Meyer-Lübke, *R. E. W.*).

[2] Cf. Suchier, *Voy. ton.*, § 13 b.

[3] Etymology uncertain, not *corrōsum*; cf. Gamillscheg, *F. E. W.*

[4] Cf. Suchier, *Voy. ton.*, § 13 b; Meyer-Lübke, *R. E. W.*, 1790.

[5] Cf. Suchier, *Reimpredigt*, p. xxxiii.

[6] *Cumpoz* 539 and 831 *martire* : *deduire*; *Bestiaire* 805 *destruire* : *ire*. Cf. Suchier, *Voy. ton.*, § 24 c.

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a descending diphthong, assonancing in *u*.[1] In *bois* (: *cois*) 1547, and in the borrowed words *storie* (: *glorie*) 54 and *apostorie* < *apostolicum* (: *glorie*) 1038 the *ǫ* was never diphthongized.

(xxxvi) In a single instance the triphthong **uei** had not been reduced to *ui*, viz. *queivre* < **cǫprjo* < *cupreum* (: *beivre*) 1416, 1427, doubtless because *cu* + vowel became identified with *qu* + vowel. The form *queivre* must however be regarded as an archaism, for in *quire* (: *sire*) 1579 the triphthong had been reduced. Examples of *uei* from other texts are mentioned by Suchier.[2].

(xxxvii) Tonic *ǫ* + *l*-mouillé appear to have become **uil**, if we may judge from the forms *orguil* (< **orgǫljo* < Germ. *urgoli*) : *escuil* (verbal substantive from **excolligire*) 67. That *l*-mouillé should have given out a yod which combined with the preceding diphthong *ue*, and that the triphthong *uei* should have been reduced to *ui*, is entirely in accordance with other phonetic features of this text (cf. paras. xxii and xxxv). Unfortunately the two words rime together, and other instances are lacking.[3] The verb-forms *voile* : *doile* 17, being exposed to analogical influences, do not necessarily illustrate the normal development of the vowel.

(xxxviii) Tonic free *ǫ* + atonic **u** > **iu** (through the stages **ueu*, *ieu*, the triphthong undergoing the usual dissimilation). The copyists frequently wrote *eu* for *iu*. The only word occurring in rime which comes under this heading is *liu*, *leu* < *locum*; this rimes with *fiu* 269, 724, 1329, *siu* 431, and *ceu* 1397 (cf. para. xix), also with *piu* 35, 91, 729, 1444, 1521 (cf. para. xxix). No forms of *focum* or *jocum* occur in rime in this text.

(xxxix) Tonic *ǫ* + atonic **u** became **ǫu** in certain strong preterites, the *ǫ* having been blocked in V. Lat. (*potuit* > **potwit*). This diphthong rimes with *ou* < *a* + *u* (cf. para. x) :—*estout* < ? **stǫpuit* for *stupuit* (: *plout*) 304, *pout* < *potuit* (: *out*) 1193, (: *tout* < *tacuit*) 1267.

(xl) Tonic free *ǫ* followed by a nasal consonant probably gave **oen**. The sole example is *soen* (< **sǫm* < *suum*) in v. 752, riming with *mien*. It is true that A has *men* : *son* (BD *mien* : *suen*, E *mien* : *sien*); but there is no rime unless we postulate a diphthong in each word. The combination in rime of *ien* and *oen* (or *uen*) may appear

[1] Vv. 239, 775, 1047, &c.

[2] *Voy. ton.*, § 33 c; but the rime *quoit* (< *coctum*) : *freit* is quoted erroneously as occurring in the *Brendan*.

[3] A similar instance, but with loss of *l*, seems to be *uis* < *oculos* (: *duis* < *doctus*) in Ph. de Thaün's *Bestiaire* 2051 ; but cf. Walberg, p. li.

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surprising; but rimes of *ie* : *ue* and *ien* : *uen* were regarded as permissible by a number of twelfth-century authors.[1] Evidently both diphthongs were ascending. The analogical form *sien*, which arose only at the end of the twelfth century,[2] cannot possibly be attributed to our author. In *bone* 673, 1248 we have the usual pretonic development of *bonus*, *-a* (cf. *mal*, para. iv). *Trone*, which rimes with it in each instance, is a borrowed word, found riming with *ǫ* in other French texts.[3]

(xli) The combination tonic ǫ + n-mouillé does not occur in popular words in the rimes of this text. In the loan-words *sardónie*, *calcedónie*, or *sardoine*, *calcedoine* 1085–6, 1691–2, the *o* appears from the spellings to be open,[4] but there is no *n*-mouillé. It is uncertain whether the tonic vowel in these words was nasalized, and whether the *o* and *i* had combined to form a diphthong in the language of our author. Similar difficulties are presented by *muines* (< **mǫnios* for *mŏnachos*) : *suduines* 815. The frequent spelling of *moine* with *u* (*múnie* or *muine*) indicates that to the scribes at least the *o* was closed, perhaps as a result of nasalization.[5] Unfortunately the history of *suduines*, doubtless another borrowed word, has not yet been elucidated.[6]

(xlii) Blocked tonic ǫ remains a simple vowel, represented in the MSS. normally by *u* :—*curs* : *surs* (< *sursus*) 1669, *jurz* : *gurz* (< *gurdus*) 219, *buz* 'thrusts' : *tuz* 1025, *burses* : *surses* 1281, *dute* : *rute* 1507. Greek o regularly becomes *ǫ* in *tornare*,[7] hence the rimes *jurn* : *tresturn* 137, *sujurn* : *enturn* 589, etc. Note the borrowed word *tumulte* (: *estulte*) 950. *Pentecoste*, *-custe* 588, 866, 1317, riming in each instance with *custe* (cf. *dejuste* : *custe* 1333), likewise has *ǫ* instead of *ǫ*, but probably for special reasons.[8] In certain words *ǫ* has

[1] *Roland* 315 *fieus* in an *oe* assonance (cf. Jenkins's note); *Eneas* 8789 *muert* : *requiert*, 9431 *requierent* : *muerent* (cf. Salverda de Grave's introduction, 1891 edition, p. xv); Beneeit, *Chronique*, i, 1765 *suen* : *bien*; Beroul, *Tristan* 3583 *bien* : *buen*. Cf. Tobler, *Versbau*[2], p. 150; Matzke, in *Publications M. L. A. America*, xxi, pp. 646 f.

[2] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatik der roman. Sprachen*, ii, § 90.

[3] Cf. Suchier, *Voy. ton.*, § 38.

[4] Cf. *Roland* 1613 *Grandónie* and 1624 *Antónie* (or *Saintónie* ?) assonancing in *ǫ*.

[5] Cf. Suchier, *Voy. ton.*, § 37.

[6] Cf *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, p. 41.

[7] Cf. Suchier, *Voy. ton.*, § 12 b; Meyer-Lübke, *Roman. Sprachwissenschaft*, § 105.

[8] Cf. W. Foerster, note to vv. 5, 6 of Crestien de Troyes' *Yvain*, 1887 edition; Suchier, *Voy. ton.*, § 12 b.

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become *ǫ* when followed by *r*+consonant (cf. para. xxxii); while *ǫ* regularly became *ǫ* when followed by a nasal consonant (cf. para. xlix). Otherwise *ǫ* and *ǫ* were carefully distinguished by the author of the *Brendan*. The phonetic value of the closed vowel was probably *u*; cf. para. xliii.

(xliii) Free tonic ǫ remains a simple vowel, as in other Norman and Anglo-Norman texts, and is written *u* in the Anglo-Norman MSS. It rimes with *u* from tonic blocked *ǫ*:—*plurs* (: *curs*) 611, *aleür* < **alatore* (: *tur* < *turrem*) 1677; also with the undiphthongized vowel of *nus*, *vus*:—*sedeillus* < *siticulosi* (: *vus*) 647, *penus* (: *nus*) 1342. In no instance does it rime with the diphthong *ǫu*. The fact that it rimes with *u* < Lat. *ū* (cf. para. xlvii) indicates that *ǫ* had already become closed to *u*.

(xliv) The only example of ǫ+yod in a popular word occurring in rime in this text is *cruiz* (: *puiz*) 1123; cf. para. xlviii. The borrowed words *glórie* (: *stórie*) 53 and *victórie* (: *glórie*) 1031 have *ǫ* in Latin, but *ǫ* in OF. Note also *baldórie* (: *glórie*) 544, in which *-ǫrie* has been added as a suffix to a Germanic stem. On the alternative pronunciations *-orie*, *-oire*, cf. para. xx.

(xlv) Tonic ǫ+atonic u produce a diphthong **ou**, presumably *ǫu*, not *ǫu* (para. xxxix). This occurs only in *dous* : *ambesdous* (both from *dŭōs*) 1343.

(xlvi) Lat. ū, blocked and free, in popular and learned words, remains a simple vowel:—*rustes* (< *rūsticus*) : *justes* 41, *sepulture* : *cure* 351, *vedue* : *nue* 495, *criature* : *cure* 515, *ruent* : *muent* 1417. In v. 41 BDE present the commoner OF form *ruistes*; but if we accept *ruistes* : *justes* as a slightly inaccurate rime, we must regard *ui* as a descending diphthong, and this conflicts with *quire* : *sire* 1579 (cf. para. xxxv). The form *rustes*, given by A, is perfectly acceptable, and survives in Mod. Fr. *rustre*. The fact that this *u* is frequently combined in rime with *u* < *ǫ* (cf. para. xlvii) indicates that the author pronounced it as *u*, not *ü*.

(xlvii) The riming together of u < ū and u < ǫ, though not entirely unknown in continental French texts,[1] is a feature found chiefly in Anglo-Norman. It may seem surprising to find the author of the

[1] e.g. *Roman de Rou*, iii, 2137 *Seüne* (< *Saucona*) : *commune*. Cf. Hofmann und Vollmöller, *Der Münchener Brut*, Halle, 1877, p. xxvi; A. Mussafia, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, i, p. 408; Boehmer, in *Roman. Studien*, iii, p. 167; W. Cloetta, *Poème Moral*, Erlangen, 1886, p. 82. On *u* : *ǫ* assonances in the epics see J. Bédier, *La Chanson de Roland : Commentaires*, Paris, 1927, p. 296.

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Brendan already making free use of such rimes; his contemporary Philippe de Thaün kept the two vowels distinct. In this poem there are fourteen undoubted instances of confusion:—*poür(s)* (<*pavorem*) : *oür(s)* (<*augurium*) 361, 925, 1179, *purcusent* (<**-cọsunt*<*consuunt*) : *usent* (<**ūsant*) 599, *truble* (from *tŭrbulare*) : *enuble* (from *innūbilare*) 1107, *nües* (<**nūbas*) : *sües* (<*sŭas*) 1213, *durs* (<*dūrus*) : *surs* (<*sŭper*+*s*) 1389, *luurs* (<*lucores*) : *murs* (<*mūrus*) 1685, *murs* : *flurs* (<*flores*) 1705, and five examples quoted in paras. xlviii and xlix. Other possible examples occur among the pretonic vowels (cf. para. lix), but these are of course less convincing. In vv. 1677–8 B has introduced another rime of this kind, viz. *mur* : *tur* (<*tŭrrem*). Rimes combining V. Lat. *u* and *ọ* are in fact (apart from those in *uī*) as frequent in this text as rimes combining *u* with *u* or *ọ* with *ọ*. These and similar rimes have been discussed by many scholars,[1] and were long believed to occur only in poems written in the north of England; but Vising has recently pointed out[2] that *u* : *o* rimes occur in poems by southern authors also. When Vising states, however,[3] that confusion of *u* and *o* began only in the middle of the twelfth century, he overlooks the occurrence of this phenomenon in the *Brendan*. The usual explanation is that OF *ü*, being an imported sound, was commonly mispronounced in England as *u*, coalescing in consequence with *u*<*ọ*. But the presence of many examples in a text written so early as 1121 carries the phenomenon back almost to the Conquest, and casts grave doubt on the supposed influence of English; especially as English at the time of the Conquest still possessed the vowel *y*, which was much nearer to French *ü* than to French *u*.[4] It is more probable that the invaders of England, or some section of them, had preserved Latin *ū* in its unmodified form—a pronunciation preserved in eastern Walloon until the present day.[5] Seeing that the author pronounced Fr. *ü* as *u*, we must not

[1] Suchier, *Ueber die . . . Vie de Seint Auban*, p. 5; id., in *Literaturblatt*, 1888, p. 343; id., *Voy. ton.*, § 11 c; Koschwitz, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, ii, p. 343; Walberg, *Bestiaire*, p. xlvi; Calmund, *Prolegomena . . .*, p. 104; M. K. Pope, *Étude sur la langue de Frère Angier*, pp. 19, 52; Tanneberger, *Sprachliche Untersuchung der frans. Werke John Gowers*, pp. 31, 37; Menger, *The Anglo-Norman Dialect*, p. 66; Studer, *Le Mystère d'Adam*, p. xliii; Prior, *Cambridge Anglo-Norman texts*, i, p. xxi.

[2] In *Archivum Romanicum*, viii, pp. 330f.; cf. Prior, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[3] *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature*, London, 1923, p. 29.

[4] Cf. H. C. Wyld, *A Short History of English*, London, 1927, § 158.

[5] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. frans. Grammatik*, i, § 50.

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expect to find in the *Brendan* any rimes combining *ü* and *i*, as in the works of Philippe de Thaün.[1]

(xlviii) Tonic **ǫ** + yod and tonic **u** + yod both produce **ui**, and in one instance rime together:—*cru*[*i*]*z* (< *crŭcem*) : *pu*[*i*]*z* (< **pūtius* for *pŭteus*?) : 1123. Some doubtful instances of this combination occur also in pretonic position; cf. para. lix. The same diphthong results from tonic *ǫ* + yod (cf. para. xxxv), and from tonic *ǫ* + final *i*:—*lui* < **illŭi* : *dui* < **dŭi* for *dŭo* 111, *tuit* < **tǫtti* (: *duit* < *dūcit*) 265, *trestuit* (: *seduit*) 309, *tuit* (: *fuit*) 463.

(xlix) Blocked **ǫ**, free or blocked **ǫ**, free or blocked **u**, and **au**, when followed by a nasal consonant, all produce (in this text) the same nasalized vowel, written usually *un*, *um*. In the following instances nasalized *ǫ* and *ǫ* rime together:—*sulunc* (< *sub-longum*) : *idunc* 227, *amunt* (< *ad montem*) : *sunt* 639. Similarly nasalized *ǫ* and *u*:—*sumes* (Fr. *somes*): *fumes* 521, *cumpaignun*(*s*) (< *-ōnem*): *un*(*s*) 643, 1499, 1525. The fact that there are no examples of nasalized *ǫ* and *u* riming together may be accidental. The only instance in which words containing *u* + nasal are combined in rime is *rancune* : *une* 421. The combination *au* + nasal occurs only in the verb-forms *unt* < **a*(*b*)*unt* (: *sunt*) 718, *funt* < **fa*(*c*)*unt* (: *unt*) 1653. *vunt* < *va*(*d*')*unt* (: *sunt*) 708, *estunt* < * *staunt* (: *unt*) 404, and the 3rd pers. pl. of futures. Note the proper names *Perrun*(*t*): *Nerun*(*t*) 1035, and the loan-words *jargunce* (: *unce*) 1069, *avisiuns* : *divisiuns* 1783. The developments in pretonic position are exactly the same as in tonic position (*umeit* : *betumeit* 803, *sermunét* : *dunét* 981, *muncel* : *puncel* 1463, *buntét* : *cuntét* 1551), except that in the loan-word *romanz* (< *rōmanice*) 12 the *o* is probably open.

(l) **ǫ** and **ǫ** + **n**-mouillé both produce **ui**(**g**)**n**, and rime together:—*luin* (< *lǫnge*) : *gruign* (< *grunnium*) 165, *busuinz* (from Frankish **sunnja*)[2]: *luinz* 241, 1635. The author would doubtless have been prepared to combine *u* + *n*-mouillé (e. g. in *jūnium* > *juin*) with either, but no example occurs. The existence of a diphthong in *uign* may be inferred from the parallel case of *eign* (para. xxvii). On *muines* : *suduines* 815 see para. xli.

(li) The developments of **au** are normal. For rimes of *o* < *au* with *o* < *ǫ* see para. xxxi. In *po*(*d*')*es* < Germ. *pauta* (: *noës*) 942, hence

[1] *Cumpos* 191-2 *lune* : *embolisme*. Cf. Vising, *Étude* . . ., p. 72; Suchier, *Voy. ton.*, § 11 c.

[2] *Dictionnaire Général*; cf. Gamillscheg, *F. E. W.*, s. v. *puiser*.

[3] Gamillscheg, *F. E. W.*, s. v. *soigner*.

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also in *goës* < **gautas* < *gabatas* (: *poës*) 1013, the *o*, though in hiatus with a following vowel, is still open. For the development of secondary *au* see para. x, and for *au* + nasal consonant see para. xlix.

(lii) **au** + yod > **oi** :—*cois*, from Gothic *kausjan* (: *bois*) 1548. From *paucum* we have the form *poi*, not *pou* (: *revoi* 863, : *oi* < *habui* 1331, : *soi* < *sapui* 1549, *goie* : *poie* 1773). In this case the treatment of secondary *au* does not differ from that of primary *au*; cf. *oi*, *soi*, *revoi*. On *oient* : *esgoient* 1785 see § 3, xxi.

(liii) The treatment of pretonic vowels in hiatus, as ascertained from the sometimes doubtful testimony of the leonine rimes, exhibits a few interesting features. Counterfinal **a** in *paradisum*, which normally weakens to fem. *e* (cf. *pareïs* : *poësteïs* 1651), appears to be retained as *a* in *paraïs* : *païs* 1822 (cf. *païs* : *baïs* 618). In vv. 1795–6 either *pareïs* : *requeïs* or *paraïs* : *requaïs* could be ascribed to the author, the former being more probable (cf. § 3, xxxiv).

(liv) Pretonic **a** or **e** immediately followed by *u* tends to become **o** :—*poür*(*s*) (< *pavorem*) : *oür*(*s*) (< *augurium*) 361, 925, 1179, *voüd* : *reçoüd* 1181. It is true that we also find *e* forms :—*veüe* : *receüe* 103, *meüd* (for *moüd* < **movutum*) : *seüd* (< *secutum*) 191. But the author certainly made use of *o* forms (cf. *doust*, *ous*, *ousum*, *sousum* in § 3, para. xxxvii), and the *e* forms can if necessary be attributed to the copyists. The change of *e* to *o* in these words is sometimes explained as due to analogy, and in the verbs the two sets of forms (*veüt*, *seüt*, etc. with *e*, *moüt*, *poüt*, etc. with *o*) may well have exerted a reciprocal influence; but in *poür*, *oür* the *o* can only have arisen through assimilation to the following *u*.

(lv) In two noteworthy instances, guaranteed by the rimes, a vowel has been assimilated to a contiguous preceding vowel :—*abootet*, for *aboëtet* (: *flotet*) 888, and *aasmat* < *ad-aestimavit* (: *blasmat*) 1054. Other examples of *aasmer* are known,[1] but *abooter* is a very rare form.[2]

(lvi) The synizesis of **o** with **u** in certain strong preterites and imperfect subjunctives, guaranteed by the metre,[3] is a striking feature of the language of the *Brendan* :—*oussent* 657, *sousum* : *ousum* 765, *oustes* 1121, *pouse* 1579, *ous* 1604, *poust* 1658, *doust* 1708. The resulting diphthong was presumably *ǫu*, but is not found in rime with *ou* from any other source.

[1] e.g. Beneeit, *Chronique* 23054 (quoted in Tobler-Lommatzsch).
[2] See the note to v. 888.
[3] See ch. iii, § 4 c, and ch. viii, § 3, xl.

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(lvii) The author appears to have made no distinction between the different types of **e** in pretonic position :—*enfertét* (V. Lat. *ẹ*) : *amertét* (*e* < tonic free *a*) 741, *celét* (*ẹ*) : *apelét* (*ẹ*) 809, *aserir* (< **assērire* for *asserescere*) : *asperir* (< **expĕrire* for *-iri*) 1321. He has combined initial and counterfinal *e* in *deraine* : *primeraine* 951, *pleners* : *suveners* 1569 ; cf. also *venud* : *homme nud* 1225, *de nus* : *penus* 1341.

(lviii) In the case of pretonic **o**, on the contrary, a distinction between open and closed pronunciations can be clearly detected, though occasionally obscured by the hesitations of the scribes. Pretonic *ǫ*, usually represented by *o* in the MSS., results from Lat. *au* (*oser* : *reposer* 307), from V. Lat. blocked *ǫ* (*tolud* 823, *portout* : *enhortout* 1279, etc.), from *o* in hiatus with a following vowel (*poür* : *oür* 361, *soül* : *voül* 373, *oïd* : *goïd* 565, etc.), and from *o* of any nature in loan-words (*absolud* 824). In all other circumstances pretonic *o*, of whatever origin, is a closed vowel, normally represented by *u* :—*savurét* : *murét* (< **mōr-atum*) 705, *truvum* (A *trovum*) : *ruvum* 747, *demurrai* : *succurrai* 867, *muveit* : *stuveit* (from *estuveir*) 919, *ulurs* : *dulurs* (MSS. *dolurs*) 1431, *ajurnét* : *turnét* 1491, *demurer* : *sururer* (< **superhōrare*) 1609, etc. For pretonic *o* + nasal consonant see para. xlix. The rime *romanz* : *cumanz* 11 should not be regarded as leonine.

(lix) The riming of **u** < *ǫ* with **u** < **u** is practised in pretonic as well as in tonic position, but the examples naturally have less value than those quoted in para. xlvii. A definite instance is the rime *seürance* (*u*) : *demurance* (*ǫ*) 121; more doubtful is *rüez* (< *rūtatus*) : *enlüez* (< **in-lŭtatus*) 1387.[1] To illustrate the riming of *ǫ* + yod with *u* + yod in pretonic position only one doubtful example can be given :—*fuisun* (< *fūsionem* ?)[2] : *tuisun* (< **tọsione* < *tonsionem*) 387.

(lx) The weakening of atonic **on** to **en** in *voluntatem* > *volentét*[3] is probably certified by the leonine rime with *plentét* 1769, though **A** has *voluntét*. The rimes *voluntif* (BD *volenti*(*f*)*s*) : *sultif* 87 and *volunters* (BDE *volentiers*) : *chers* 774, 965, 1542 are not leonine.

(lxi) The fall of atonic **e**, guaranteed by the metre, in the futures *frai, truvrai, resuscitrai* is dealt with in ch. iii, § 4 b and ch. viii, § 3, xxxi In *suvrain* (ABD *suverain, -ein*) 564, 1682 and *entrin* 443, etc., which in

[1] OF *enloër, enlüer* has *o* or *u* as stem-vowel ; cf. Tilander, *Remarques sur le Roman de Renart*, Göteborg, 1923, p. 48.

[2] OF *fuison* or *foison*.

[3] Cf. Suchier, *Reimpredigt*, pp. 73 f.

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continental French usually appear as *soverain* and *enterin* respectively, the form without *e* can be justified as phonetically regular. Apart from these words and those mentioned in paras. liv and lvi, atonic *e* is preserved in the *Brendan* as in continental French texts of the same period.

(lxii) In no instance did the author drop or insert i between vowels (the so-called 'hiatus *i*'), although these Anglo-Norman practices were often followed by the scribes. We find on the one hand *enveiat* (B *envead*): *aveiat* 139, *seiez* (A *seet*, BD *seez*): *veiez* (B *veez*) 359, *esmaiez* (A *esmaez*, D *maez*): *aiez* 365, *pluius* (B *pluus*, D *plueos*): *ennuius* (A *annuus*, *D ennuoes*) 975; on the other hand *cunreez*: *aseez* 451, *preez*<*praedatus* (A *preiez*): *creez* 1203, *espeez* (from *espoit* or *espiét*): *veez* 1373. Cf. Appendix II, § 8 d and e.

(*b*) Consonants

(lxiii) The distinction between l and l-mouillé is constantly ignored in rime, not only before a consonant:—*juvenilz*: *perilz* 407, *travailz* (for *-alz*): *calz* (< *calidos*) 1177, but also when they are final:—*vil*: *eisil* (<*exilium*) 29, *peril*: *costil* (< **costile*) 429, *eisil*: *cil* 561, *soleil*: *fedeil* 581, *beril*: *peril* 1089, *peril*: *seril* (< **serile*) 1309, *mil*: *peril* 1471, *soleil*: *peil* 1761. In a word like *trava*(*i*)*lz*, *l*-mouillé was probably depalatalized before a consonant, prior to vocalization.[1] In other words such as *juvenil* and perhaps *fedeil*, *l*-mouillé was doubtless substituted for *l* through confusion of endings;[2] but we cannot assume the presence of an analogical *l*-mouillé in monosyllables like *cil*, *peil*, and *vil*. Rimes of this type are found also in the works of Philippe de Thaün[3] and Gaimar[4]; they are the result of depalatalization of *l*-mouillé, which became a widespread (though not universal) feature of later Anglo-Norman.[5] It is true that rimes combining *l* and *l*-mouillé are by no means confined to Anglo-Norman, and that numerous parallels can be quoted from continental French texts[6]; yet in these they are often to be regarded as mere licences,

[1] Schwan-Behrens, *Gram. de l'ancien fr.*, § 159.

[2] *Fedeilz* and *cameilz* occur in *Roland* (vv. 29, 129, etc.).

[3] *Bestiaire* 2233, 3097 *soleil*: *feeil*.

[4] Cf. Vising, *Étude* . . ., p. 87.

[5] Cf. Stimming, *Boeve*, p. 212; Menger, *The Anglo-Norman Dialect*, § 36.

[6] e.g. *Thebes* 847 *ceiles* (<*cēlas*): *merveilles*; *Troie* 11895 *il* (<*illi*): *peril*. Cf. L. Constans, *Roman de Troie*, vi, p. 129.

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whereas their frequency in the *Brendan* indicates that the two sounds had become virtually identical.

(lxiv) There is no proof that l had become vocalized before a consonant in the language of the author of the *Brendan*. Many rimes combine *l* with *l*:—*halte* : *defalte* 247, *volt* : *asolt* 345, *oisels* : *bels* (A *oiseus* : *beus*) 501, *vols* : *cols* 511, *gals* : *jurnals* 577, *els* : *oisels* (A *eals* : *oisals*) 579, *solt* : *volt* 767, *salt* : *halt* 939, *estulte* : *tumulte* 949, *crüels* : *tels* 1049, *els* : *bels* (A *eals* : *beals*) 1633, *juvencels* : *els* (AD *juvenceals* : *eals*) 1735; also, in leonine rimes, *comunalment* : *vassalment* 113, *malfez* : *eschalfez* 1137, *carnalment* : *spiritalment* 1801. We find also *l*-mouillé apparently riming with *l*-mouillé in *juvenilz* : *perilz* 407 (cf. para. lxxix), and with *l* in *travailz* : *calz* 1177; but see para. lxiii. In no instance does a vowel + *l* rime with a vowel + *u*.[1] It is true that the MSS. sometimes show signs of vocalization (cf. Appendix II, § 34), but this is most probably due to the scribes. The riming of *e* with *e* before *l* + consonant is due rather to the opening influence of *l* than to vocalization; cf. para. xvi. Although the beginnings of the vocalization of *l* can be traced back to the Gallo-Roman period,[2] it is difficult to believe that in the language of educated people of the early twelfth century *l* before a consonant had become completely identified with *u*.[3]

(lxv) Certain rimes used by Philippe de Thaün and other early Norman and Anglo-Norman authors indicate that l or l-mouillé had disappeared entirely from pronunciation after the vowels *e* < free tonic *a*, *i*, *ei*, and *ui*.[4] The *Brendan* offers no parallel to any of these rimes. No conclusion as to the pronunciation of *l* can be drawn from rimes such as *juvenilz* : *perilz* 407, *crüels* : *tels* 1049.

(lxvi) Simple and double r appear to have been distinguished by the author of the *Brendan*, but the evidence is not conclusive. Simple *r* descends from Lat. *r* in popular or borrowed words (e. g.

[1] One must admit that the number of possible combinations of this kind (e. g. *Deus* : *ieus*, *vout* < *voluit* : *pout* < *potuit*) was relatively small.

[2] Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. franz. Grammatik*, i, § 169. Cf. the names *Bauduin*, *Tetbaud*, &c., in Domesday Book (*Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, viii, p. 361).

[3] The Oxford *Roland*, the Oxford Psalter, and the *Quatre Livre des Reis* preserve *l* before a consonant with almost entire consistency; cf. W. Foerster, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, i, p. 565.

[4] *Cumpos* 49 *cles* (< *claves*) : *anve(l)s* (< *annuales*); *Bestiaire* 195 *Dés* : *espirités*, 2051 *uis* (< *oculos*) : *duis* (< *doctus*), 2873 *mervei(l)t* : *deit*, 2971 *fis* (< *filius*, : *espiris*; *Reimpredigt* 18 c *replenis* : *peri(l)s*. Walberg, *Bestiaire*, p. liv, regarded *merveit* and *uis* as illustrating a change of *l*-mouillé to *i*; but cf. paras. xxii and xxxvii.

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saphire : *sire* 1071, *perent* : *erent* 1453, *veire* : *materie* 1679), and from Lat. *tr*, *dr* between vowels (e. g. *freres* : *peres* 145, *eire* : *creire* 147, *pere* < *petra* : *arere* 1231) ; these two groups are repeatedly combined in rime :—*frere* : *ere* 85 (A *frerre*), 221, 441, 991, : *clere* 484, 1041, 1540, : *miserere* 710, *peres* < *petras* : *enteres* 679, *neire* : *eire* 1197, *air* : *repair* 1363, *flairent* : *repairent* 1741. Double *r* descends from Latin or Germanic *rr*, or from V. Lat. *rr* produced by the dropping of an atonic vowel :—*terre* : *guerre* 3, : *querre* 83, : *serre* 497, etc. There are no examples in this text of the riming of *rr* with *r* ; yet this may be due to the fact that the rime-words containing *rr* are few, and that in every instance the tonic vowel is *ę*, which can only occur before the double consonant. Confusion between *r* and *rr* was prevalent among other Anglo-Norman writers from Philippe de Thaün onwards.[1] The leonine rimes show that before the accent the author of the *Brendan* made no distinction between them ; in this position, while simple *r* rimes often with itself (*irat* : *aspirat* 141, *desperer* : *averer* 957, etc.), and once with *r* < dental + *r* (*Perrunt* : *Nerunt* 1035), we find also several rimes combining *rr* with *r* < dental + *r* (*errer* < * *iterare* : *serrer* 597, *demurrai* : *succurrai* 867, *errét* : *enserrét* 1503, 1827), or with simple *r* (*der*[*r*]*aine* : *primeraine* 951). The *rr* in the futures *verrez* : *encrerrez* 475, *recrerrunt* : *verrunt* 1105, not assured by rime, is probably due to analogy.

(lxvii) The treatment of r calls for little other comment. There is no trace of the tendency, visible in Philippe de Thaün's works,[2] to disregard *r* before a consonant in rime ; the word *surs* (: *durs*) 1390 represents not *sus* < *sursum* but *super* + adverbial *s*. The disappearance of *r* before *s* in *ados* (from **addorsare*, : *los*) 80 goes back to V. Lat. times. The rime *glórie* : *apostórie* (< *apostolicum*) 1037 is accurate, *apostorie* being a recognized variant of *apostolie* ;[3] we are not justified in concluding from this instance, and still less from the possibly leonine rime *sculante* : *curante* 177, that the author of the *Brendan* combined *r* and *l* in rimes, as Philippe de Thaün frequently did.[4] The archaic form *alter* < *altare*,[5] replaced in French by *altel*, is guaranteed by the rime with *mer* 1083.

[1] *Bestiaire* 1691 *ure* < *hora* : *cur*[*r*]*e* < *currere* ; cf. Walberg, p. lv ; Menger, *op. cit.*, § 37.

[2] e. g. *Bestiaire* 7 *sage* : *large*, 291 *cors* : *enclos* ; cf. Walberg, p. lv.

[3] Cf. G. Paris, *Vie de St. Gilles*, p. xxxii.

[4] e. g. *Bestiaire* 103 *nature* : *nule* ; cf. Walberg, p. lv.

[5] Other examples given by Walberg, ibid.

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(lxviii) The treatment of **n** and **n**-mouillé is parallel to that of *l* and *l*-mouillé (cf. para. lxiii). The two are frequently combined in rime, whether first of a group:—*enseint* : *meint* (< **mĭnet*) 129, *esteint* : *peint* (< *poenet*) 761, or final:—*fin* : *lin* (< **lineu*) 43, *plein* : *desdeign* 235, or intervocalic:—*feignent* : *peinent* 215, 1103, *semaine* : *cumpai*[*g*]*ne* 593, *meinet* : *enseignet* 715, 1117, 1531, *seignet* : *peinet* 1257. As with *l*-mouillé, we may conclude that the Anglo-Norman depalatalization of *n*-mouillé [1] was already beginning. Philippe de Thaün has one or two examples of *n* riming with *n*-mouillé in his *Cumpoz*,[2] but none in his *Bestiaire*. The two sounds were sometimes combined in rime in continental texts,[3] but never so freely as in Anglo-Norman. *Larecin* (: *reclin*) 319, though derived from *latrocinium*, never has *n*-mouillé in French.

(lxix) Final **n** and **m** after a vowel can be combined in rime, presumably owing to weak articulation or extinction of the consonant when it has nasalized the vowel:—*peisun* : *eisum* 835. Such rimes are normal in OF and Anglo-Norman texts from Philippe de Thaün onwards,[4] and are not confined to the ending *-om*, *-um*.

(lxx) Final **n** after **r** is nearly always preserved in spelling in the Anglo-Norman MSS. of the *Brendan*:—*jurn* : *tresturn* 137, *sujurn* : *enturn* 589, *enfern* : *ivern* 1335, etc.[5] The fact that *-urn*, though occurring in eight rimes, is never rimed with *-ur*, creates a strong presumption that the *n* was still retained in the author's pronunciation.[6] Philippe de Thaün, on the other hand, did not pronounce *n* in this position.[7] On the *rz* in *jurz* 219, see para. lxxix. Final *rm* does not occur in rime in this text.

(lxxi) Double **m**, derived either from Lat. *mm* or from V. Lat.

[1] Cf. Stimming, *Boeve*, p. 219; Menger, *op. cit.*, § 36.

[2] e.g. *vaine* : *barai*[*g*]*ne* 2005.

[3] e.g. *Eneas* 4523 *enseigne* : *demeine*; *Richars li Biaus* 1253 *vaingne* (< *veniat*) : *fontainne*, 4529 *plainnes* (< *plenas*) : *compaingnes*. Cf. Salverda de Grave, *Eneas*, 1891 edition, p. xviii; F. Neumann, *Zur Laut- und Flexionslehre des Altfrans.*, Heilbronn, 1878, p. 49. It must be remembered that loan-words such as *digne*, *regne*, *Charlemaigne* were commonly pronounced with a simple *n*, and that *plaigne* < **planea* was a recognized variant of *plaine*.

[4] Cf. Mall, *Cumpoz*, pp. 76 f.; Walberg, *Bestiaire*, p. lvi; Studer, *Mystère d'Adam*, p. xlv; Suchier, *Reimpredigt*, p. lii.

[5] Also vv. 877, 1063, 1091, 1311, 1359, 1603.

[6] Cf. Suchier, *Reimpredigt*, p. xxiv.

[7] e.g. *Cumpoz* 181 *jur* : *lungur*, cf. Mall, pp. 77 f.; *Bestiaire* 2903 *fer* : *enfer*, cf. Walberg, p. lvi.

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mn, appears to be distinguished in rime from simple *m*:—*lam·me(s)* (<*lamina*) : *flamme(s)* 1131, 1147, 1163, 1212, but *servimes* : *obedimes* 533, *assemblames* : *amames* 731. In view, however, of the small number of examples, this distinction may be merely accidental.[1] In *termes* (: *lermes*) 895 the *m*<*mn* is in supported position.

(lxxii) The treatment of labial consonants requires little comment. Germanic **w** in intervocalic position has become *v* in *eschivent* (: *arivent*) 486 and *escive* (: *rive*) 1514, both from Frankish *skiuhan*. In *blef* (: *nef*) 264, from Frankish *blao*, V. Lat. *blavum*,[2] *v* of similar origin has become unvoiced when final. The fall of **b** in *nue*<**nuba* (: *vedue* 496, : *rue* 1151) is due to its intervocalic position next to a velar vowel. On the fall of *b* in *deies* 518, *deient* 672, 1620 see § 3, xxiv.

(lxxiii) Intervocalic dental consonants are frequently preserved in the spelling of the Anglo-Norman MSS., especially A, being written as *d* or *th* (cf. Appendix II, § 46 a); but the rimes prove that like Philippe de Thaün[3] the author of the *Brendan* ignored them:—*veüthes* : *nues* (<**nubas*) 213, *ve(d)ue* : *nue* 495, 1657, *cumplie* (<*completa*) : *psalmodie* 571, *celebrïent* : *ublïent* (<**oblitant*) 845, *nue* : *rue* (<*rutat*) 1151, *Marie* : *crie* (<*quiritat*) 1251, *crïes* : *dïes* 1263, *vie* : *folie* 1451, *veies* : *agreies* (from O. Norse *greiða*) 1497, *praierie* : *flurie* 1739. The leonine rimes *soüt* : *voüt* (past part. of *ve(d)eir*) 373, *baïs* (<**bat-ivus*) : *païs* 617, *veïstes* : *preïstes* 753, *voüd* : *reçoüd* 1181, *ferliez* (<*ferro-ligatus*) : *escrïez* 1369, *luur* (<*lucorem*) : *puur* (<*putorem*) 1423, point to the same conclusion.[4] In rimes like *vie* : *oïde* 99, *entrethe* : *eschipede* 251, *ledes* (<*latas*) : *taceledes* 493, *noës* (from **notare*) : *podes* (<Germ. *pauta*) 941, where each word originally contained an intervocalic dental consonant, the *d* or *th* is, therefore, purely graphic. A number of loan-words preserve intervocalic *t* unaltered:—*ermite* : *vitte* 'saintly mode of life' 75,[5] *Pilate* : *mate* (Persian *mat*) 1289, *merite* : *quite* 1441, *hermites* : *quites* 1543, *grisolites* (: *isselites*) 1687.

[1] Ph. de Thaün ignored the distinction; cf. *Bestiaire* 129 *sumes* : *umes*, and Walberg, p. lvi.

[2] Meyer-Lübke, *R. E. W.*, 1153; cf. Gamillscheg, *F. E. W.*, s.v. *bleu*.

[3] Cf. Mall, *Cumpos*, p. 80; Walberg, *Bestiaire*, p. lvi; Suchier, *Reimpredigt*, pp. xii f.

[4] *Quïez* < *cogitatis* (: *gracïes*) 568 is to be explained otherwise; cf. para. lxxviii.

[5] Cf. *vie* (: *folie*) 1451.

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(lxxiv) The reduction of intervocalic **tr, dr** through *rr* to *r*, and their riming with simple *r* (also with *rr* before the accent) have already been pointed out (para. lxvi). The dental consonant of these groups has left no trace even in spellings. In the loan-word *atre*< *atrium* (: *quatre*) 720, Lat. *tr* has been retained.

(lxxv) When intervocalic **t, d** became final, they normally developed into the interdental spirant *th* (doubtless voiced when followed by a vowel, unvoiced otherwise), and then disappeared altogether. In the Anglo-Norman MSS. of the *Brendan* the final dental is very frequently preserved as *t* or *d*; but there is no evidence to prove that it was pronounced in any instance by the author. On the contrary, the following rimes show that the final dental was ordinarily unpronounced :—*lei* : *fei* (<*fidem*) 69, *di* (<*dico*) : *fi* (<*fidum*) 117, *sei* (pron.) : *fei* 115, 297, *ci* : *vi* (<*vidi*) 417, *cunrei* : *mei* 459, : *avei* (from **ad-viare*) 584, *ici* : *ubli* 819, *tei* : *sei* (<*sitim*) 1607. *Va* (: *la*) 424 does not belong to this group of words, *vade* having been contracted to *va* in V. Lat.[1] In the borrowed words *esp(i)rit* (: *guit*) 131, *(h)abit* (: *dit*) 657, 1534, and *hait* (: *fait*) 670, a *t* of this nature has been preserved; but in *secrei* (: *sei* pron.) 1094 *t* has been lost.

(lxxvi) In its treatment of the terminations **-at, -ét, -it, -ut**, the *Brendan* is stricter than other Norman and Anglo-Norman texts of the period 1100–50.[2] In other texts, while rimes are occasionally found which indicate preservation of the dental consonant,[3] other more numerous rimes show that the dental had fallen from ordinary pronunciation.[4] Some texts appear to preserve the dental in *-at* and *-ut*, but not in *-it* or *-ét*;[5] some in *-ut*, but not in *-at*, *-ét*, *-it*.[6] The endings *-it*<*-itum* and *-it*<*-ivit* are sometimes kept apart, more often rimed

[1] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. franz. Grammatik*, i, § 325. Tanquerey, *L'Évolution du Verbe en Anglo-français*, p. 99, treats this rime as an instance of the reduction of *-at* to *-a*.

[2] On this complicated question see Mall, *Cumpos*, pp. 81 ff.; Walberg, *Bestiaire*, pp. lxi ff.; Suchier, *Reimpredigt*, pp. xix ff.; Menger, *The Anglo-Norman Dialect*, pp. 94 ff.; Tanquerey, *op. cit.*, pp. 460 ff. and 784.

[3] Gaimar, *Estorie des Engleis* 1147 *saisi* : *Edelfrid*, 1587 *avenu* : *Suth*, 3351 *loét* : *Elveret*, etc.; *Conflictus Corporis et Animae* (ed. Wright, p. 330) *Josaphat* : *jugerat*; Wace, *Brut* 3815 *Lud* : *tenud* (but cf. Walberg, *Bestiaire*, p. lviii, note).

[4] e.g. *Cumpos* 751 *truvé* : *tempore*, 3147 *di* : *guarni*; *Bestiaire* 191 *cuvri* : *enemi*, 343 *Damnedé* : *duné*, 1263 *Assida* : *vera*.

[5] Ph. de Thaün, *Cumpos*. This is accidental, according to Suchier (*op. cit.*, p. xxiii).

[6] Id., *Bestiaire*. Accidental?

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together ;[1] sometimes they rime even with words in which the *t* is permanent.[2] The majority of the rime-words concerned consist of verb-forms, in which the tendency of the final dental to disappear was constantly counteracted by analogical influences. The author of the *Brendan*, however, did not share these hesitations ; his practice is perfectly definite, and indicates a more accurate preservation of the consonant than was customary among his contemporaries. The preterite ending *-at* < *-avit* rimes with *-at* < V. Lat. **at* for *habet* (*irat* : *aspirat* 141), but not with *-a*. Past participles in *-ét* rime among themselves only, never with *é*.[3] Those in *-it* < *-itum* rime among themselves (*oïd* : *goïd* 565, 1113), and once with *-it* < *-ivit* (*chaït* : *haït* 1029), but not with words such as *dit*, *vit*, *delit*, in which the *t* was supported in Latin or became supported in V. Lat. on the fall of the posttonic vowel.[4] The ending *-ut* < *-utum*, *-utem* rimes only by itself and with *fut* < *fuit* (*fud* : *curud* 97, : *trescurud* 437, : *vertud* 537, 1835); no other preterite in *-ut* occurs in rime. This exceptional treatment of *fut* is usual in early texts.[5] In *palud* : *salud* 793, and the loan-word *absolud* (: *tolud*) 824 the dental is unsupported. In the strong preterites *out*, *sout*, etc., and the imperfects *aportout*, *veeit*, etc., the *t* is to be regarded as supported.

(lxxvii) Final *t* in the atonic verb-ending **-et** invariably prevents elision in this text, within the hemistichs as well as at the medial break :

46 Quer a trestuz eret amis.
151 Cumandet eals lui obeïr.
198 Ne lur celet, ainz lur ad dit.
205 E Deu prïet escordement.
267 Dreit les meinet a un castel.
357 Pain lur portet e le beivre.
618 Ainz que pusset entrer païs.
960 Vivre trovet e vestement.
1081 Sigle levét entret el tref.
1157 Cum plus halcet, e plus enprent.

[1] e.g. *Bestiaire* 295 *acumpli* (part.) : *venqui*.

[2] Cf. Walberg, *op. cit.*, p. lxiii, note; Tanquerey, *op. cit.*, p. 462 (but the examples from Gaimar are unsatisfactory).

[3] Contrary to the statement of Tanquerey (*op. cit.*, p. 460). As the author of the *Brendan* did not use the form *De* < *Deum* or similar forms, he could not have combined *-é* with any but Latin words.

[4] Mall (p. 84) claimed two such rimes for the *Cumpos*, viz. *dit* : *raemplit* 1021, 1801 ; but Walberg (*Bestiaire*, p. lxi) disputed their authenticity. Cf. G. Paris, in *Romania*, xxix, p. 590.

[5] Cf. *Bestiaire* 193 *fu* : *veii*, 2941 *fu* : *aparu*, and Walberg, p. lxiii.

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1516 Ne movet uns fors sul mun cors.
1526 ses cumpaignuns
Dist qu'amenget: ne failet uns.
1779 Bien diviset, e si li dit.

Yet it would be rash to jump to the conclusion that this *t* was still preserved in ordinary pronunciation at the time of the *Brendan*; for in rimes the poet ignored it with equal frequency:—*ere* (:*frere*) 86, 222, 442, 992, *cisle* (:*isle*) 94, *dure* (:*cure*) 161, *esmaie* (:*maneie*) 226, *ose* (:*aclose*) 254, *meine* (:*peine*) 439, *serre* (:*terre*) 498, 987, *targe* (:*barge*) 621, *adente* (:*turmente*) 906, *enbraise* (:*fornaise*) 911, *rue*< *rutat* (:*nue*) 1152, *espande* (:*grande*) 1426, *abrase* (:*grisopase*) 1689, *rechrie* (:*mie*) 1748. When both the rime-words contained the same verb-ending, the Anglo-Norman scribes normally added the *t* (e.g. *target*:*charget* 135, *chacet*:*facet* 989); in the other instances *t* was not added. The explanation of this apparently contradictory procedure is simple: in the language of the author the *t* of *-et* was mute, but the traditional rules of versification would not allow him to elide it within the line.[1] The tradition that *-et* prevented elision persisted in Anglo-Norman down to the time of Adgar;[2] but few writers can have followed it with such complete consistency as the author of the *Brendan*—certainly not his contemporary Philippe de Thaün.[3] The opinion already formed (see ch. iii), that the author of the *Brendan* prided himself on the technical perfection of his work and on the strict observance of rules, thus receives confirmation; and we are made to realize also the existence of a strong poetic tradition in Anglo-Norman of the early twelfth century.

(lxxviii) Dental consonants which became supported in V. Lat. owing to the fall of an atonic vowel are of course retained; the only apparent exception is *quïez*<*cogitatis* 568, certified by the leonine rime with *gracïez*. This is doubtless an analogical form, based on the stem-accented forms *cuïes*, *cuïet*, *cuïent* (<*cogitas*, *-tat*, *-tant*), the phonetic development of which is obscure, but can be paralleled from *deie*<*digita* and other words.[4] Supported *t* and *d* on becoming

[1] Cf. atonic *-es* and *-ent* in French verse since the Renaissance.

[2] Cf. Tanquerey, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

[3] In the *Cumpos* there are 3 cases of elision, 10 of non-elision; in the *Bestiaire*, 44 cases of elision, 12 of non-elision. Cf. Walberg, *Bestiaire*, p. lviii.

[4] Cf. G. Paris, in *Romania*, iv, p. 283; Walberg, *Bestiaire*, pp. lix ff.; Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. frans. Grammatik*, i, § 161; Schwan-Behrens, *Gram. de l'ancien fr.*, § 122.

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final both persist as *t*. From *inde* we have either *ent* (: *defent*) 295 or *en* (: *sen*) 1096 ; it is true that in v. 296 we could also read *defen*, but this is less likely in view of the rime *defent* : *gent* 649. The inorganic *t* in *Perrunt* : *Nerunt* 1035 A is due to the scribe; cf. Appendix II, § 45b. Final supported *t* is always preserved even when the supporting consonant has disappeared or become vocalized :— *peot* : *steot* 15, *dit* : *delit* 23, *eslit* : *vit* 107, *concreit* : *deit* 149, *cunduit* : *muit* 927, *pout* : *out* 1193, *nuit* : *annuit* 1483, *fait* : *trait* 1813. Such words never rime in the *Brendan* with words containing unsupported final *t*. On *va* (: *la*) 424, see para. lxxv.

(lxxix) **t** or **d** + final **s** > *ts*, usually written *z*. This is combined in rime with *z* from supported *n* + *s* (*jurz* : *gurz* < *gurdus* 219, *anz* : *sufflanz* 1383, : *servanz* 1623), with *z* from *s* after *l*-mouillé (*travailz* : *calz* < *calidos* 1177), and with *z* from *c* + *e*, *i* (*feiz* : *Benedeiz* 7, *romanz* < *romanice* : *cumanz* 11, *peiz* < *picem* : *veiz* < *vides* 1377). Another source of *z* is *s* after *n*-mouillé (*busuinz* : *luinz* 241, 1635), but this rimes only by itself. The developments of intervocalic *t* + yod in OF are inconsistent ;[1] on becoming final, this combination results sometimes in *z*, sometimes in *s*, the latter probably in early borrowed words. Hence we find *puiz* < V Lat. **pūtius* (: *cruiz*) 1124, but *palais* (: *pais*) 279. The form *pais* 280, which was common in OF by the side of *paiz* < *pacem*, is probably not of popular development, but based directly on Lat. *pax*. The *z* in *juvenilz* (: *perilz*) 407 is analogical ; cf. para. lxiii. Apart from these instances, there is no confusion in this text between final *s* and *z*. On the use of *past* 995 and *prest* 1752 without nominative *s*, see § 5, vii.

(lxxx) Voiced and unvoiced **s** are combined in the leonine rime *veneisun* : *peisun* (Central Fr. *venoison*, *poisson*) 1753. Although great importance must not be attached to this single instance, it is possible that the author confused the two sounds. The confusion of *s* and *ss* in later Anglo-Norman spellings indicates uncertainty in the pronunciation.[2]

(lxxxi) The rimes furnish no evidence of any weakening or alteration of **s** before another consonant :—*isle* : *cisle*[3] 93, *mast* : *alast* 613, *tistes* : *amestistes* 677, *jaspes* : *haspes* 687, etc. ; cf. the leonine rime *blasmat* : *aasmat* 1053. The rime *sutil* : *fust il* 1077 can hardly be regarded as leonine. On *firent* : *mistrent* 595 see § 3, xxxiv.

[1] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. franz. Grammatik*, i, § 157; Schwan-Behrens, *Gram. de l'ancien fr.*, § 193.

[2] Cf. Stimming, *Boeve*, pp. 224 ff.

[3] See *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, p. 28.

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(lxxxii) The author's pronunciation of initial and supported **c** and **g** before *a*, *e*, and *i* is difficult to determine. The rime *boche* (<**bottia*) : *roche* (<**rocca*) 1217 suggests that he pronounced *c*+*a* in the Central French manner (cf. *broches* : *roches* 1371), supported *t*+yod (consequently also *c*+*e*, *i*) in the Picard manner, i. e. as *tš* in each instance. Yet *boche* may have been an exceptional word, borrowed in this form from another dialect; and in any case there is no need to assume that the developments of *c* were uniform in all the words of a given dialect.[1] In vv. 1413–14 it is possible either to read (*e*)*scorcent* : *esforcent* with the MSS., or to correct them to *escorchent* : *esforchent*; by the side of OF *escorchier* (<**excorticare*) there existed also *escorcier*, based on *escorce*.[2] *Cachez* (: *sachez*) 1120 might be regarded as the Picard form of *chacier*<**captiare*,[3] but is more probably derived from **coacticare*, the doubly intensified form of *cogere*;[4] cf. *chacet* : *facet* 989. Apart from *boche* there is no evidence that the poet pronounced *c* and *g* in other than the Central French manner.

(lxxxiii) Other developments of **c** and **g** call for little comment. They have fallen, as usual, when intervocalic and next to a velar vowel :—*liu*<*locum* (: *piu*) 91, *rue*<*ruga* (: *nue*) 1662, etc.; but *c* has remained as *i* in *poi*<*paucum* (: *revoi*) 863, cf. *goie* : *poie* 1773. When first of a group, *c* has become vocalized and combined with the previous vowel :—*lermes*<*lacrimas* (: *termes*) 896, *defire*<*deficere* (: *ire*) 1392, etc.; except in the early loan-words *maigres* : *aigres* 1027, and in *x* (*c*+*s*) which is reduced to *s* in the usual manner :—*dejuste*< *de-juxta* (: *custe*) 1333, *destre* (: *prestre*) 207, etc. The ecclesiastical word *tistes* (: *amestistes*) 677, from *textus*,[5] shows abnormal development; cf. para. xviii.

(lxxxiv) **p**+yod > *tš*, written *ch* :—*sachez* (: *cachez*) 1119; but it would be possible, with the support of B, to introduce the emendation *saciez* : *chaciez* (see the note to v. 1120). In other early Norman and Anglo-Norman texts we find the development *p*+yod > *ts*, written *c*.[6]

[1] Cf. P. Studer, *The Study of Anglo-Norman*, Oxford, 1920, p. 5.

[2] From *corticem* with the prefix of *escorchier*, or from **scorticem* (= *scortea* + *corticem* ? Cf. *Dict. Général*, and Gamillscheg, *F. E. W.*

[3] Hammer, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, ix, p. 104.

[4] See the note to v. 1120.

[5] See the note to v. 677.

[6] e. g. in *sace*, *reproce*, *aprocier*, *procein*. Cf. Mall, *Cumpos*, p. 92; Varnhagen, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, iii, p. 175; Walberg, *Bestiaire*, p. lxvii; Menger, *op. cit.*, § 38.

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(lxxxv) The usual glide-consonants are found in consonant-groups ending in *l* and *r*:—*marbre* (: *arbre*) 273, 492, *mistrent* : *pristrent* 447, *paistre* (: *meistre*) 528, *estre* (: *destre*) 664, *plaindre* : *graindre* 1255, etc. They are guaranteed also by the leonine rimes *emblét* (< *involatum*) : *ensemblét* 311, *vendrez* (: *prendrez*) 367, *crendrez* (: *prendrez*) 477, *revendras* (: *aprendras*) 1800, (: *atendras*) 1803.

§ 3. Morphology[1]

(*a*) Declension[2]

(i) The masculine noun *(h)ermite*, borrowed from the Latin *-a* declension, appears to have been used by the author with or without *-s* in the nom. sg. :—*hermites* (: *quites*) 1543,[3] but *ermite* (: *vitte*) 75. In *hermite⌣en bois* 1547 the word is used predicatively. The borrowed word *lutres* (< *lutra*) 1571, the form of which is not guaranteed by rime or metre, was made masculine in French instead of feminine and assimilated to masc. nouns in *-re* (cf. para. ii).[4]

(ii) Analogical *-s* in the nom. sg. of masc. nouns and adjectives in *-re* is optional :—*frere* (: *ere*) 85, (: *clere*) 484, *prestre* (: *destre*) 208, *vostre⌣hoste* 882, *sire* (: *saphire*) 1072, (: *quire*) 1580, *l'altre⌣en val* 1345, *l'eire⌣est* 1636 ; but *peres* (: *freres* acc. pl.) 146, 155, 354, *leres* < *latro* (: *freres* acc. pl.) 334, *faitres* 1682. On *marbre* (: *arbre*) 492, see § 5, vi. The rimes *meindres* : *graindres* 1007 and *maigres* : *aigres* 1027, though inconclusive in themselves, may therefore be authentic. In other instances, where the form is not guaranteed by rime or metre, the MSS. usually vary :—*altre(s)* 171, 934, 1006, *frere(s)* 322, *pere(s)* 825, *marbres* 1389, *lutre(s)* 1571 (cf. para. i).[5]

(iii) Whether the author added nom. *-s* to imparisyllabic nouns other than those included in para. ii cannot be determined. A has *fels* 531, 1287 and *grips* 1011, 1027, 1029, but not in rime.

[1] Cf. Vising, *Étude . . .*, pp. 96 ff.; K. Brekke, *Étude sur la flexion dans le Voyage de S. Brandan*, Paris, 1885; W. Hammer, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, ix, pp. 108 ff.; Calmund, *Prolegomena . . .*, pp. 125 ff.

[2] On the observance of the OF two-case system by the author of the *Brendan*, see § 5, iii–vii.

[3] But *hermite* : *quite* (D only) is also possible, the adjective being used predicatively.

[4] Hence it was re-latinized as *luter* (cf. L *luter quidam*).

[5] There are no certain examples of this analogical *s* in the works of Ph. de Thaün; cf. Mall, *Cumpos*, pp. 103 f.; Walberg, *Bestiaire*, pp. lxix f.

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(iv) Feminine nouns and adjectives with consonant ending have no *-s* in the nom. sg.:—*rien* (: *bien*) 411, *seid* (: *cunreid*) 790, *grant* (: *espant*) 1173, *mort* (: *fort* adv.) 1234, *nef* (: *süef*) 1558. The rime *enfertét* : *amertét* 741 is inconclusive, while *palud* (: *salud* acc.) 793 follows *cume* (cf. § 5, vi). *Heritét* (: *deseritét*) 51, and *volentét* (: *plentét* acc.) 1770 are used predicatively. In the interior of the verses we find nom. sg. *nef* 252, *rien* 277, *quel* 505, *grant plentét* 506, *fort* 628, *faim* 790, *ardant* 790, *poür* 903, *mort* 1246 BDE, *fin* 1356, *esteit süef* 1751 A, *plentét* 1756; no MS. adds *-s* in any of these instances except *morz* 1246 A, *estez* 1751 DE.

(v) Adjectives and participles referring to an indefinite or neuter antecedent preserve the old neuter nom. form without *s*:—*est cumandét* (: *mandét* acc.) 832, *fust celét* (: *estelét* acc.) 1283, *fud ajurnét* (: *turnét*) 1491, and within the line, *el est gref* 128.

(vi) The restoration of stem-consonants in the *-s* forms of nouns, by analogy with the forms without *-s* (e. g. in *vifs*, *colps*, *blancs*) took place much earlier in England than on the Continent.[1] It is possible that in *dra*[*p*]*s* (: *raps*) 462 we have an analogical form of this kind, used by the author of the *Brendan*. No other example of *rap* (borrowed from O.Eng. *rap* 'rope') in a French or Anglo-Norman text is known, and the word would surely have been unintelligible without the *p*. On the other hand B has *ras*; while several other rimes prove non-pronunciation of the consonant:—*vi*(*f*)*s* (: *amis*) 45, *cols* < **colapos* (: *vols*) 512, *baïs* < **bat-ivus* (: *païs*) 617, *poëstéïs* < *-ivus* (: *paraïs*) 1652, *neis* < *nives* (: *reis*) 1681. The form *draps*, if it stood in the original text, must therefore have been exceptional. Cf. Appendix II, § 58.

(vii) The extensive use of analogical fem. *-e* in adjectives by the author of the *Brendan* is somewhat surprising in so early a text. It is of course normal for *dulz*, *fol*, *comun* to have separate fem. forms in OF (*dulce* 559, 706, 1001, *fole* 925, 1420, *comunement* 1824). But the addition of *-e* to adjectives and participles in *-ant* is at this date found chiefly in Anglo-Norman[2]:—*sculante* 177, *curante* 178, *dormante* 899, *flammantes* 1013, *trenchantes* 1014, *fumante* 1109, *puante* 1110; the only exception is *ardant*, *-nz* 1128, 1132. The etymological and analogical feminines of *fort*, *grant*, and *tel* are used

[1] Cf. Suchier, in *Jenaer Literaturzeitung*, iv, p. 64; Brekke, *op. cit.*, p. 26; Hammer, *op. cit.*, p. 108; Menger, *The Anglo-Norman Dialect*, § 54, 2.

[2] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatik der roman. Sprachen*, ii, § 60; Menger, *op. cit.*, § 53; Mall, *Cumpos*, p. 106; Brekke, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

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concurrently :—*fort* 628, but *forte* 900 (: *morte*), 1710 (: *porte*); *grant* 53, 275, 379, 387, 418, 572, 691, 892, 913,[1] 1111, 1164, 1173 (: *spant*), 1239,[1] 1314, 1618, 1787, 1790, but *grande* 240 (: *viande*), 290 (do.), 389 (*grandes* : *landes*), 686, 1425 (: *espande*), 1468, 1653, 1699, 1820 (: *Yrlande*), while in vv. 247 and 1667 either is possible; *tels* 942, *itel* 1393, but *tele* 799, 1198.[2] The *e* forms are more frequent in the rimes, and therefore in predicative use, but occur also within the lines and in adjectival use. Unlike *tel, quel* is found in this text in the monosyllabic form only (vv. 66, 231, 232, 233, 343, 505, 1199, 1680). Note also *menur* fem. 1240. In adverbs the forms without *-e* alone occur :—*comunalment* 113, *vassalment* 114, *vilment* 1295,[3] *forment* 1667, 1672, 1694, 1722, *carnalment* 1801, *spiritalment* 1802.

(viii) The feminine form has already replaced the masculine in the adjective *large* (for **larc*) :—*larges plurs* 1445.[4]

(ix) In the personal pronouns the most noteworthy feature is the survival of the neuter nom. sg. form *el*:

127 Seignurs, ço que en pensed avum,
Cum el est gref nus nel savum.

It is true that *el* is given by A alone, B having *ço* and CD *il*; but we may well regard this as one of the many instances in which A has preserved an archaic form, used by the author but modernized in the other MSS. The form *el* < **illu* for *illud* occurs in a number of early western French texts, and still survives in western dialects;[5] but no other Anglo-Norman example is known.[6] On the use of *il* as impersonal subject (distinct from *el*, which refers to a neuter antecedent), see § 5, xii.

(x) The relation between the tonic and atonic forms of the personal pronouns is dealt with in § 5, xi. The forms of the third person accusative and dative alone require mention here. By the side of *li, lui* is used commonly in A, and to some extent in the other MSS., as a dative form, both before and after the verb :—*Que lui mustrast* 49 A, *Cel lui mustret* 60 A, *Ico dunt lui pris est desir* 71,

[1] Assured by the medial break.

[2] In vv. 1431–2 *ulur* and *dolur* are masculine.

[3] A has *vilement* (+1).

[4] Cf. Suchier, *Reimpredigt*, p. 73.

[5] Cf. E. Görlich, *Die nordwestlichen Dialekte der Langue d'oïl* (*Frans. Studien*, v, 3), Heilbronn, 1886, p. 70; G. Paris, in *Romania*, xxiii, pp. 161 ff.; K. Nyrop, *Gram. hist.*, ii, § 533.

[6] G. Paris, *op. cit.*, p. 167, regarded the *Brendan* example as proving the existence of *el* in Norman at the time of the Conquest.

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Respundent lui 113 AD, *lui obeïr* 151, *ke lui estout* 246, *Apparut lui* 726 AE, *Comandet lui* 1447 AE, *que lui dïet* 1447 A, *ço que lui plout* 1506 B, cf. 150, 315 A, 419, 1261 AB, 1269 A, 1451 A, 1838 A; in some, if not all, of these instances *lui* is the tonic form, and may well have been so used by the author. The only instances (except after prepositions) in which *lui* is undoubtedly accusative are *Dunc lui prist Deus* 737 A (BE *le*, D *nus*) and *Merveillent lui e sun habit* 1534. In *lui servimes* 533, 733, the case is uncertain, as *servir* in OF could be followed by either accusative or dative.[1] The tonic feminine form does not occur, unless it be in v. 466, where *sur lui* = *sur l'isle*; but in this instance the author may have mentally substituted *Jascoine* or *peisun* for *isle*. V. 153 of the *Brendan* has been quoted[2] to illustrate the Anglo-Norman use of *lur* as accusative. A reads: *Puis lur baiset Brandan e vait*; but for *lur*, BDE have *les*, C *le*. Seeing that this use of *lur* is rare before the fourteenth century,[3] there can be little doubt that the reading of A is due to the scribe, and not to the author. For a possible instance of the use of *les* as dative, see the note to v. 358.

(xi) Little light is thrown by metre and rime on the possessive pronouns, save that the rime *mien* : *soen* (A *men* : *son*) 751 guarantees the existence of a diphthong in the accented forms; cf. § 2, xl. In the masc. nom. sg. (unaccented) the scribes normally use the forms with analogical *i*:—*mis* 1392, 1426 B, 1598, *sis* 1180, 1816; but A has *mes* in v. 1426. There is no sign of the introduction of the analogical forms *tien*, *sien*, *mienne*, etc., or even of *teie*, *seie* (cf. *sue* 1214, 1234). On the adjectival use of the accented forms, with or without the article, see § 5, xiii.

(xii) In the demonstratives the most noteworthy feature is the frequent use of the archaic neuter form[4] *cel* < **ecc-illu* (corresponding to *el* < **illu*, cf. para. ix), vv. 60, 117,[5] 358, 1457, 1771; cf. *icel* 358 B. Less certain is *cest* 1457, 1460, which may be neuter, but may also refer in both instances to *drap* 1456. Neither *cel* nor *cest* occurs in nominative function. For the other forms of *cil* and *cist*,

[1] Cf. G. Ebeling, in *Ztschr. f. frans. Spr. u. Lit.*, xxiii, Heft 4/6, p. 105; A. T. Baker, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, vii, p. 171.

[2] J. Vising, *Le Purgatoire de Saint Patrice*, Göteborg, 1916, note to v. 158.

[3] Vising, *ibid.*; Stimming, *Boeve*, p. xxii.

[4] Cf. Mall, *Cumpos*, p. 108; Görlich, *Die nordwestlichen Dialekte . . .*, p. 73; Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatik der roman. Sprachen*, ii, § 98; G. Paris, in *Romania*, xxiii, pp. 171 ff.; K. Nyrop, *Gram. hist.*, ii, §§ 559 and 563.

[5] The Picard reviser (cf. E) misinterpreted *cel* 117 as *ce*+*le* (pron.).

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see the glossary. *Ecce-hoc* gives *içe, çe*, but *oc, oec* in the compounds *avo(e)c, poro(e)c*, and *nepuroec*;[1] cf. glossary.

(xiii) The forms of the relative and interrogative pronouns are normal. The occasional substitution of *que* for nom. *qui*, masc. and fem., sg. and pl., (vv. 38 A, 67 B, 292 A, 525 A, 728, 804 A, 1336 AD, 1670 AD) is undoubtedly due to the scribes; though in vv. 38 and 292 the author may have used the dialectal fem. nom. sg. form *que*.[2] The neuter nom. sg. is *que* 300, 642, 1065. *Que* has been substituted by the scribe of A for tonic *qui* in v. 927: *Quar qui* (A *que*) *Deus prent en sun cunduit Ne deit cremer beste qui muit*.[3]

(*b*) Conjugation[4]

(xiv) The occasional substitution of the infinitive ending *-er* for *-eir* or *-ir* is due to the scribes, not to the author; cf. Appendix II, § 64). The rimes show that the author preserved the terminations *-er, -ier, -eir, -ir* and *-re* as accurately as continental writers. *Esperir* or *asperir* (: *aserir*) 1322 is from *experiri*, and has no connexion with *esperer*.[5] *Acalir* < **ad-callescere* (past part. *acalit* 1366) and *aserir* < **asserescere* 1321, like nearly all inceptive verbs (e.g. *florescere* > **florire*, *putrescere* > **putrire*) have been assimilated to the *punire* type.[6] *Braiet* (ind. pr. 3 sg.) 916 postulates an infinitive *braier* (in spite of *braire* 1206 and the preterite *braist* 934), but this can be paralleled from continental texts.[7] The same may be said of *resorter*,

[1] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. franz. Grammatik*, i, § 185.

[2] Conversely A has *qui* for *que* (conj.) in vv. 505 and 894.

[3] The reading of A was accepted by Laubscher (*The syntactical causes of case-reduction in Old French*, p. 99), but is contradicted by the other MSS. Cf. 439 *E issi vait qui Deus maine*.

[4] In addition to the literature mentioned on p. clxiv, the pioneer work of F. J. Tanquerey (*L'Évolution du Verbe en Anglo-français*, Paris, 1915) has been utilized in this section as far as possible. Unfortunately its statements concerning the *Brendan* are vitiated by two fundamental errors: (*a*) the original Anglo-Norman text, preserved on the whole by MS. A, has been constantly 'corrected' from the Picard 'remaniement' of the thirteenth century, and (*b*) MS. A has been antedated by a century. It would therefore be futile to draw attention to all the instances in which Prof. Tanquerey's views have not been accepted. Those features which may with certainty be attributed to the scribe have been relegated to Appendix II.

[5] Tanquerey, *op. cit.*, pp. 758, 815; cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, p. 30.

[6] Cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxi, pp. 392 f.

[7] Cf. *braie* (ind. pr. 3 sg.) *Fergus*, p. 78, v. 14; *breoent* (ind. impf. 3 pl.) quoted by A. Risop in Herrig's *Archiv*, xcii, p. 450. See Meyer-Lübke, *R. E. W.*, 1263. These forms may be due to the influence of *crier*, with which

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inferred from *resortet* (: *portet*) 1099.[1] From *muit* (: *cunduit*) 928 and *enruit* : *muit* 1129 we may infer the infinitives *muire* and (*en*)*ruire*, both recognized OF forms.[2] OF *esjoïr* < *ex-gaudere* underwent contamination with *joie* < *gaudia*, and we therefore find also *esjoier*;[3] hence *esgoient* (: *oient*) 1786.

(xv) Analogical *-e* has been added in two instances to the ind. pres. 1 sg. of Lat. *-are* verbs :—*demeine* (ADE *-aine*) < **de-mino* (: *peine*) 1308, *lie* < *ligo* (: *nie* subj. pres. ?) 1457. These are the earliest examples of their kind;[4] the works of Philippe de Thaün offer no parallel. The absence of analogical *-e* is guaranteed in other instances by rime or metre :—*pri* (: *ici*) 329, *os* 1253, *guart* 1426. The *-e* in *change* 1357 (not guaranteed by the metre) and in *enfle* 1429 is a supporting vowel. A noteworthy form is *repair* < *repatrio* (: *air*) 1364, in which the original supporting *-e* has been dropped, doubtless by analogy with other forms such as *mir*, *aïr*, *jur*, *aür*, etc.[5]

(xvi) There is no trace of analogical *-s* in the 1st pers. sg. :—*defent* (: *ent*) 296, *descent* (: *turment*) 1355, *fent* (: *tent* 3 sg.) 1430. From *vado* we find the normal OF form *vois* 432, with unexplained *-is*,[6] but not in rime; more frequent is *voi* 1322, 1364, in which *-s* has been dropped by analogy with other verbs, and this form occurs in rime :—*poi* : *revoi* 863.[7]

(xvii) Another 1st pers. sg. ending which, in view of the consistency of the Anglo-Norman MSS., may reasonably be attributed to the author, although it does not occur in rime, is *-c*, found in the indicative present :—*prenc* 1310, *revenc* 1405, and in the preterite :—*vinc* 1434, 1546, 1555, 1581. This *-c* is frequent in Western French and Anglo-Norman texts,[8] but has not been satisfactorily explained.

braire was constantly combined. Brekke (*op. cit.*, p. 72) and Tanquerey (*op. cit.*, pp. 569 and 767) misinterpreted *braiet* as an imperfect.

[1] Cf. Godefroy.

[2] Cf. Godefroy *muire*, *ruir*, *ruire*; H. Andresen, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, xxii, p. 85; Meyer-Lübke, *R. E. W.*, 5719.

[3] Cf. Godefroy; François Villon, *Œuvres*, ed. Longnon and Foulet, 1923, glossary.

[4] Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatik der roman. Sprachen*, ii, § 136; Tanquerey, *op. cit.*, pp. 5–6 and 12.

[5] The same rime occurs in the Oxford *Folie Tristan*, vv. 301–2. Cf. Tanquerey, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[6] Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. frans. Grammatik*, i, § 324.

[7] *Voi* appears to be a rare form; there is one example in Bartsch-Wiese, *Chrestomathie de l'ancien français*, 79, 16 (Joinville).

[8] Cf. M. K. Pope, *Étude sur la langue de Frère Angier*, Paris, 1903, pp. 34 f. and 60; Tanquerey, *op. cit.*, pp. 39 ff. and 631.

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Often it is purely graphic, but not always; cf. the rimes *preng* : *reng* in the Oxford *Folie Tristan* 495, and *jo enteng* : *chamberleng* : *j'enpreng* in *Romania*, xv, p. 243. To judge from these rimes, and from Anglo-Norman spellings with *k*,[1] the *c* was hard, and cannot therefore be identified with the Picard *c* or *ch* (*tš*) in *fac* < *facio*, *senc* < *sentio*, etc.[2] As it occurs principally after *n*, a phonetic change *-nt* > *-nc*, with alteration of the *t* by the preceding nasal consonant (or nasalized vowel) might be suggested; cf. the common form *branc* for *brant* 'sword'.

(xviii) The termination of the 1st pers. pl. is normally written *-um* in this text, and the rime *peisun* : *eisum* 835 shows that this form was used by the author. Occasionally final *s* was written by the scribes; see Appendix ii, § 65. Apart from *sumes* 191, etc., there is no trace of the ending *-omes* except in the Picard 'remaniement'.[3] In the preterite the terminations are normal. No example of *-iens* occurs in this text.

(xix) MS. A offers a few examples of the termination *-eiz* in the 2nd pers. pl. of futures:—*suff*[*e*]*reiz* 551, *streiz* 863, *freiz* 878, 881, 883. These may well descend from the original, but do not occur in rimes. In vv. 367, 427, 475, 477, and 771, futures in *-ez* rime among themselves. On the forms *-és* and *-ét*, see Appendix II §§ 49 and 65.

(xx) Verbs of the **precare* type invariably have *i* as stem-vowel, not only when accented on the stem:—*pri* (: *ici*) 329, *nie* < *nĕcem* or *nĕco* (: *lie*) 1458, but also when accented on the termination:—*prïer* 43, *prïerent* 115, etc. It is true that forms of the latter type do not occur in rime, and that the MSS. other than A usually have *preer*, occasionally *preier*; but their authenticity is guaranteed by further evidence. Verbs of the *plicare* type, being assimilated to the *precare* group, likewise have *i* consistently as their stem-vowel:—*lie* < *ligo* (: *nie*) 1457, *liet* (: *dïet*) 1448; also in pretonic position, guaranteed by the leonine rime, *ferlïez* < *ferro-ligatus* (: *escrïez*) 1369. Some

[1] Cf. Stimming, *Boeve*, p. 221.

[2] A. Horning, in Boehmer's *Roman. Studien*, v, pp. 707 ff., and Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatik der roman. Sprachen*, ii, § 136, deal with the Picard *-c* only. Suchier, in Gröber's *Grundriss*, i[2], p. 772, derived the hard *-c* from such forms as *spargo* > *esparc*, *surgo* > *sorc*, *plango* > **planc*, *cingo* > **cenc*; similarly G. Lindqvist, *Quelques observations sur le développement des désinences du présent de l'indicatif de la première conjugaison latine . . .*, Upsala, 1898, p. 31. On the preterite *vinc* see J. Cornu, in *Romania*, vii, p. 360, and x, p. 216; W. Foerster, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, iii, p. 495.

[3] Cf. p. xxi; Tanquerey, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

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uncommon words containing the suffix *-eier* < **-idiare* belong to this group :—*celebrïent* (: *ublïent*) 845, *turnïet* : *esturdïet* 1717. Hence *turni* 1362, though not in rime, may be accepted as a correct form from *turnïer* (Fr. *torneier*). On the loan-word *rec(h)rie* < *recreat* (: *mie*) 1748 see the note.

(xxi) Other levellings of stem-vowels in verb-forms show nothing abnormal. *Salt* < *salit* (: *halt*) 939 is never found with *e*. Verbs derived from Germ. *brasa*, such as *abrase* (: *grisopase*) 1689, usually keep *a* throughout, although the substantive becomes *brese*. *Volent* 'they fly' (: *tolent*) 1133 is levelled, as usual, on the ending-accented forms. *Solt* 767 has been interpreted as a preterite, not as a levelled form of *soelt* < *solet*.[1] The ind. pres. sg. forms of *voleir* usually appear in the MSS. with an undiphthongized vowel (*voil* 118, *volt* 155 AC), but do not occur in rime.[2] *Eissir* < *exire* appears in the MSS. with either *ei* or *i* as stem-vowel, whether in stem-accented or in ending-accented forms; thus A has *eisent* 265 but *issent* 1671, *eisut* 1673 but *istrai* 1515. The rime *guarnissent* : *issent* 1003 and the leonine rime *peisun* : *eisum* 835 guarantee the use of the etymological forms (at least in these instances) by the author.[3] The rime *oient* : *esgoient* 1785 might be corrected (against all three MSS.) to *oënt* : *esgoënt*; yet *esgoier*, *esjoier* is frequent in OF (cf. para. xiv), and *oient* is a common OF analogical form based on *oi* < *audio*, *oie* < *audiam* and similar forms; cf. *oit* (?) 1255 A, *oient* 1172 D, 1787.

(xxii) Other verbs show the normal apophony.[4] The following forms are guaranteed by the rimes :—*meinet* (: *enseignet*) 715 (cf. *mener* : *asener* 473), *peint* (: *esteint*) 762, *peinent* (: *feignent*) 216, (: *meinent*) 1339 (cf. *pener* 217), *pert* < *paret* (: *ert*) 1647, *perent* (: *erent*) 1453 (cf. *pareir* 382).

(xxiii) The ind. pres. 3 sg. of *aler* never appears in this text as *vet*, but always *vait* (: *dehait* 153, : *fait* 760, : *trait* 1153, : *ait* 1517, : *lait* 1756) by analogy with *fait*, *trait*, etc. On the other hand *set* < *sapit* remains unchanged, not, however, occurring in rime. The ind. pr. 3 sg. of *ester* appears as *estait*,[5] but not in rime. The form *cundüent* < *-ducunt* (BDE *-duient*) 639 is perhaps an archaic form retained in A.

(xxiv) A few present indicatives show analogical alteration of the

[1] See the note to v. 767.
[2] On *volt* see Suchier, *Voy. ton.*, § 28; Tanquerey, *op. cit.*, p. 156.
[3] Cf. Suchier, *Reimpredigt*, p. xviii.
[4] A list is given by Brekke, *op. cit.*, pp. 64 ff.
[5] The only twelfth-century Anglo-Norman form; cf. Tanquerey, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

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stem-consonants. In *deient* < *debent* (: *veient*) 672 *v* has been dropped, probably on analogy of *seient*, *veient*, and similar forms.[1] In *quïez* (< *cogitatis*) 568, certified by the leonine rime with *gracïez*, *d* has been dropped on analogy of the stem-accented forms like *quïent* (< *cogitant*) 1220.[2] In *quident* 1339 levelling has taken place in the opposite direction; but this form is not in rime. The substitution of *n* for *nd* in *respunent* 113 B, 965 A, of (*n*)*gn* for *n* in *pre*(*n*)*gnent* 307 A, 598 A, 610 A, 1166 A [3], of *in* for *n* in *respoinent* 113 C, and of *ng* for *n* in *prengent* 631 A can be attributed to the scribes.

(xxv) The imperative 2 sg. forms *va* (: *la*) 424,[4] *di* (: *ici*) 1323 and *siu* (: *piu*) 1605 are certified by the rimes. Note also *lai* (from **laier* < Germ. *lagan*) 193 and *fai* 1440; *prenges* 516, *prengét* (2 pl.) 296 A and *sachez* 1052, 1119, borrowed from the subjunctive; and *faimes* (1 pl.) 132, borrowed from the present indicative. But none of these forms is in rime except *sachez* (: *cachez*) 1119.

(xxvi) The *Brendan* presents three examples, guaranteed by rime, of the addition of analogical *e* to the subjunctive present of *-are* verbs:—*esmaie* 3 sg. (: *manaie*) 226, *crie* 1 sg. (: *Marie*) 1252, *nie* < *necem* (: *lie* < *ligo*, cf. para. xv) 1458.[5] In each instance the stem ends in a vowel. These, with the contemporary *mercie* 3 sg. in *Roland*, v. 519, are the oldest known instances of their kind, apart from the much earlier but isolated *raneiet* in *St. Eulalia*, v. 6; the works of Philippe de Thaün offer no parallel. A similar development might have been expected where the stem ended in a consonant, cf. *Eulalia* 26 *degnet*, *Gormont* 82 *vante*, perhaps also *Roland* 18 *dunne*; but no reliable instance of this kind occurs in the *Brendan*.[6] The absence of analogical *e* is guaranteed by metre or rime in the following instances:—*meint* 115, *enseint*: *meint* 129–30, *guit* (: *espirit*) 132, *guard* 206, *peint* (: *esteint*) 762, *port* (: *fort*) 1016, *an*(*n*)*uit* (: *nuit*) 1393, 1484, all 3 sg. forms. In *mustret* 60 the *e* is a supporting vowel.

[1] In vv. 232 and 1620 *dient* might be interpreted as subjunctive, but may equally well be indicative (cf. variants). *Doient* is wrongly stated by Schwan-Behrens, *Gram. de l'ancien fr.*, § 413, to be a late form only.

[2] Cf. § 2, lxxviii.

[3] Cf. Brunot, *Hist. de la langue fr.*, iii, 1, p. 313.

[4] Cf. § 2, lxxv.

[5] *Nie* could also be interpreted as indicative; cf. G. Willenberg, in Boehmer's *Roman. Studien*, iii, p. 381.

[6] Tanquerey, *op. cit.*, pp. 309 f., quotes *target* 135 and *adente* 906; but there is little doubt that these (as well as *rechrie* 1748) are indicatives. As for *cesset* 224, quoted as a subjunctive form by J. Bédier in *Mélanges F. Lot*, Paris, 1926, p. 27, and altered by Tanquerey (p. 310) to *lesset*, this is merely a scribe's error for *cesiet* < *caespitat*.

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(xxvii) The development of present subjunctives in *-am*, *-eam*, *-iam* is normal :—*voile* : *doile* 17–18, *mentet* 298, *seient* 634, *aient* 652, *perdez* (<*perdatis*) 926, *failet* 998, *dïes* (: *criés*) 1264, *espande* (: *grande*) 1426, *ïet* (: *liet*) 1447, *movet* 1516. The subj. pr. of *deveir* was contracted from *debeam* to **deja* in V.Lat. ; hence 2 sg. *deies* (: *seies*) 518. On *deient* 232, 1620, see para. xxiv, note. The subj. pr. 3 sg. of *estre* and *aveir* is contracted :—*seit* 14, etc., *ait* 226, etc. (but *seie* 1 sg. 1250, *seies* 2 sg. 517). The subj. pr. 3 sg. of *poeir* is uncontracted :—*puisset* 602, *pu*[*i*]*sset* 618.

(xxviii) Verbs of any class with stem ending in *n*, *l*, or *r* form their present subjunctive by adding *-ge* to the stem.[1] *Prengent* (: *calengent*) 1478 is guaranteed by the rime ; *me*(*i*)*nge* (from *mener*) : *prenge* 119 and *ve*(*i*)*ngent* : *te*(*i*)*ngent* 1615 rime together respectively ; within the lines we find *murget* 61 AB, *prengét* (used as imperative) 296 A, *prenget* 352, *prenges* (imperative) 516, *vengent* 619, 666, *venget* 1080, *amenget* (from *amener*) 1526, *tolget* 1764 A. Exceptions are *voile* 17, *doile* 18. Whether the author used *venge*, *tenge* or *vienge*, *tienge* cannot be determined ; the diphthongized form would be normal.

(xxix) The imperfect indicative of *-are* verbs, ending in *-oue*, 3 sg. *-out*, 3 pl. *-ouent*, does not rime with other imperfects, which end in *-eie*, *-eit*, *-eient*. Examples of the former are numerous :—*reposout* : *errout* 321, *portout* : *enhortout* 1279, *celoue* 1281, *quidoue* 1283, *aürouent* : *coronouent* 1293, etc. ; the 3 sg. form is combined in rime with preterites :—*estout* (< *stabat*)[2] : *out* (< *habuit*) 77, *portout* : *out* 1139, *aportout* : *pout* (pret. of *paistre*) 1571. There is no evidence of the reduction of *ou* to *o*. In vv. 455–6 A presents the exceptional rime *muveit* : *luigneit* (*se l.* = *s'esluigneit* ?), and *luigneit* appears to be supported by *elongari* in the Latin prose translation ; but BDE have *muveit* : *fuieit*, which gives equally satisfactory sense (cf. *fugiens* in the Latin) and has been adopted in the critical text.[3]

(xxx) The imperfect indicative 3 sg. of *estre* is usually *ert*, and rimes with *pert* (< *paret*) 1648, 1676 ; but *ere* is used to provide a rime with *frere* in vv. 86, 222, 992,[4] and in v. 46 the form *eret*

[1] Cf. Tanquerey, *op. cit.*, pp. 351 ff.

[2] *Estout* could also be explained as a preterite ; cf. para. xxxvii and Vising, in *Literaturblatt*, vi (1885), col. 371.

[3] The substitution of *-eit* for *-out* probably did not begin in Anglo-Norman until the second half of the twelfth century ; cf. Tanquerey, *op. cit.*, pp. 556 ff.

[4] Similarly in Gaimar and other Anglo-Norman authors ; cf. Tanquerey, *op. cit.*, p. 571.

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(A *ert*, −1) may reasonably be attributed to the author. To introduce *eret* in v. 40,[1] on the other hand, would destroy the medial break. As in the works of Philippe de Thaün,[2] *esteit* is much less frequent than *ert*. The 3 pl. form *erent* rimes with *nafrerent* 944, *perent* 1454.

(xxxi) In the future tense (the conditional is infrequent) the author's free use of contracted forms is a striking feature. Some of these forms were widespread at the same period on the Continent :— *dur*[*r*]*at* (fut. of *duner*) 362, *demur*[*r*]*ai* (fut. of *demurer*) 867, *lairunt* (from **laier*; BD *larrunt*) 1478, *menrat* 1605, *menrai* 1792. Others seem to have been confined to certain northern dialects. The contracted future of *faire* is found in NE. French texts as well as in Anglo-Norman.[3] In this text the forms *fras* 426, 1044, 1603, *frat* 367, 1566, 1633, *frez* 553, and *freiz* 878, 881, 883 are all assured by the metre ;[4] there need therefore be no hesitation in correcting *ferat* 924 AB to *en frat* (cf. DE *en ferat*, +1). In v. 43 there is a choice between the conditional *fereit* (so A ; B *freit*, −1) and the imperfect *faiseit* (CDE), both readings giving good sense ; the latter has been adopted. Another series consists of certain verbs of the first conjugation with stem not ending in *r*, *l*, or *n* :—*truvrat* 246, 412, 1772, *truvrai* 433,[5] 586, *resuscitrai* 1567. Such forms are recorded from a number of early texts of the Walloon and northern Picard region,[6] and became common in Anglo-Norman.[7] The only uncontracted forms are *turnerez* 427, *porterai* 434, *sujurnerez* 771, and *mangerez* 994, all containing groups of consonants which made contraction difficult. The scribe of A is alone responsible for the contraction *suffreiz* (BDE *sufferez*) in v. 551. On the intercalation of *e* in futures by the Anglo-Norman scribes, see Appendix II, § 6 b and c.

(xxxii) The future of *estre* is dimorphic ; on the one hand we have *ert* 6, 110, 201–2, 228, *erent* 1114, on the other *estras* 425, *estrat*

[1] Bartsch-Horning, *op. cit.*, col. 72, v. 5.

[2] Cf. Tanquerey, *op. cit.*, p. 572.

[3] e. g. in the *Poème Moral* (Walloon) published by W. Cloetta ; cf. the introduction, p .115. See also Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatik der roman. Sprachen*, ii, § 314.

[4] Tanquerey, *op. cit.*, p. 737, attributes them to the scribe of A.

[5] In v. 433 it is possible to introduce the normal form *truverai*, by omitting *la*, as BDE have done.

[6] Cf. Cloetta, *Poème Moral*, pp. 86 and 112 ; M. Wilmotte, in *Romania*, xviii, p. 217 ; Meyer-Lübke, *op. cit.*, § 314 ; Suchier, *Aucassin und Nicolette*[9], p. 65.

[7] Cf. Tanquerey, *op. cit.*, pp. 701 f.

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1765, *estrez* 590, *streiz* 863. In the conditional we find only *estreit* 617, 1072, *estreient* 620. The entire absence of *serai* is a remarkable feature, said to distinguish the *Brendan* from all other Anglo-Norman texts.[1]

(xxxiii) The weak preterites call for little comment. The substitution of *-irent* for *-erent* in *alirent* (: *guarnirent*) 1004 A, of *-erent* for *-irent* in *chosserent* 465 A, *oierent* 855 A, *goierent* 856 A, is due to the scribe. Preterites of the *perdiet, perdierent* type (from V.Lat. **perdedi*, etc.) have been remodelled on the *dormit, dormirent* type: *respundit* 415, etc., *chaït* (: *haït* past part.) 1029 (cf. *chaïmes* 523),[2] and *perdirent* (: *virent*) 837. Hence we find also *vesquit* 733, *venquit* 951, not *vesquiet, venquiet*.[3]

(xxxiv) In the strong *-si* preterites, the dropping of intervocalic *s* (i. e. the assimilation of the *dixi* type to the *vidi* type) is indicated by the leonine rime *veïstes* : *preïstes* 753, possibly also by *queïs* : *pareïs* 545, *pareïs* : *requeïs* 1795.[4] When not intervocalic the *s* is retained, e. g. in the 3 sg. :—*forfist* : *mist* 57, *requist* : *dist* 101, *anquist* : *dist* 413, *mist* : *prist* 781, *dist* (: *cist*) 1060, *dist* : *quist* 1831 ; note also the uncommon forms *avolst* (from *volvere*) 176 and *braist* (: *traist*) 934. The fact that in v. 1557 both MSS. (AD) have *cunduit* for *cunduist* must therefore be regarded as accidental. In the 3 pl. the poet seems to have used both the etymological and the analogical forms. The MSS. usually present the etymological forms :—*mistrent* : *quistrent* 260, : *pristrent* 448, *trestrent* 380, *pristrent* 807, 809 ; hence in vv. 595–6, where all MSS. present the bad rime *firent* : *mistrent*, we may assume that the original text had *fistrent*.[5] Yet the analogical form *firent* is also guaranteed by the rime with *choisirent* 465. No instance of the analogical extension of *s* forms occurs in this text. The analogical alteration of the stem-vowels in *prestrent* (for *pristrent*) 302 and *remist* (for *remest* < *remansit*) 1815 is doubtless due to the scribe of A.[6]

(xxxv) In v. 470 we have a choice between dissyllabic (*nus*) *feimes*

[1] *ibid.*, p. 734.

[2] See the note to v. 1029. The original form *chaist* is rare ; cf. E. F. Wahlgren, *Étude sur les actions analogiques réciproques du parfait et du participe passé dans les langues romanes*, Upsala, 1920, pp. 106 and 115–17.

[3] Similarly in Ph. de Thaün's works there is no preterite in *-iet*. Cf. Tanquerey, *op. cit.*, p. 598.

[4] Cf. p. liii.

[5] *Fistrent* is rare in Anglo-Norman (cf. Tanquerey, *op. cit.*, p. 647) ; it is therefore natural that all the copyists should have substituted *firent*.

[6] Cf. Tanquerey, *op. cit.*, p. 652.

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(with A) and trisyllabic *feïmes* (with B). It is by no means impossible that the author may have used the contracted form (cf. ch. iii, § 4 c);[1] but seeing that this text offers no exact parallel,[2] and that uncontracted forms of undoubted authenticity occur (*veïstes* 753, *preïstes* 754, *requeïs* 1796), we must regard the reading of B as that of the original.

(xxxvi) The preterites of *veeir*, *venir*, and *tenir* are normal; references will be found in the glossary. From *voleir* we have only 3 sg. *volt* (: *asolt* 345, : *solt* 768) and 3 pl. *voldrent* 293, etc. (not in rime). *Solt* < *soluit* 767[3] is exactly parallel to *volt* < *voluit*.

(xxxvii) The strong *-ui* preterites (other than *volui*) show a marked tendency to become reduced to a single type. For the sake of clearness, a list is here given of all the forms occurring in the critical text, whether in rime or not:

(*a*) The *potui* type (stem-vowel *o*).

2 sg. *moüs* 776.

3 sg. *pout* (: *estout*) 180, (: *out*) 1193, (: *tout* < *tacuit*) 1267, also 608; (*e*)*stout*[4] (: *pout*) 179, (: *plout*) 304, also 326, 530; *mot* 1259, *commot* 1260[5].

3 pl. *pourent* 238, (: *sourent*) 1175.

(*b*) The *habui* type (stem-vowel *a*).

1 sg. *oi* 1290, etc.; *soi* (: *poi* < *paucum*) 1550.

2 sg. [*ous*] 1604.

3 sg. *out* (: *estout*) 78, (: *desplout*) 278, (: *sout*) 336, (: *pout*) 1194, etc.; *sout* 23, (: *out*) 335, (: *plout*) 1505; *plout* < *placuit* (: *estout*) 303, (: *sout*) 1506, *desplout* (: *out*) 277; *tout* < *tacuit* (: *pout*) 1268; *pout* < **pauuit* (: *aportout*) 1572.

2 pl. *oustes* 1121.

3 pl. *ourent* 240, 860, (: *sourent*) 1200; *sourent* (: *pourent*) 1176, (: *ourent*) 1199.

(*c*) The *debui* type (stem-vowel *e*).

1 sg. *dui* 1276.

3 sg. *dout* 158; ? *estout* (: *out*) 77[6]; *cunut* 195, *cunuit* 337, 935,

[1] Tanquerey, *op. cit.*, pp. 633 and 643, quotes a few similar examples from twelfth-century texts.

[2] *Aprimes* 770, quoted by Brekke (*op. cit.*, p. 62), is not a reduction of *aprëimes*, but the adverbial phrase *a primes*; cf. Vising, in *Literaturblatt*, vi (1885), col. 370.

[3] See the note to this verse.

[4] From *estuveir*.

[5] Perhaps present indicatives, cf. DE. Brekke (*op. cit.*, p. 61) and Tanquerey (*op. cit.*, p. 610) quoted them as preterites.

[6] On *estout* as preterite of *ester*, see Tanquerey, *op. cit.*, p. 611; but in this passage it may be the imperfect, cf. para. xxix.

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975; *aparceut*[1] 335, *aparçout*[2] 1141; *crut* (from *creistre*) 625, 790.

3 pl. *dourent* 612.

The imperfect subjunctive forms mentioned in para. xl should be compared with the ending-accented preterite forms. It is clear that the author of the *Brendan* made no distinction between types (*a*) and (*b*). For type (*c*) the evidence is less certain; but in view of the contracted imperfect subjunctive form *doust* 528, 1708, it is probable that such forms as *dout*, *dourent*, and *aparçout*, with *ou* on analogy of types (*a*) and (*b*), go back to the author.[3] There is no trace in this text, except for certain spellings introduced by the scribes (cf. Appendix II, § 70 c), of the contrary substitution of *u* for *ou*.

(xxxviii) In *voldret* < *voluerat* 55 we have an interesting relic of the pluperfect indicative, to be placed by the side of *Alexis* 125 *firet* and *Gormont* 633 *devret*. As is well known, this tense was freely used in the earliest French texts (*Eulalia*, *Passion*, *St. Leger*), but became extinct early in the twelfth century.[4] It had long lost its pluperfect sense, and in the present instance may have the value either of a preterite or of an imperfect. It is true that the form occurs only in A, BDE substituting the conditional *voldreit*; but there is no need to reject on this account the reading of A, which has preserved many archaisms lost in the other MSS. Moreover, the conditional gives inferior sense.

(xxxix) The imperfect subjunctive of *-are* verbs appears only in *mustrast* 996, *osase*: *criasse* 1243. The *-isse* type occurs in *mansisse* (from *maneir*) 774, *venisse*: *attendisse* 1553, *venist* 1590.[5] There are no instances of the plural. As in the preterite (cf. para. xxxvii), there is a tendency to assimilate the imperfect subjunctive of strong *-ui* verbs to the *potuissem* > *poüsse* type:—*goüst* < *jacuisset* 1384 A, and the contracted forms mentioned in the following paragraph.

(xl) A striking feature of the *Brendan* is the regular contraction by synizesis (cf. ch. iii, § 4 c) of the imperfect subjunctive of *aveir*, *deveir*, *poeir*, and *saveir*, and of the corresponding ending-accented

[1] The *e* before *u* is probably graphic only; cf. Appendix II, § 52.

[2] Also in the Oxford *Folie Tristan*, v. 261; cf. Tanquerey, *op. cit.*, p. 612.

[3] Other examples of this development are quoted by Tanquerey, *op. cit.*, p. 610.

[4] Cf. E. Gamillscheg, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, xxxiii, pp. 129 ff.; Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. franz. Grammatik*, i, § 278. J. Orr, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xv, p. 267, rejects the form *devret* in *Gormont*, but gives no good reason for doing so.

[5] *Enpr(e)ist* 114, quoted by Brekke (*op. cit.*, p. 75), is preterite, not subjunctive.

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preterite forms:—[*ous*] 1604,[1] *oustes* 1121, [*oust*] 917, *ousum* 766, *oussent* 657; *doust* 528, 1708; *pouse* 1579, *poust* 1658; *sousum* 765. All are guaranteed by the metre, and there is no exception (apart from *moüs* 776, *goüst* 1384); to discard them in favour of the standard forms used in the Picard MS. E, or to introduce other violent emendations, is entirely unjustifiable.[2] The ultimate cause of the contraction is probably analogy—the influence of the stem-accented preterite forms, *out*, *dout*,[3] *pout*, and *sout*; the fact that it occurs only in verbs which are found with such preterites (and not, for instance, in *gesir*) points to this explanation.[4] The phenomenon is thus distinct from the dropping of atonic *e* in hiatus,[5] though scribes would naturally obliterate the distinction. It seems to be confined to Anglo-Norman texts;[6] yet there are two examples of monosyllabic *eust* (for *oust*?), both 'corrected' by the editor, in the early Norman rimed sermon published by Suchier.[7]

(xli) The only noteworthy present participle occurring in this text is *savant* (: *avant* adv.) 1034, 1524.

(xlii) Past participles in *-ut*, *-ud* fall into the same three types as the strong *-ui* preterites (cf. para. xxxvii):

(*a*) The **potutum* type (stem-vowel *o*). Only *meüd* (: *seüd*) 191, from *muveir*.

(*b*) The **habutum* type (stem-vowel *a*). From *aveir*, *oüt* 468, *oüd* 1490; from *saveir*, *soüt* (: *voüt*) 373; from *paistre*, *poüs* 95, *poüd* 1582-3.

(*c*) The **debutum* type (stem-vowel *e*). From *receivre*, *receüe* (: *veüe*) 104, *reçoüd* (: *voüd*) 1182; from *veeir*, *voüt* 371, (: *soüt*) 374, *veüd* 561, 1721, 1798, *voüd* (: *reçoüd*) 1181; from *siwre*, *seüd* (: *meüd*) 191, *segut* 1568 A; and from *saveir*, *soüt* (: *voüt*) 373.

[1] The medial break probably falls after *hoste*; cf. p. xlvi.

[2] Tanquerey, *op. cit.*, pp. 667 f., does so in all instances, in spite of the unanimous opinion of other scholars (Suchier, *Seint Auban*, p. 27; Vising, *Étude . . .*, p. 74; Birkenhoff, *Ueber Metrum und Reim . . .*, p. 20; Brekke, *Étude . . .*, p. 62; Calmund, *Prolegomena . . .*, pp. 62 f.).

[3] Cf. para. xxxvii.

[4] This interesting analogical development escaped the notice of Wahlgren (*op. cit.*; cf. para. xxxiii, note).

[5] Tanquerey treats the two developments indiscriminately.

[6] Examples may be found in Thomas' *Tristan* (cf. Bédier's edition, ii, p. 20, note), in the *Vie de Sainte Catherine* and other texts mentioned by Tanquerey (pp. 668 ff.).

[7] *Reimpredigt*, 28 e, 96 e; regarded by Suchier as a continental text.

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It is possible that in all these instances the author used pretonic *o*, and that the *e* forms are due to copyists; on the other hand the mixture of forms may go back to the author. There is no tendency here, as in the imperfect subjunctive and ending-accented preterite forms, to combine the two contiguous vowels into a diphthong.

§ 4. Vocabulary

As the glossary of the present edition is intended to be complete, all that need be done in this section is to draw attention to a few general features of the vocabulary of the *Brendan*.

(i) Words borrowed from Latin are very numerous in this text. This is not because the author has translated his source literally, as for instance the twelfth-century translators of the psalms did; although in a few instances he clearly adopted a Latin word or phrase from the *Navigatio*, e. g. v. 588 *Desque uitaves Pentecuste* (= N § 8 *usque ad octavas Pentecostes*) or v. 1467 *Pur oec ai ci refrigerie* (= N § 22 *meum vero refrigerium habeo hic*). His free use of borrowed words is rather a proof of his familiarity with Latin; and the fact that so many of these words have a biblical, liturgical, or clerical flavour leads us to the conclusion that he was in orders. It is regrettable that no use has been made of the *Brendan* by any of the authors who have dealt in detail with early French borrowed words.[1] Some which occur in other texts also (e. g. *celestïel*, *chalice*, *contrarie*, *digne*, *espirit*, *juïse*, *materie*) were studied by Berger; but the *Brendan* would have supplied him with a large amount of additional material.[2] The following is a rough attempt at classification; references will be found in the glossary.

Ecclesiastical words distorted in popular pronunciation:[3] *almosne*, *angele*, *apostorie*, *Damnedeu*, *ďemaine*, *iglise*, *juine*. These form part of the general stock of OF words.

[1] O. Keesebitter, *Die christlichen Wörter in der Entwickelung des Französischen*, in Herrig's *Archiv*, lxxvii, pp. 329 ff.; A. Eiselein, *Darstellung der lautlichen Entwickelung der franz. Lehnwörter lateinischen Ursprungs*, in *Roman. Forschungen*, x (1899), pp. 503 ff.; H. Berger, *Die Lehnwörter in der franz. Sprache ältester Zeit*, Leipzig, 1899; G. Paris, *Les mots d'emprunt dans le plus ancien français*, in *Journal des Savants*, 1900, and *Mélanges linguistiques*, pp. 329 ff.

[2] Berger quoted only *eremite* 75 (erroneous), *orient* 211, and *amestistes* 1687 (wrong reference) from the *Brendan*.

[3] Perhaps not strictly 'borrowed words', but influenced in their form by Latin; cf. F. Brunot, *Hist. de la langue fr.*, i, p. 293.

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Terms of monastic life: *atre, capitle, habit, hermite, litur, muine, ordre, priur, refreitur, vitte*; perhaps also *apostoile* adj. (cf. p. xxvii).

Ecclesiastical terms, referring to religious festivals, objects, and practices: (*jusdi*) *absolud, celebrïer* (with analogical suffix), *chalice, cirge,* (*sei rendre*) *confés, cumungement, encenser, fertre, festival* adj., *miserere, offrande,* (*di*) *pascal,* (*di*) *paschur, Pentecuste, processiun, psalmodie, reliques, sacraire, scripture, sepulture, servise, signacle, signer, Thephanie, tiste, uitaves, vestiment*; probably also *ceine, cor, mandét*, though the form of these words does not prove a non-popular origin.

Words transplanted from the Bible, the liturgy, or theological writings into the vernacular: *angelïel, avisiun, carnalment, celestïel, criature, dampner, defire, d(e)iable, dragun, espirit, glorie, grace, gracïer, juïse, juste, majested, miracle, misericors, paraïs, refrigerie, regne, religius, resusciter, secle, simple, superbe, tempter, trone, verbe*; probably also *aspirer* and *presence*.

Names of precious stones, all biblical: *adamant, amestiste, beril, calcedoine, cristal, grisolite, grisopase, jacincte, jagunce, jaspe, saphire, sardine, sardoine, smaragde, tupaze*.

Other technical terms: (architectural) *parét, pavement,* (geographical) *occean, occident, orïent,* (legal) *deseriter, heritét, quite,* (musical) *melodie*; *aiguage* < *aquagium*[1] is also probably a loanword, but coalesced with nouns of popular origin ending in *-aticum* > *-age*.

Words belonging to the general vocabulary of a 'clerc': *ainxe, contrarie, converser, decés, defens, delacherer, delicius, destiner, digne, divers, divin, diviser, divisiun, eisil, espace, glavie, horrible, humlement, juvenil, materie, merite, milie, miserie, nature, naturel, noble, obedir, precius, propre, recrïer* < *recreare, savie, secrei, secund* prep., *signe, storie, süaté, tenebres, tenebrus, tumulte, udur, veritét, victorie*.

Tensor (< *thensaurum*) 1760 is probably due to the scribe of A; cf. *tresor* 316, 676. *Suduine* 'drunken' 816 appears to be borrowed from some Low Latin word, but has not been satisfactorily explained.[2] It is not, of course, suggested that all or most of the words listed above were introduced into the vernacular by the author of the *Brendan*—many of them had been borrowed much earlier, as their form shows; but their large number certainly indicates that he moved in an educated circle.

[1] Cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxi, p. 395.

[2] *Ibid.*, xxii, p. 41.

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(ii) The Germanic words found in this text are for the most part those which were current in continental French of the same period. In many instances (e.g. *aduber*, *guier*, *hait*, *hanter*, *regretter*) the Germanic dialect from which the French words were derived is still a matter of dispute.[1] A few words, or groups of words, deserve special mention. The preservation by *guerre* in v. 1048 of its original German sense of 'confusion' is noteworthy.[2] Several of the nautical terms, which are naturally frequent in this story of maritime adventure, are derived from Old Norse: *agreie* 1498 (from ON *greiða*; not exclusively a nautical term),[3] *beitrer* or *beitier* 233 (ON *beita*),[4] *sigle* 1081 (ON *segl*), *sigler* 227 (ON *sigla*), *werec* 1577 (ON **wreki*); perhaps also *bat* 602, 890 (ON *bátr*?; the form without suffix is rare in French), and *bord* 'plank' 1015 (ON *borð*?). Certain other nautical terms, which might be expected to belong to this group, must be assigned to an earlier stratum of Germanic loan-words, viz. *eschiper* 252,[5] *haler* 232,[6] and *mast* 209, 613.[7] Among non-nautical words, *gab* and *gaber* are from Norse; but doubt has lately been thrown on the supposed Norse origin of *aduber* and *hait* (with its derivatives).[8] The Anglo-Saxon element is small in this text. *Brande* 904, which has been regarded as an Anglo-Saxon loan-word, is probably of Frankish origin,[9] and it is unnecessary to postulate an Anglo-Saxon origin for Norman *bat*[10]; while the Anglo-Saxon etymologies that have been proposed for *hanter*[11] and *regretter* must be

[1] Cf. E. Mackel, *Die germanischen Elemente in der frans. und provens. Sprache* (*Frans. Studien*, vi, 1), Heilbronn, 1887; H. Berger, *Die Lehnwörter . . .*, pp. 309 ff.; W. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*; E. Gamillscheg, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der frans. Sprache*.

[2] See the note to v. 1048.

[3] Cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, p. 32.

[4] *Ibid.*, xxi, p. 400.

[5] Not corresponding in meaning to ON *skipa*; cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, p. 29. Moreover, Godefroy quotes examples of the form *esciper* (*c* = *ts*?; cf. *descirer* 954, 1228, *escive* 1514, both of Frankish origin), in which the development *k* > *ts* before *i* points to a very early borrowing.

[6] Icelandic *hala*, on the ground of which the OF word has been assumed to be from Norse, is a late adoption from Low German; cf. *New Eng. Dict.*, s.v. *hale*.

[7] *Mastus navis* is in the Glossary of Reichenau, no. 713 (Foerster-Koschwitz, *Altfrans. Übungsbuch*); cf. J. Brüch, *Der Einfluss der germanischen Sprachen auf das Vulgärlatein*, Heidelberg, 1913, p. 65.

[8] Gamillscheg, *op. cit.*, s.v. *adouber* and *déhait*.

[9] Cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxi, p. 401; Gamillscheg, *op. cit.*, s.v. *brandir*.

[10] But see J. Brüch, in *Rev. de linguistique romane*, ii, p. 85.

[11] Gamillscheg, *op. cit.*

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rejected. The *Brendan* does, however, present two interesting loan-words of English origin, viz. *haspe* 'clasp' 688 and *rap* 'rope' 461, neither of which is known to occur in any other French or Anglo-Norman text.[1]

(iii) A few remarks on the use of prefixes and suffixes in the *Brendan* may perhaps not be out of place here. The author shows a certain predilection for the suffixes *-eit*<*-etum*, denoting a locality characterized by some natural feature (*betumeit* 804, *rocheit* 163, 253, 264, 635, 1519?, 1528?, *umeit* 803) and *-eie*<*-eta*, denoting a collection of growing vegetation (*brancheie* 498, *erbeie* 971, *runceie* 1745, *ruseie* 1757); also for the verb-suffix *-eier*<*-idiare*, which usually appears, with analogical alteration, as *-ïer* (*celebrïer* 845, *esturdïer* 1718, *festïer* 844, *turnïer* 1362, 1717, but *guerreer* 69, *umbreier* 500).[2] The adjectival suffix *-al* appears as a rule in its learned form, e. g. *comunalment* 113, *festal* 751, *reial* 27, *regal* 21, 269, *spiritalment* 1802; but *naturel* 1069, *angelïel* 1537, *celestïel* 1538. In *jurnals* (<*diurnales*) 578, as also in *seril* (<**serile*) 1310,[3] the noun which the adjective qualified has disappeared. The remarkable compound *baldorie* 544, in which the learned suffix *-orie* (cf. *victorie*) has been added to a Germanic stem, is not rare in OF. The use of suffixes in *parain* 89 (A *parin*<*patrinum*), *costil* 430,[4] *nerçun* 1111 A (D *nertume*), and *galeste* 1156[5] is interesting for various reasons. The characteristic Anglo-Norman tendency to confuse prefixes is visible in B, C, and D: *a-* for *en-* in *aporter* 188 D, *aseigner* 474 D, *aserrer* 1828 D[6]; *a-* for *es-* in *acrïer* 1370 B, *achiper* 252 C, *aforcier* 1386 D; *es-* for *a-* in *eschalir* 1366 B; *sur-* for *su-* in *surjurner* 162 D, 327 BD, etc.; but there is no reason to suppose that any of these forms was so written by the author, and none has been adopted in the critical text. On the other hand, the substitution of *as-* for *es-* (*asart* 1162, *asorber*<*exorbare* 1656,[7] *asperir*<*experiri* 1322[8]), and of *de-* for

[1] Cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, p. 33.

[2] For examples of double forms like *celebrer*, *-brïer*, *esturdir*, *-dïer*, cf. Suchier, *Reimpredigt*, p. 76.

[3] Cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, p. 37.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[6] But *abraser* 1689, *acalir* (<**ad-callire*, from *callasco*) 1366 and *aclore* 253 AD, 1111, 1651 are recognized French forms; cf. also *aorber* 1655. The prefix has either inchoative or intensive force; cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. franz. Grammatik*, ii, § 230.

[7] Cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxi, p. 399.

[8] *Ibid.*, xxii, p. 30. Cf. *astuet* 179 C. See also D. Behrens, in *Franz. Studien*, iii, p. 395, and v, 2, p. 96.

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des- (*dehait* 154, *dehaite* 1767, *dehaiter* 1296, *derube* 170)[1] occurs also on the Continent, and may well be due to the author. The substitution of *en-* for *es-* is peculiar to A (*enforcer* 1386, *ensample* 37, 82, probably also *emprendre*, *enp-* 761, 1157); since this has been explained as a phonetic development, and can be paralleled from continental texts,[2] such forms have been retained in the critical text. Another common Anglo-Norman feature is the omission of prefixes, exemplified in our MSS. by *censiers* = *enc-* 681 D, *fire* = *defire* 1392 D, *forcent* = *esf-* 1414 A, *luigner* = *esl-* 456 A, 786 A, *ma(i)er* = *esm-* 221 A, 365 D, *paiser* = *ap-* 1276 D, *pandent* = *esp-* 573 D, *serir* = *as-* 1321 A, *susciterai* = *resuscitrai* 1567 D; but no example can be attributed to the author, unless we regard *porter* 'to bring' 295, etc., as an alteration of *aporter*,[3] and *prendre* 'to comprehend' 1789 as representing *comprendre*.[4] Notable examples of the use of prefixes are *cuntresailir* 977, *encrerrez* 476, *enruire* 1129, *purcusdre* 'to sew over entirely' 599, *purplanter* 'to set all over' 1686, *surpeis* 'overload' 1588, *surplanter* 'to set on high' 1707, *sururer* 'to overstay the hour' 1610, and *suspeis* or *supeis* 'judgement' 997.[5]

(iv) Owing to the early date of the *Brendan*, the exceptional nature of its subject-matter, the author's graphic style, and his taste for realistic details, the poem presents a considerable number of rare and even unique words, as well as many peculiar uses of commoner words. Among the derivatives mentioned in the preceding paragraph, *brancheie*, *celebrïer*, *cuntresailir*, *enruire*, *esturdïer*, *nerçun*, *purcusdre*, *runceie*, *ruseie*, *surplanter*, *su(s)peis*, *surpeis*, *sururer*, and *umeit* appear to be unique examples; while only one other example of *galeste* and *jurnal* respectively is recorded. *Aorber*, *avolst* (preterite of **avoldre* < *ad-volvere*), and *ruseit* 'dew' (for **rusét*?) are other forms not instanced elsewhere. The verbal substantives *achant*, *agreie*, *avei*, *dehaite*, *enseign*, and *entrebat* are unique or very rare; so also are the adverbs *enenz*, *enjus*, and *surs*. Attention may be specially drawn to the interesting words *beitrer*, *cisler* (cf. Prov.

[1] Similarly *defaciun* = *desfaçon* in the Laws of William the Conqueror, *dehaite* in *Mystère d'Adam*, v. 565. In some words *de-* is an older prefix than *des-*; cf. *New Eng. Dict.* On *debarder* see the note to v. 1278.

[2] Cf. Walberg, *Bestiaire*, p. lxvii. Conversely D has *essémbler* for *ens-* 312.

[3] See the notes to vv. 295 and 330.

[4] See the note.

[5] Explanations or references are given in the notes or glossary for each of these words.

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cisclar), *haspe*, *isselit* (< **ex-selectum*?), *rap*, *süaté* (< *suavitatem*), and *suduine*, none of which is recorded from any other French text; *aiguage* or *ewage* (< *aquagium*), found only here and in Gaimar; *loreür* (< *laboratorem*), recorded only from two fourteenth-century documents; and *debarder* 'to squander', of which no other literary example is known, though it occurs in modern Swiss patois. Examples of words used in exceptional senses are *amassét* 'solid', *asen* 'instruction', *asener* 'to instruct', *ceu* 'dark', *costil* 'coast', *eschiper* 'to moor', *fed* 'individual', *flaistre* 'putrid', *guerre* 'confusion', *prendre* 'to comprehend', and *resortir* 'to flash back'; while the exact meaning of *entailer* 276, *resorter* 1099, and *serrer* 987 is difficult to determine without further examples. The verbs *abraser*, *adenter*, *amasser*, *asorber*, *asperir*, *charger*, *enbraiser*,[1] and *espandre*, all normally transitive, are in this text used intransitively. Other interesting points are the collective use of *branche* 854, the retention of participial sense by *faitiz* 264, and the retention by *plusur* 1840 of its value as a comparative. Detailed remarks on many of these words will be found in the *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxi and xxii, or in the notes of the present edition.

(v) It is difficult to localize a text like the *Brendan* on the basis of its vocabulary. The French vocabulary of the early twelfth century is but imperfectly reflected in the extant texts of that period, and texts representing dialects other than Norman or Anglo-Norman are either scanty or non-existent. The examples of *loreür* and *debarder*, mentioned in the preceding paragraph, show plainly how a word can subsist for centuries, probably over a wide area, without appearing in texts. The fact that the rare words *enenz*, *cisler*, and *loreür* tally with Prov. *enins*, *cisclar*, and *laurador* respectively does not prove that the author of the *Brendan* had any direct connexion with the South of France. *Costil* is a word almost confined to Norman and Anglo-Norman texts, and is still common in the Channel Islands in the sense of 'hill-side' (not 'coast'); but it may once have had a wider distribution.[2] *Bat* 'boat' is found only in Anglo-Norman texts, but survived till modern times at St. Malo.[3] Whether the form *entrin*, still used in the Channel Islands in the sense of 'obstinate' or 'obstinacy',[4] is the same as that occurring in the

[1] The continental form is *esbraser*, rarely *esbraisier*; cf. Godefroy.

[2] Cf. *La Vengeance Raguidel* 5569. [3] Cf. Du Cange, *batus*, *battus*.

[4] Cf. G. Métivier, *Dict. Franco-normand* [Guernsey], London, 1870; Société Jersiaise, *Glossaire du patois jersiais*, Jersey, 1924.

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Brendan, or a reduction of the continental OF form *enterin*, can hardly be determined. *Tensor* 1760 A, a form found only in western French and Anglo-Norman texts,[1] is probably due to the copyist. The neuter pronoun *el* (128 A) is definitely a western French form, but oddly enough has not hitherto been found in continental Norman texts. The free use in the *Brendan* of nautical terms of Norse origin certainly indicates either Normandy or England as the home of the poem. *Cester* 'to stumble'[2] and *senés* 'forthwith'[3] have been stated to occur only in Anglo-Norman texts, but the statement is certainly incorrect for *cester*. *Aiguage* or *ewage* 'waterway', not found in any continental text, persists in Eng. *aquage*, *ewage*;[4] but its etymology and forms suggest that it was a continental French word, and perhaps widely distributed. Fortunately the words *haspe* and *rap* are fairly conclusive evidence of English influence on our author's vocabulary, and are very unlikely to have been used in any French dialect other than Anglo-Norman. No safe conclusion as to the English dialect from which these words were borrowed can be drawn from the preservation of the *a* in *rap*.

§ 5. Syntax

The purpose of the following remarks is not to provide an exhaustive study of the syntax of the *Brendan*, but merely to draw attention to certain characteristic features.

(i) Many OF nouns varied in gender.[5] In the *Brendan* a certain number of genders are abnormal, though in no instance is any hesitation visible on the part of the author. Whether *fiertre*, *heritét*, *merite*, *miracle*, *ulur*, and the names of precious stones such as *amestiste*, *calcedoine*, *grisopase*, *jaspe*, *sardoine*, *smaragde*, and *tupaze* were treated by the author as masc. or fem. cannot be determined. On the other

[1] e. g. *Roman de Thebes*, 1146, etc.; Estienne de Fougeres, *Livre des Manieres*, 351, etc.; text in Walberg's edition of the *Bestiaire*, p. vii (cf. *Romania*, xxix, p. 589).

[2] *Les Contes Moralisés de Nicole Bozon* (Soc. d. anc. textes fr.), glossary; but cf. Tobler-Lommatzsch, *Altfrans. Wörterbuch*.

[3] J. Vising, in *Literaturblatt*, xlviii (1927), col. 115.

[4] Cf. *New Eng. Dict.*

[5] Cf. Vising, *Étude* . . ., pp. 96 f.; Hammer, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, ix, pp. 109 f.; Brekke, *Étude sur la flexion* . . ., pp. 5 f.; Walberg, *Bestiaire*, pp. lxxi f.; G. G. Laubscher, *The syntactical causes of case reduction in OF* (*Elliott Monographs*, 7), Princeton, 1921, ch. i.

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hand, the rimes and metre guarantee the gender of the following words:

arbre, definitely fem. in 491 (where BDE have altered it to masc.) and 853 (where all four MSS. have *l' arbre blanche*);

chalin 1650, 1663, etc., masc., as in the few other known examples of this word,[1] in spite of the fem. gender of Lat. *caligo*;

dent masc. 946, as in Latin and normally in OF;

dulur masc. 1446, 1544, cf. Philippe de Thaün's *Bestiaire*, v. 2830;

ensample masc. 82;

flur masc.; in 1741 *li flur*, the reading of A, might be altered to *les flurs* with DE, but in 96 *li flur* nom. pl. is combined in rime with *odur* acc. sg.;[2] similarly in Chardry, *Josaphaz*, vv. 1964–5, and perhaps in the Oxford MS. of the *Roland*, vv. 2871–2;

grisolite fem. 1687;

hermite masc. 1543;

honur masc. 28, though fem. in the *Bestiaire*, v. 249;

isle was regarded as masc. by Brekke, on account of the spellings of the Anglo-Norman scribes (e.g. *un isle* 93 ABD, *del isle* 97 AB, *cel isle* 97 D, 423 ABD, 425 AD),[3] and is certainly treated as masc. in E (*cis illes* 97, *lor isles* 464); but in 1169 it can only be fem., while the other instances are all inconclusive;

jacincte masc. 1695;

jagunce fem. 685;

lutre masc. 1571, in spite of the fem. gender of Lat. *lutra* and Mod. Fr. *loutre*, cf. § 3, i;

luur fem. 1699, as in the *Bestiaire*, vv. 273, 310, 538;[4]

mer was regarded as masc. in 438 and 887 by Vising and Hammer, although its fem. gender is certified by *dormante mer* 899; in 438 we may assume non-agreement of the past participle,[5] while in 887 *parfunt* is an adverb, not an adjective;

murs < *mores* masc. 76;

parét 'wall' 276, borrowed from Lat. *parietem*, is masc., like *pareit* in *Li Quatre Livre des Reis*, iii, 6 (ed. Curtius, p. 124), and in *Le Purgatoire de Saint Patrice*, published by Vising, v. 147;[6]

[1] Cf. Godefroy and Tobler-Lommatzsch.

[2] Birkenhoff's correction *flurs* : *odurs* (*Ueber Metrum und Reim* . . ., p. 88) is supported by no MS. Cf. the note to vv. 1739–44.

[3] Cf. Appendix II, § 6 e.

[4] Lat. *lucor*, not given in dictionaries of classical Latin, or by Du Cange, occurs in L (passage corresponding to v. 275).

[5] Cf. para. viii.

[6] Göteborg, 1916; cf. the editor's note.

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sigle is masc. in 1081, 1660 BDE, and perhaps 1814; it is treated as fem. in 1660 A, but the scribe is probably responsible for this; in the *Bestiaire*, v. 2706, it is masc.;[1]

udur is perhaps masc. in 1744, as in the *Bestiaire*, v. 1946; though *precius* may agree with *fruiz* + *udurs* or with some earlier word.[2]

There can be little doubt that many of the abnormal genders in the *Brendan* are due to Latin influence; Lat. *dolor, flos, honor, mos–mores, odor*, and *paries* are all masc., and *arbor* is fem. Laubscher[3] mentioned the masc. use of *flur* as an example of laxness in gender due to English influence, but such an explanation is untenable. The reason why *poür* 240, 903 and *puur* 1425 have remained fem., although Lat. *pavor* and *putor* are masc., is not evident. *Plur* 611, etc., a verbal substantive from *plurer*, is naturally masc.; in *larges plurs* 1445, *larges* is a masc. form.[4] Certain mistaken genders found in A alone (*le grant mer* 157, *icel part* 383, 1079, *li peiz* acc. 1385, *le nef* 1528, *li muntaine* 1704) can be attributed without hesitation to the scribe.[5]

(ii) The sparing use of articles is a noteworthy feature of the language of the *Brendan*.[6] The indefinite article was relatively seldom employed in OF, and the use of it by Benedeit does not differ materially from that of his contemporaries. Note *diables* 'a devil' (not 'the Devil') 314, and *Gardins est la praierie* 'the meadow is a garden' 1739. Among the many instances in which the definite article was not employed, certain categories deserve special mention:

(*a*) With names of things unique of their kind:—*ciel* 25 AC, 522 A, *enfern* 65, etc., *esteit* 'summer' 1751 (cf. *ivers* 421 DE), *mer* 1076, etc., *occean* 552 A (but *l'occean* 166), *occident* 212, 898, *orient* 1641, *terre* 161, etc., *venz* 1363 (cf. 1167 B).

(*b*) Similarly with names of unique individuals:—*draguns* 1027 (virtually personified); probably also *abes, abét*, applied to *Brendan*, 339 AD, 808 A, 819 A, 1202 AD, though in these four instances the absence of the article may be due to the copyists.

(*c*) With substantives accompanied by another substantive in the possessive case (without preposition):—*en Deu maneie* 225,

[1] *Sigle* is fem. in *Bueve de Hantone*, ed. Stimming, ii, 4329.
[2] See the note to vv. 1739–44.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 2. [4] Cf. § 3, viii. [5] Cf. Appendix II, § 56.
[6] Cf. W. Hammer, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, ix, p. 79.

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par Deu cumant 372, *par Deu vertud* 538, 1836, *Deu message* 726, *Fiłs Marie* 893, *par Deu grace* 993. Other instances, not certified by the metre, may be due to the scribe of A :— *a pez le abes* (for *l'abét*) 338 (but *as pez Brandan* 659 ABD), *de vertuz Deu* 529, *en isle Albeu* 880.

(*d*) With substantives used to denote 'time when':—*devant terz di* 392, *a chant de gals* 577 A, *a di festal* 751 A, *desque uitaves Pentecuste* 866 A (cf. 588), *Pasches* 1317 A. Although scribes tended to add the article in such expressions, the metre guarantees that the author omitted it in 392, 588, 866, and 1317.

In other instances it is often difficult to decide whether the absence of the article in A is an archaism preserved in this MS. alone, or an alteration due to the relatively late scribe. Such phrases as *desque en estals* 710, *entret en tref* 1081, *en puin portout* 1139, *a col pendud* 1577, *vengent a rivage* 1724, where A alone dispenses with the article, may be justified as stereotyped locutions in which the article was unnecessary, while in *a cunreid* 789 and *en betumeit* 804 the noun may be used in a general sense; yet the fact that the other MSS. all employ the article is disquieting. In these and certain other doubtful instances (917, 943, 953, 1129, 1330, 1370), an editor is bound to exercise a somewhat arbitrary choice of readings.[1] The number of instances in which the absence of the article is certainly due to the author remains fairly large. The antiquity of the text is not by itself a sufficient explanation of the phenomenon; it is highly probable that the author was influenced also by his familiarity with Latin. The poem also presents examples of precisely the opposite tendency; in the following lines a definite article, grammatically quite unnecessary, has been introduced for metrical reasons:

357 Pain lur portet e le beivre
(cf. 605 Cil lur liverat pain e beivre).
1131–2 Estenceles od les lammes,
Roches ardanz e les flammes.
1315 E as festes la Marie.
1693 Jaspes od les amestistes.

(iii) The OF two-case system was on the whole carefully observed by the author of the *Brendan*,[2] who was far more accurate in this

[1] The use of the article in *As ceals cruels* 1292 A is indefensible.

[2] Cf. C. von Lebinski, *Die Declination der Substantiva in der oïl-Sprache*, i, Posen, 1878; Vising, *Étude . . .*, pp. 96 ff.; Birkenhoff, *Ueber Metrum und Reim . . .*, pp. 87 ff.; Hammer, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, ix, pp. 108 ff.; Brekke, *Étude sur la flexion . . .*, pp. 6 ff.; Calmund, *Prolegomena . . .*, pp. 125 ff.

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respect than his contemporary Philippe de Thaün.[1] A very large number of correct forms are guaranteed by the rimes, e. g. nom. sg. *Benedeiz* 8, *cumanz* 12, *eirs* 27, *venz* 186, acc. sg. *abeth* 13, *lin* 21, *delit* 24, *ensample* 37, nom. pl. *tuit* 265, *frere* 441, *grant* 635, *seignur* 692, acc. pl. *reis* 19, *dis* 633, *tresors* 676, *cumpaignuns* 1525. Others are guaranteed by the metre :—nom. sg. *hom* or *hoem* 126, 243, 502, 723, 1177, 1521, *fel(s)* 531, 1287, *grip(s)* 1011 ; acc. sg. *hume* 278, 1226. The fact that the author always elided fem. *e* before a vowel, except in monosyllables or at the medial break,[2] guarantees nom. sg. *s* in *riches* 268, 723, 1072, and *moines* 658 ; cf. § 3, i and ii.

(iv) At the same time the *Brendan* presents a considerable number of instances, guaranteed by rime, of the substitution of the accusative for the nominative form. It will be found, however, that these infractions of the rule by no means represent a general breaking-down of the declension system, but can nearly all be assigned to certain well-defined categories, and be paralleled from early continental French texts. The importance of syntactical causes in producing confusion of cases in OF was made clear by Laubscher, though his method and examples were often unsound.[3] The *Brendan*, which he utilized to a small extent only, furnishes many reliable illustrations of his principal points ; it forms, in fact, a most interesting example of an early stage in the breakdown of the declension system. The accusative form frequently supplants the nominative in the following categories of instances :

Proper names :—*Satan* (: *Dathan* acc.) 199, *Brandan* (: *pan* acc.) 481, (: *an* acc.) 825 ; but *Benedeiz* (: *feiz*) 8, *Branda[i]ns* (: *mains*) 203. Similarly within the verses we find *Adam* 50, 57, 1652, and *Mernoc* 85, 98, indeclinable in the Anglo-Norman MSS.

The (so-called) logical subject of impersonal verbs :[4]—*Mais de une ren li prist talent* (: *suvent*) 47[5], *Iço dunt lui pris est desir* (: *sentir*) 71, *Puis les travalz estout sujurn* (: *enturn*) 589, *Querums que seit mester as cors* 642 (all MSS.), *Poür oussent, ne fust l'abit* (: *dit*) 657. The only exception noted is *Si rien i at dun est mesters* (: *mesters* acc.

[1] Cf. Mall, *Cumpos*, pp. 97 ff. ; Walberg, *Bestiaire*, pp. lxviii ff. ; Brekke, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[2] Cf. ch. iii, § 3.

[3] *The syntactical causes of case reduction* ; cf. Herrig's *Archiv*, cxlv, p. 318.

[4] Cf. Ch. Gebhardt, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, xx, pp. 27 ff. ; Laubscher, *op. cit.*, ch. ix.

[5] Cf. a similar instance in Bartsch-Wiese, *Chrestomathie . . .*, 23, v. 103 (Herman de Valenciennes), where all MSS. have *talent*, though the editor writes *talens*.

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pl.) 286. In *Quant mesters ert* 868 (all MSS.) the conditions have been altered by placing the substantive before the verb.

Nouns, adjectives, and participles used predicatively:—*gabeth* (: *abeth*) 14, *vil* (: *eisil*) 29, *curud* (: *fud*) 98, *fi* (: *di*) 118, *bel* (: *castel*) 268, *cachez* (: *sachez*) 1120, *mendi* (: *defendi*) 1286, *enartét* (: *clartét*) 1698;[1] perhaps also *past* 995, *savant* 1524, and *prest* 1752, for which, however, other explanations are possible (cf. para. vii). Other instances indicated by the MSS. cannot be guaranteed:—*voluntif* : *sultif* 87–8, *estreit* (: *dreit*) 169. *Chaït* (: *haït* acc.) 1029, regarded by Calmund[2] and others as a past participle, has been interpreted in this edition as a preterite. On the other hand, the nominative form is used in this position still more frequently than the accusative:—*esliz* (: *habiz* acc. pl.) 32, *justes* (: *rustes* acc. pl.) 42, *amis* (: *vifs* acc. pl.) 46, *gurz* (: *jurz* acc. pl.) 220, *amis* (: *tramis*) 395, *cunreez* (: *aseez*) 451, *venuz* (: *vertuz*) 507, *preez* (: *creez*) 1203, *espeez* (: *veez*) 1373, etc. A specially striking example is that offered by vv. 267–8: *un castel Qui riches ert e grant e bel*, in which both *riches* and *bel* are undoubtedly due to the author; evidently he did not shrink from using the nominative and accusative forms concurrently in predicative position.

After comparative *que*, which is treated as a preposition:[3]—*Plus halt braiet que quinze tors* (: *cors*) 916. The use of the accusative after comparative *de* needs no justification:—*Aigue dulce plus de murét* (: *savurét*) 706.

(v) Hesitation between the nominative and accusative forms could occur when a noun or adjective was used in the vocative.[4] In the *Brendan*, as in most other early French texts, the nominative form usually served as vocative:—*frere* pl. (: *ere*) 991, *dolenz* sg. (: *turmenz* acc. pl.) 1261, *beal pere chers* (: *volunters*) 1541; but in the plural we find *seignurs* (: *greinurs* acc. pl.) 472 guaranteed by the rime—ostensibly an accusative plural, but perhaps descending direct from the Latin vocative *seniores*. Within the verses, where it is impossible to distinguish the author's forms from those of the scribes, we find greater uncertainty:—*abes* 193, *donz* 194, *donz abes* 454, *frere* pl. 467 B, *seignur* 1203 AE, etc., *pi(e)us Jesu* 1243 DE, *reis Jesu* 1245 A, *Brandans* 1795 AE; but *seignurs* 127, 329, 334, 1203 BD, etc.,

[1] *Clartez*: [*en*]*artez*, given by the unreliable MS. D, is also possible.

[2] *Prolegomena* . . ., p. 119.

[3] Cf. Laubscher, *op. cit.*, pp. 76 ff.

[4] Cf. Koschwitz, in Boehmer's *Roman. Studien*, iii, pp. 493 ff., and Laubscher, *op. cit.*, ch. iv.

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freres 467 ADE, *piu Jesu* 1243 B, *Brandan* 1795 BD. The tendency to omit the nominative *s* of an adjective, when the following noun has no *s*, is seen in *beal pere chers* 1043 ABD (D *cher*) and 1541 ABD.

(vi) In another series of instances either the nominative or the accusative could be used even in continental French:

After certain verbs (other than *estre*), the object of which is identical with the subject, viz. *sembler, aveir num, sei faire, sei tenir por.*[1] In this text *sembler* is found with the accusative only:—*E resemblout mult regal leu* (: *feu* acc.) 269, *Religius semblout e piu* (: *liu* acc.) 1522. *Aveir num* is followed by the nominative:—*Jo ai nun Pols li hermites* (: *quites*) 1543, cf. *Barinz out nun cil ermite* 75; similarly *estre apelez*:—*furent fol apelét* 810. *Sei faire* is apparently followed by the accusative:—*E cil se fait Deu message* (: *rivage*) 1723.[2] *Sei tenir por* is uncertain:—*Pur fols forment tuit se tindrent* 818; AB have *fols*, DE *fol.*

After *aveir* used impersonally (with or without *i*), regarded as equivalent to *estre*:—*N'i ad malfez qui mult n'annuit* 1484 AD (BE *malfed*). This example was quoted by Laubscher,[3] but the poet may have used either case; cf. *hume n'i out* 278, where the accusative is certified by the metre.

After *cum(e)*.[4] The substantive following *cum(e)* refers to an antecedent, expressed or understood, in either the nominative or the accusative case. The author of the *Brendan* usually employed the logical case:—*Li abes Brendan prist en purpens, Cum hoem qui ert de mult grant sens* 40, *Iloec lur dit cum hoem senez* 126, both nominatives assured by the metre; *Qui menerent orguil cum il* 540, *As uilz flammanz cum fus chi art* 1142 (all MSS.), *N'est si blance neifs ne clere Cume li peilz d'icest frere* 1539–40 A; *Colps se dunent de lur noës Tels cum escuz* 941–2, accusative in all the MSS., but not assured by the metre. But there was a tendency to treat *cum(e)* as a preposition, followed by the accusative even when a nominative was logically required:—*Icil s'estent durement luin Sur l'occean si cume un gruign* 165–6 ABD; here it would be easy to read *luinz*: *gruinz* with CE (cf. *luinz*: *busuinz* 242, 1636), but the correction is unnecessary.[5] Cf. *A(s) denz mordanz se nafrerent Qui cum espiez trenchant erent* 944 AD. In other passages it is uncertain

[1] Cf. Laubscher, *op. cit.*, ch. x.
[2] But see para. vii.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 52.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 73 ff.
[5] Similarly *Roland* 427, 2525, 3424: cf. W. Foerster, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, ii, p. 165.

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what case the author used :—*Itant blanche cume marbre* (: *une arbre*) 492, *Espesse fud cume palud* (: *salud*) 793, cf. also 647, 1712, 1782.

After *fors* prep.[1] The substantive governed by *fors* is treated as the subject or object of an understood verb ; hence it may be nominative :—*U nuls n'entret fors sul li piu* (: *liu* acc.) 92, *Eissent s'en fors tuit li frere Fors sul l'abes qui enz ere* 441–2, or accusative :—*Fors sul les soens altres n'i vit* 283. But the use of the nominative is not compulsory, cf. *Vunt verseilant . . . tuit li frere Fors sul iceals qui servirent* 709–11 AD (B *icil*, E *ices*), *Fors mei ne set uns suls de nus* 1341, *Ne movet uns fors sul mun cors* 1516, *ne lur pert Fors mer e cel qui sur eals ert* 1647–8. Only one of the above examples (v. 92) is certified by the rime. In 700 the reading adopted, on the authority of AD, is *U tuit taisent fors li litur* (: *refreitur* acc.) ; but it is possible to read (with BE) *fors le litur*.[2]

Es (A *Ast*) < *ecce* is always followed by the accusative case ; cf. vv. 356, 582, 656, 827, where the accusative is guaranteed by the rimes.

(vii) There remain a few instances of apparent case-confusion which require separate discussion :

726 *Apparut lui Deu message* (: *tapinage*). Can *message* be a nominative form without *s* ? In Old Provençal, substantives derived from neuters in *-aticum* commonly had no nominative *s* ;[3] but here *message*, referring to a person, cannot be regarded as neuter. The absence of *s* is perhaps due to postposition. In v. 224 the author may have used either *curage* or *curages* before the medial break. In v. 1723 *message* may be either nominative or accusative after *se fait*.

918 *Sil fuireient mil e cinc cenz* (: *denz*). The use of *cenz* as nominative is readily explained by the necessity of keeping the plural form distinct from the singular *cent* (< *centum*).

995 *il nus ert past* (: *mustrast*) ; 1752 *prest* (: *est*). Many OF authors avoided the awkward and ambiguous nominatives **paz* and **prez*, with their reduction of *sts* to *ts* (*z*) (cf. *fuz* < *fustes* 461).[4] Similarly in v. 1381 all the MSS. have *li post* instead of *li* **poz*, not however in rime. Moreover, both *past* and *prest* are here used predicatively.

1209–10 *Del fum li munz est descuverz, Enfern veient tut aüverz.* In

[1] Cf. Laubscher, *op. cit.*, pp. 84 ff.

[2] See the note to this line.

[3] Cf. C. H. Grandgent, *An Outline of the Phonology and Morphology of Old Provençal*, Boston, 1909, § 96.

[4] Cf. Vising, *Étude . . .*, p. 98 ; Brekke, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 f.

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spite of the agreement of all the MSS., it is difficult to accept this reading as that of the author, whose practice elsewhere demands the correction *descuvert* (predicative) : *aüvert.*

1256 *Unches dolur nen out graindre* (: *plaindre*). The use of *graindre* as acc. sg. or nom. pl. is found even in continental texts.[1]

1346 BDE *E sis depart de mer le sal.* See the note to this line.

1524 *Quar par Deu fud sun nun savant* (: *avant*). The use of *savant* without nominative *s* may be due to its predicative use ; or the indeclinable gerund may have replaced the present participle.[2]

1719 *adamant* nom. (: *trenchant* acc.). This word, borrowed from Latin, receives the exceptional treatment given to proper names. Similarly *Bestiaire* 2953 *aïmant* nom. (: *semblant*).

1761 *Sanz fin i luist li clers soleil* (: *peil*). This is the clearest instance of a definite licence (i. e. a subordination of the author's usual case-rules to the requirements of metre or rime) in the whole text. It is possible, however, that the author wrote *le cler soleil*, and that the use of the accusative form is to be explained as due to the placing of the subject after the verb.[3] Of all the instances quoted in this paragraph, there is only one (*adamant* 1719) which cannot be explained as due to postposition ; but the fact that there are only two instances in the whole poem (here and v. 726) which cannot be readily accounted for in other ways makes the validity of this explanation doubtful.

On the infractions of the declension-rules by the scribes of the Anglo-Norman MSS., see Appendix II, § 60.

(viii) The agreement of past participles with the direct object when conjugated with *aveir* is optional in this text. Examples of agreement, guaranteed by the rimes, occur in vv. 104 (*receüe*), 125 (*menez*), 739 (*sustenuz*), 830 (*apareilez*), 839 (*gwardee*), 840 (*retruvee*), and 1165 (*cunduite*). In 1727–8 the forms *baisez* and *apaisez*, riming together, have the support of all the MSS. The following are examples of non-agreement :—*miracles que unt voüt* (: *a soüt*) 374, *bien grant mer out trescurud* (: *fud*) 438, *cist angele nus unt goïd* (: *oïd*) 566 ; probably

[1] e. g. *Du Vilain Mire*, v. 338 ; other examples are quoted by Godefroy.

[2] Cf. K. Sneyders de Vogel, *Syntaxe historique du français*, Groningen, 1919, §§ 278 f.

[3] Cf. Laubscher, *op. cit.*, ch. viii ; Walberg, *Bestiaire*, p. lxix.

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also *E tanz perilz qui unt passét*) (: *lassét* nom. pl. predicative) 576. In all these examples the direct object precedes the participle. Within the lines we may probably admit non-agreement in the following instances :—*La guarisun . . . Qu'il aveient portét iloec* 181–2, *Pur quei poür oüt avez* 468, and *Pur la vie que segut ai* 1568; although it would be possible to introduce the feminine forms *portede*, *oüde*, and *segude* respectively (offered by no MSS.). In 1057 (*suffert* or *sufferz*) the MSS. disagree. In 829 (*Bained i ad les travailez*), where the object comes after the participle, D alone (an unreliable authority) offers the inflected form *baignez*. Similar hesitation affects the participles in the compound tenses of reflexive verbs; but examples are few. Agreement with the subject is found in *se sunt tolud* (: *absolud* acc.) 823, *s'en sunt turnét* (: *ajurnét* neut.) 1492, cf. *baisét se sunt* 693 ABE, *levét s'en sunt* 707 ABE; non-agreement in *Chi del venir ne s'est targét* (: *chargét* acc.) 889. On *encasséт* 682 see the note to this line.

(ix) Adjectives used adverbially were commonly inflected in OF, when modifying an adjective or participle. The most frequent was *tut*, which in this text is regularly inflected when so used. *Tutes pleines* 1002, *Tute ruge* 1148, *tute neire* 1197, and *Tute preste* 1556 are metrically assured, hence we may also accept *li venz tuz lur fud gurz* 220 A, *Qui tuz ert faiz* 272, *tuz veables* 341 AE, *Tute asise* 501 AD, *tuz suduines* 816 (A *tuit*, B *tut*, D *tuz*), *tuz eschalfez* 1138 AB, and *tuz acaliz* 1366 (A *tuz* corrected to *tot*, BD *tut*, E *tos*)[1] as the author's forms. On *tut aüvert* 1210 (DE *tuz*, all MSS. *aüverz*) see para. vii. In other instances where *tut* may be interpreted as adverbial, it appears to agree regularly with the subject or object of the verb :—*la terre tute muveit* 455, *que tute n'art* 1348 B (A *tuit ne*, D *tut nen*, E alters), *Qui tut aclot le paraïs* 1651, *Qui i entret, tuz asorbet* 1656 A. There are but few examples of other adjectives used adverbially, and none in which inflexion can be admitted :—*Del derube veneit tut dreit* 170 (A alone has *tuz drez*; cf. *dreit* 267, 933), *uvrét subtil* (:*fust il*) 1077 B (D *uvrez*, AE alter), *beal flurie* 1740. The scribe of B is alone responsible for *tantes grandes* 389, AE having *itant* (cf. 1248, 1425) and D *issi*.

(x) Adjectives or participles used prepositionally are infrequent in this text. Inflection is retained in *pleine sa nef* 862, cf. *plein un sacel*

[1] It is possible to introduce the correction *galit* : *tut acalit* (both being predicative) against all the MSS.

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1578. The MSS. disagree in *Veanz trestuz* 348 A (BDE *Veant*), *veiant eals tuz* 1026 (D alone *veanz*).

(xi) The tonic accusative and dative forms of the personal pronouns were rather freely used by the author of the *Brendan*, especially when the sentence began with a verb :—*Salüet tei* 7, *Cumandet eals* 151, *Gettes mei* 344, *Reposent sei* 640, *Apparut lui* 726, *di mei* 1261, and similarly in vv. 113, 150, 419, 1208, 1447, 1541, and 1542. But they appear before the verb also, e. g. when the sentence begins with an adverb, or in a subordinate clause :—*quel mei dïes* 1264 A, *Hui mei repos* 1435 A, *quant mei tendrunt* 1438 A. It is true that in many of these instances the MSS. other than A present the atonic forms ; but we may reasonably regard the use of the tonic forms as an archaism which A has preserved better than the other MSS.[1] On the strength of the above-mentioned examples, we are justified in reading *que mei semblez* 520 (A *que a mei*, BDE *que me*), *que mei est tart* 1399 (cf. 1486)[2], *or tei ai dit* 1599 (A *te ai*, BD *le t'ai*, E *t'ai jo*), possibly also *U li perilz mei est müez* 1376 (ABE *mi*, D *me*). Some hesitation appears in the use of the forms of the third person, the atonic form being used in *Goït les fort* 670, *Halcet la sus* 1151 (MSS. *le*), *De suffrir les* 1334, and *Fait les gesir* 1729 ; but it may be noted that *les* was employed even in tonic position :—*salüet les* (: *mes* < *missus*) 406. When *lui* is used before a verb,[3] it is difficult to be sure that the Anglo-Norman scribes have not substituted *lui* for *li* (or for *le*, v. 737) ; yet the tonic form may equally well be attributed to the author,[4] and in the critical text we have followed A in each instance. Before *en* only the atonic forms are used :—*Prïerent l'en* 115, *Vunt s'en* 210, etc. Whether *nus*, *vus*, and *lur* are tonic or atonic forms cannot be ascertained.

(xii) The use of *il* as subject of impersonal verbs (replacing earlier *ço*, on analogy of the accusative *lo*, *le*) is rare in the oldest French texts.[5] The *Brendan* is as archaic in this respect as the *Alexis*.

[1] Cf. L. Foulet, *Petite Syntaxe de l'Ancien Français*, §§ 127-41 ; Nyrop, *Gram. hist.*, v, § 184.

[2] Cf. J. Melander, in *Studier i modern Språkvetenskap*, vi, Upsala, 1917, p. 243.

[3] For examples, see § 3, x.

[4] Cf. *Roland*, vv. 41, 279, 519, etc. ; G. Ernst, *La flexion de l'article, des noms de nombre, des pronoms et des verbes dans le Roland d'Oxford*, Lund, 1899, p. 5.

[5] See A. Horning, in Boehmer's *Roman. Studien*, iv, pp. 229 ff. ; C. Gebhardt, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, xx, pp. 28 f. ; H. Piatt, *Neuter* il *in OF*, Diss. Strassburg, 1898 ; P. Meyer, in *Romania*, xxviii, p. 317 ; A. Büchtemann, *Neutrales* il *im Altfrans.*, Diss. Halle, 1912 ; Laubscher, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

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Only in one instance do all the MSS. introduce *il*, viz. 1491 *E puis qu'il fud cler ajurnét*, and even here we cannot be certain that it is due to the author.[1] Occasionally it has been introduced by scribes —by DE in vv. 303, 411, and 1399, by BE in v. 1486. Examples of the use of impersonal verbs without *il* are very numerous in this text.

(xiii) The tonic forms of the possessive pronouns are frequently used adjectivally, preceding the substantive, in the early part of the poem, usually accompanied by the article:[2]—*li teons cumanz* 12, *le soen conseil* 105, *le soen purpens* 109, *les seons fiz* 116, *les seons fetheilz* 206. In two instances A dispenses with the article:—*seon alement* 144, *de seon eire* 147; but the other MSS. have the atonic form. After v. 206 the only examples are *as voz suspeis* 997 A, *Al sun* (B *suen*) *cumant* 999 AB, *al lur turn* 1092 A, *le men turment* 1386; and two of these are doubtful, A alone adding the article in 997 and 1092.[3] The reason for the author's change of practice is not apparent.

(xiv) The surprising liberties which the author of the *Brendan* took with the word-order are a direct result of the rigid system of versification which he imposed upon himself. His transposition, anticipation, or postposition of words is almost invariably due to the necessity either of bringing a certain word into the rime-position, or of making the fourth syllable terminate a word. A complete classification of the examples is hardly practicable, but the following categories can be distinguished:

(*a*) Separation of adjective and noun:

364 Par la *vertud* de Deu la (*MSS.* le) *grant*. (So 1626, 1820.)
964 *Seignur* servir bien deit l'um *tel*.
1069 De *naturel* fud *jargunce*. (So 1071.)
1679–80 Nuls d'els ne set en feid veire
Quel il seit faiz de *materie*. (So 1780.)

Similarly with a numeral:

35-6 *Tres mil* suz lui par divers leus
Munies aveit Brandan li pius.

[1] Horning, *op. cit.*, p. 243, affirmed that there was no instance in the *Brendan*. The *Alexis* presents a similar exception (*il fut anuitét* 51). Ph. de Thaün and the author of the *Roland* used impersonal *il* somewhat more freely; cf. Horning, *op. cit.*, pp. 244 f.; Jenkins, glossary to *Roland*.

[2] Cf. W. Kramer, *Die Syntax des Possessivpronomens im Französischen*, Diss. Göttingen, 1905; A. F. Höring, *Zur Geschichte des Possessivpronomens im Französischen*, Diss. Heidelberg, 1912; Foulet, *Petite Syntaxe . . .*, § 169; Nyrop, *Gram. hist.*, v, §§ 253 ff.

[3] Cf. para. ii.

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Nul is placed after the noun to which it refers in vv. 94 and 1389, similarly *altre* in v. 1319, in each instance for the sake of preserving the medial break. On the position of *propre* in v. 1462, and on *si grande ma miserie* 1468, see the notes to these lines.

(*b*) Separation or transposition of a noun and its complement:

511–12 Tant dulcement sonat li vols
En eschele cum fait *li cols*.
557 Quant vint *del jurn* al *declinant*. (So 548, 741, 1156.)
769 *Des Thephanie* al uitme *di*.
1687 *As gutes* d'or *grisolites*.
1764 Qui *del soleil* tolget *l'esclair*. (So 1706.)

(*c*) Anticipation of a subject, predicate, or object:

(Subject) 905–6 E poi en falt pur turmente
La nef od eals que n'adente.
(Predicate) 635–6 Quar li rocheit et li munt *grant*
A la terre lur sunt devant.
(Object) 402 *Altre* quant nus or n'i truvum.
576 E *tanz perilz* qui unt passét.
651–2 *Quel nature* nus ne savum
Aient li duit . . .
1056 *Voz creances* cum debutez.
1133–4 Par cel aïr tant halt volent
Le cler del jurn que lur tolent.
1324 *Itel repos* quant as ici.

(With the object repeated in the form of a pronoun)

306 Mais *sa merci* mult *la* crïent. (So 509, 654, 1347.)
447–8 *Charn* de la nef, qu'il i mistrent,
Pur quire la dunc *la* pristrent.[1]

(*d*) Anticipation of an adverb or adverbial phrase:

518 E *en cest liu* que tu deies.
525 *Par superbe* qui revelat.
933 *Dreit* cum ceste vers la nef traist.
939–40 Des narines li fous lur salt,
Desque as nües qui volet halt.
1099–1100 Bien set, de Deu ne resortet,
Pur servir l'en quant l'en portet.
1295 Quant vi *vilment* que fud traitez.
1591–2 la funtaine
De tuz cunreiz qui est pleine. (So 890, 1594.)

(*e*) Other anticipations:

(Past participle) 651 li duit *trovéz* que avum.
1518 Ainz que *trovét* nule rien ait.

[1] Cf. repetition of the subject in 1695 *Li jacinctes clers i est il.*

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(Infinitive) 649 *Prendre si tost* jol vus defent.
? 1052 Sachez *murir* [que] nus estout.

(The second term of a comparison)
1401–2 E dunc m'est vis n'est turmente
Que del freid dunt plus me sente.

(*f*) Postposition of subject:

660 Drechet lui sus *cil* par la main.
1539 N'est si blance *neifs* ne clere.
1610 Ne deit sun vent *hom* sururer.

As will be seen from the above examples, the author of the *Brendan* was specially prone to anticipate a word or phrase belonging to a subordinate clause, placing it in front of the conjunction or relative pronoun which introduces the clause; this is the justification for the emendation adopted in v. 1052.

(xv) Parataxis is not a conspicuous feature of this poem, being much less frequent, for instance, than in the *Roland*.[1] We may note the absence of relative *qui* in vv. 762 and 794, of conditional *si* in 657 and 917, of final *que* in 603–4, of consecutive *que* after *tant* in 97–100, 1389–90, and 1655–6 (cf. 417–18 and 1430, where *tels* and *tant* respectively are unexpressed), and in a prohibition in 14. *Que* is omitted after the following verbs:—*dire* 665–6, 1477–8, *estre* (*a*)*vis* 1401, 1403–4, *mander* 1553, *prendre en purpens* 39–43, 1093–4, *prïer* 59–60, *prometre* 121–2, *saveir* 1099, 1494, and *veeir* 1291 A. But examples in which the conjunction or relative pronoun is expressed are far more numerous.

(xvi) The partiality which the author shows for elliptical constructions, and to a lesser extent for anacoluthon, often accentuates the graphic compactness of the narrative. Ellipsis of an infinitive occurs in vv. 757 and 1280, of a substantive in 227, 1357, and perhaps 1322 and 1639, of a verb of saying in 1542. Examples of asyndeton are pointed out in the note to vv. 129–30. A single auxiliary verb (with pronoun or adverb) is made to serve for two or more correlated sentences in 829–30, 981–2, 1727–8, and 1751–4. In 583–4, 919–20, and perhaps 1197–8 may be found instances of anacoluthon. But these features come under the heading of style rather than of syntax.

[1] Cf. Jenkins's introduction, pp. cxxxvi ff.; Foulet, *Petite Syntaxe*..., §§ 397 ff.

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§ 6. Conclusion

The language of the *Brendan* differs from Central French of the same period in the following respects:

(*a*) Identity of tonic *ain* and *ein* before fem. *e* (§ 2, xiii).
(*b*) Identity of tonic *ę* and *ę* before *l*+consonant (§ 2, xvi).
(*c*) *ieu* > *iu* (§ 2, xix).
(*d*) *ę* > *ei* before *l*-mouillé (§ 2, xxii).
(*e*) Identity of *u* < *ū* and *u* < *ǫ* (§ 2, xlvii).
(*f*) Depalatalization of *l*-mouillé (§ 2, lxiii) and *n*-mouillé (§ 2, lxviii).
(*g*) Fall of atonic *e* in *entrin* (§ 2, lxi) and in the futures *frai*, *truvrai*, *resuscitrai* (§ 3, xxxi).
(*h*) Analogical *ou* for *u* in *dout*, *dourent* (§ 3, xxxvii).
(*i*) Contraction of preterite and imperfect subjunctive forms like *oustes*, *oust*, *ousum*, *oussent* (§ 3, xl).
(*j*) Nominative replaced by accusative case in predicative and certain other uses (§ 5, iv and vii).

Other features such as the preservation of (*u*)*ei* in *queivre* (§ 2, xxxvi), the identity of voiced and unvoiced *s* in *veneisun* : *peisun* (§ 2, lxxx), and the *ch* in *boche* (§ 2, lxxxii) are less well authenticated, and are susceptible of special explanations. Certain analogical developments such as the addition of nominative *s* to nouns like *peres* (§ 3, ii), of feminine *e* to adjectives of the *fort* type (§ 3, vii), of *e* to the indicative present 1 sg. of *-are* verbs (§ 3, xv), and of *e* to the subjunctive present of *-are* verbs (§ 3, xxvi) may still have been dialectal at the date of the *Brendan*.

How far were these peculiarities of Benedeit's language the result of purely insular development? Which of them had been brought over from the Continent by the followers of William the Conqueror? To these questions it is probably impossible to give a complete answer. Of French dialects in the eleventh century and the first quarter of the twelfth century we know very little save what can be inferred from their later characteristics. Continental parallels can be found for almost every one of the peculiarities in question. Features (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), and (*d*) were widespread in French dialects of the twelfth century, and cannot be regarded as characteristic Anglo-Normanisms. Feature (*e*) has persisted down to the present day in Walloon; it is not known what dialects still preserved unmodified *u* in the eleventh century. With regard to (*f*), various OF texts rimed

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l with *l*-mouillé and *n* with *n*-mouillé, though not with such consistency as to indicate depalatalization of *l-* and *n*-mouillés as in Anglo-Norman. Of the forms mentioned under (*g*), *entrin* may well be a continental form, and appears to survive in the Channel Islands; while contracted futures such as *truvrai* and *resuscitrai* were widely used in early northern French dialects, and *frai* occurred in Walloon. The analogical developments classed as (*h*) and (*i*) can have arisen in any dialect, and contractions like *oust* can be regarded as Norman if Suchier's *Reimpredigt* is really a continental text. The declension-system (*j*) in the *Brendan* shows only the same signs of breakdown as in continental western French texts of the same period. The use of the English words *haspe* and *rap* (§ 4, ii) is probably a more conclusive sign of the insular origin of the poem than any of the phonetic or morphological features. Were it not for these words, and the depalatalization of *l-* and *n-* mouillés, we might have conjectured the author of the poem to be a northern Frenchman whose relations with Queen Adeliza had begun even before she left her home in Brabant, and who had perhaps never visited England.

If the direct evidence of Benedeit's Anglo-Norman origin is slight, the indirect evidence is fairly strong. All the features mentioned above as distinguishing his language from Central French are common in later Anglo-Norman texts. But many of the more characteristic Anglo-Norman traits are still absent from the *Brendan*, notably the confusion of *e* (< *a*) and *ie*, of *e* and *ei*, and of oral *ai* and *ei*, the suppression or introduction (apart from the instances mentioned) of atonic *e*, the complete breakdown of declension, and the confusion of conjugations. The fact that Anglo-Norman had not become strongly differentiated from continental dialects within two generations of the Conquest need cause no surprise. Not the least advantage of a text like the *Brendan*, so meticulously accurate as regards metre, rimes, and grammar, is that it furnishes a precise date by which these Anglo-Normanisms had not prevailed.

A brief comparison of Benedeit's language with that of his contemporary Philippe de Thaün can hardly be dispensed with. The summary drawn up by Walberg still holds good in the main, though certain details require correction.[1] In several respects the *Brendan* represents an earlier state of the language than the works of Philippe:

[1] *Bestiaire*, pp. lxxx f. The rime *ille* : *eisille* is due solely to the Picard reviser; and it is not certain that *feimes* was a contracted form in the original text. See also Mall, *Cumpos*, Introduction.

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final *n* in *jurn* and similar words is intact, atonic *-et* is not elided, *u* < *ũ* is still a back vowel, final *s* and *z* are distinct, and the declension system has not broken down. On the other hand Philippe, unlike Benedeit, kept *ain* and *ein*, *n* and *n*-mouillé respectively separate; he never used the contracted verb-forms mentioned in (*g*) and (*i*) above, nor did he add analogical *s* to *pere* and similar nouns, or analogical *e* to the present indicative 1 sg. and present subjunctive of *-are* verbs; while he made but sparing use of analogical *e* in the feminine of adjectives like *fort*. As regards individual words we may note that Philippe has *De* < *Deum*, *espirit* (3 syllables), *ille*, whereas Benedeit used *Deu*, *esp(i)rit* (2 syllables) and *isle*. In view of the fact that both authors were *clercs*, and wrote for the same patronèss, their language might have been expected to be more similar. Philippe's laxity in certain respects (e.g. declension) might be attributed in some degree to his lack of skill as a versifier; but many features cannot be so explained. The numerous divergencies between them point to the existence of considerable dialectal variation in Anglo-Norman during the half-century following the Conquest. It is not surprising if this was the case, seeing of what diverse elements the following of the early Norman kings consisted.

The critical text is based upon A, the better manuscript of the best family. Though probably the youngest of the MSS., it is the most complete and has preserved most faithfully the readings of the original. The six lines missing in A have been supplied from the other MSS., and those readings of A have been corrected which can be shown by internal evidence or the testimony of the other MSS. to be corrupt. Fortunately, when A is defective or corrupt, one or more of the Anglo-Norman MSS. almost invariably comes to the rescue.

It would have been relatively easy to standardize the spellings and forms of the critical text on the basis of the results obtained in the present chapter; and this arbitrary procedure may be cordially recommended as an exercise for students. But we have no reason to suppose that the author of the *Brendan*, or any other OF author, was strictly consistent in these superficial matters. The aim kept in view has been to reproduce the text, not as it left the hands of the author, but as it might have been written by a thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman scribe, who copied carefully and with understanding

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but without attempting to exclude the forms and spellings current in his own day. The only features of the text furnished by A, apart from demonstrable corruptions, which have been systematically corrected, are certain late Anglo-Norman developments, especially the dropping of atonic vowels, the addition of inorganic *e* before or after a vowel and at the end of a word, the use of *le* for *li* or *la* before a vowel, the substitution of *i* for tonic *ei* and post-tonic *e*, the adding or dropping of *s* before a consonant, the substitution of final *t* for *s*, and the confusion of the *-er* and *-ir* conjugations. These features, if allowed to subsist, would seriously interfere with the reader's understanding and appreciation of the poem. The use of case-forms in A, though often disagreeing with what we know to have been the author's practice, has normally been allowed to stand; in a few instances only, with the support of the other MSS., glaring inconsistencies have been eliminated.[1]

All rejected spellings and forms of A, and the variant readings of all the MSS., have been included in the footnotes. To have given the orthographic variants of all the MSS. would have swollen the critical apparatus without any corresponding advantage. The spellings and forms used by the Anglo-Norman scribes are nevertheless of considerable interest, both on their own account and because many have survived in English; they have therefore been classified, in the manner which is thought to be most convenient for reference, in Appendix II. When a variant is common to two or more MSS., the spelling is that of the first-mentioned. Palaeographical details (corrections, erasures, etc.) have been mentioned only in a few special instances; for MSS. A and E adequate information on these points is supplied by the diplomatic editions of Suchier and Auracher respectively.

[1] e. g. in vv. 390, 410, 502, 635, 856, 873, 1453.

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THE VOYAGE OF ST. BRENDAN

3381

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THE VOYAGE OF ST. BRENDAN

Incipit Vita Sancti Brendani

Vv. 1–18. Prologue.

DONNA Aaliz la reïne,
Par qui valdrat lei divine,
Par qui creistrat lei de terre
E remandrat tante guerre,
Por les armes Henri lu rei,
Par le cunseil qui ert en tei,
Salüet tei mil e mil feiz
Li apostoiles danz Benedeiz.
Que comandas, ço ad enpris,
Secund sun sens en letre mis,
En letre mis e en romanz
Esi cum fud li teons cumanz,
De saint Brendan le bon abeth.
Mais tul defent ne seit gabeth,

Heading in BD only. 1–18 *replaced in E by* Seignor oies que io dirai Dun saint home vos conterai Dyrlande estoit brandans ot non Molt ert de grant religion. 1 *B* . . me Aliz, *C* De mahalt, *D* Dame aeliz. 2 *B* Pur qui uendrat; *D* deuine. 3 qui] *B* quei; *D* crestrat. 4 *BCD* remeindrat; *B* tute g. 5 *CD* Par. 6 *AC* E par, *B* Pur; *D* ki est; en] *CD* de. 8 *D* Lapostoile; *C* -olies donz; *A* benediz, *BCD* beneiz. 10 *BD* Sulunc, *C* Si cum; en letre] *A* entre. 12 *not in B.* 13 *D* abez. 14 *B* tu le fent; *C* M. tu le defen de cui gabet, *D* Mun escient dirra uertez.

L (*Rejected readings of the MS. are placed in round brackets. Letters and words not in the MS. are placed in square brackets.*)

[P]redecessorum sacra facta (*MS.* fasta) nostrorum ne taceantur, 213ª
quoniam a sapientibus audita et memorie tradita mentis et locutionis et actus enormitates (*MS.* -tis) et labes resecant, et unicuique illorum recte faciendi que sua sunt maximam subministrant idoneitatem, (et) ideo de quodam Dei caro (*MS.* choro) narrare decrevi, quo (ut) facilius exemplum prebeatur auditoribus, quoniam qui carum Dei fieri se promereri satagit, nunquam a desiderio suo justo defraudabitur, secundum quod dictum est:

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Quant dit que set e fait que peot :
Itel servant blasmer ne steot ;
Mais cil qui peot e ne voile,
Dreiz est que cil mult s'en doile.

Vv. 19–38. Saint Brendan.

Icist seinz Deu fud ned de reis
De naisance fud des Ireis ;
Pur ço que fud de regal lin,
Pur oc entent a noble fin.
Ben sout que la scripture dit :
'Ki de cest mund fuit le delit,
Od Deu de cel tant en avrat
Que demander plus ne savrat.'
Pur oc guerpit cist reials eirs
Les fals honurs pur iceals veirs—
Dras de moine—pur estre vil
En cest secle cum en eisil.
Prist e l'ordre e les habiz,
Puis fud abes par force esliz.

15 *D* Qui. seit. 16 *C* seriant, *D* sergant. 17 cil] *A* si ; *D* M. qui bien set e nel uult dire. 18 mult] *C* puis ; s'en] *A* se ; *C* duillet ; *D* Jh'c len portet mult grant ire. 19 *B* Icil seint ; *D* seinz huem, *E* bons hom ; *C* neiz, *DE* nez. 20 des] *C* de ; *E* Del lignage fu as yrois. 21 *D* quil f., E quil ert ; *BD* real, *CE* reial ; *D* lign. 22 *C* De mielz entent, *D* Pur co tendit, *E* Entendi miex ; *E* a bone f. 23 *ADE* le scripture. 24 *C* fuiet ; le] *A* de. 25 Od] *D* A ; *BD* del, *E* el. 26 *AE* plus dem. ; *DE* nen. 27 *words before* guerpit *illegible in C* ; oc] *DE* co ; *E* g. les roials oires ; cist *not in C*. 28 *C* Le ; *E* fauses ; *C* ices ; *E* por les voires. 29 Dras de *illegible in C* ; moine] *C*.unie. 30 *C* icest ; *B* cum eissil ; *E* escil. 31 *B* Pris a, *D* Prist en, *E* Si recut, *illegible in C*. 32 fud *not in B* ; *C* abez ; par] *D* a. 33 *partly illegible in C* ; *D* Pur lamur, *E* Par lart ; *E* molt en i. 34 *E* E qui ; *A* a le ; *BCE* bien, *D* deu. 35 Tres *illegible in C*, *D* Trei ; *B* suz li, *D* sur lui, *E* moines ;

'Querite et invenietis, pulsate et aperietur vobis.' Comitetur, queso, hujus operis executionem virtus Christi, qui bonorum omnium est initium, et suos convocat ad salutem.

Fuit igitur vir iste Brendanus in insula occidentali, Hybernia nomine, a preclaris parentibus, regali scilicet stemate oriundus, qui rerum temporalium, que vere transitoria nuncupantur, delicias tempnens, habitum monachalem suscepit, ut quasi in exilio positus vitam degeret ; animadvertens quia a convictu hominum non est facile labem non contrahere. Qui ordinem susceptum ita mirifice custodivit, ut, voluntate propria

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Par art de lui mult i vindrent
Qui al ordre bein se tindrent:
Tres mil suz lui par divers leus
Munies aveit Brandan li pius,
De lui pernanz tuz ensample
Par sa vertud que ert ample.

Vv. 39–70. His desire to see the Other World.

Li abes Brendan prist en purpens,
Cum hoem qui ert de mult grant sens,
De granz cunseilz e de rustes,
Cum cil qui ert forment justes,
De Deu prïer ne faiseit fin
Pur sei e pur trestut sun lin,
E pur les morz e pur les vifs—
Quer a trestuz eret amis;
Mais de une ren li prist talent,
Dunt Deu prïer prent plus suvent,
Que lui mustrast cel paraïs
U Adam fud primes asis,

leus *illegible in C*, *B* liu. 36 Munies *illegible in C*; *E* Avoit sos luj; *B* bradan, *C* brandrans, *D* brendans, *E* brandans; *B* piu, *E* piels. 37 *B* pernez, *D* preneient; *D* tuit; *BD* essample; *C* . . pernanz tous ensanp . . (*rest illegible*). *E* E de lui prisent tot example. 38 *D* Pur; *BD* qui; *B* iert, *D* iert mult, *E* molt fu; *C illegible except* anple. 39 *partly illegible in C*; *DE* Labes; *BCE* brandans; prist] *E* ot. 40 *first half illegible in C*; *A* home, *E* cil; *E* estoit; mult *not in BE. From* 41 *to* 104 *C is for the most part obliterated, but words are legible here and there.* 41 *D* grant cunseil; *B* ruistjes, *C illegible*, *D* ruiste, *E* molt ruistes. 42 *E* Conme; *ABC* iustes, *D* iuste *or* uiste, *E* vistes. 43 *A* fereit, *B* freit, *C* fesei . . 44 *E* Por lui; *C* .un bon lin; *D* lign. 46 a] *A* as; *E* trestot; *A* ert, *B* iert il, *C illegible*, *DE* esteit. 47 *DE* dune; ren] *A* en. 48 *D* De deu preer parfitement, *E* Dont il prioit deu plus s. 49 *B* Que deu, *E* Quil; *BDE* li; *A* mustrat; *E* paradis (*so in all cases*) 50 *E* adans. premiers.

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repugnante, in abbatis dignitatem electus est et receptus. Cujus arte et industria multi ordinem susceperunt, quorum anime pro merito eorum in sinu Abrahe collocate sunt. Monachorum vero suorum numerus usque ad tria milia erat, qui partim in cellis partim in abbatia constituti, ejus exemplo in bonum certatim nitebantur.

Brendanus abbas in bonis eruditus, jejuniis et elemosinis nunquam fatigatus, orationibus semper insistebat pro se et suis, et pro vivis et defunctis, memoriter tenens illud: 'Qui pro aliis orat, pro se ipso laborat.' Sed quoddam precipuum cotidianis orationibus a Domino impetrabat, ut

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Icel qui est nostre heritét
Dun nus fumes deseritét.
Bien creit qu'ileoc ad grant glorie,
Si cum nus dit veire storie,
Mais nepurtant voldret vetheir
U il devreit par dreit setheir,
Mais par peccét Adam forfist,
Pur quei e sei e nus fors mist.
Deu en prïet tenablement
Cel lui mustret veablement;
Ainz qu'il murget voldreit saveir
Quel sed li bon devrunt aveir,
Quel lu li mal aveir devrunt,
Quel merite il recevrunt;
Enfern prïed vetheir oveoc,
E quels peines avrunt ileoc
Icil felun qui par orguil
Ici prennent par eols escuil
De guerreer Deu e la lei,
Ne entre eols nen unt amur ne fai.

Vv. 71–102. The Narrative of Barintus.

Içо dunt lui pris est desir
Voldrat Brandans par Deu sentir.

51 *D* Icil; *DE* fut; *D* eritez, *E* yrete. 52 nus *not in B*; *E* sommes; *D* deseritez, *E* desirete. 53 *BD* crei; qu'] *B* qui, *DE* que; *B* gr. ioie. 54 *E* dist; *B* en ueir, *D* la ueire, *E* la vraie; *B* estorie, *DE* estoire. 55 *BDE* nepurquant uoldreit. 56 *E* U nos deuriens. 57 Mais *not in B*; *D* pechez; *E* M. le pechie que adans fist. 58 *E* Par; *A* e sei nus, *B* sei e nus, *D* nus e sei, *E* issi e nos. 59 *D* ueirablement. 60 Cel] *B* Co, *D* Que co, *E* Qui; *BDE* li; *C* .isablement, *E* creablement. 61 *D* muret, *E* mujre; *BD* uoldrat; *A* uetheir. 62 *BD* sie, *E* bien; *E* doiuent. 63 *B* durent. 64 *E* E quel; *B* receurent, *D* receiuurnt. 65 *D* Que enfern, *E* Infer; prïed] *D* uoldreit; *B* auoc, *E* auoec. 66 *B* queles, *D* ques, *E* quel; *E* paine; avrunt] *E* il est. 67 *E* Icist; qui] *B* que; *E* par lor voil. 68 *C* es . . el, *D* escoil, *E* escueil. 69 *A* gurrer, *D* guerier; *E* e sa loi. 70 *B* Ne entreus, *D* Kar entrels, *E* Nentreus. 71 *D* Co dun lui est pris tel d., *E* Ice dont li prist tel d. 72

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scilicet paradisum sibi ostenderet, in qua prothoplaustum formaverat, que nobis jus hereditarium esset, nisi commisso Ade patris nostri defraudaremur. Hoc ideo fecit, quoniam legerat hunc locum esse deliciarum et
213[b] glorie, in quo nullis, nisi | crimine mundis, patet introitus. E contra inferni fetida claustra videre cupiit, que gurgite insatiabili suos recipiunt, et in penarum afflictum detrahunt, ubi domus (*MS.* -mos) luctus et horroris est sempiternus.

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Od sei primes cunseil en prent
Qu'a un Deu serf confés se rent:
Barinz out nun cil ermite,
Murs out bons e sainte vitte;
Li fedeilz Deu en bois estout,
Tres cenz moines od lui i out;
De lui prendrat conseil e los,
De lui voldrat aveir ados.
Cil li mustrat par plusurs diz,
Beals ensamples e bons respiz,
Qu'il vit en mer e en terre
Quant son filiol alat querre:
Ço fud Mernoc, qui ert frerre
Del liu u cist abes ere,
Mais de ço fud mult voluntif,
Que fust ailurs e plus sultif.
Par sun abeth e sun parain
En mer se mist, e nun en vain,
Quer puis devint en itel liu
U nuls n'entret fors sul li piu:
Ço fud en mer en un' isle
U mals orrez nuls ne cisle,
U fud poüz de cel odur
Que en paraïs gettent li flur;

D Brendan; *E* pur. 73–92a *missing in E.* 73 *D* A sei; *A* cunseilz. 74 *B* Que a, *D* A; *BD* serf deu. 75 *B* Barrins, *D* Barins; cil] *D* si fut. 76 *D* bones; *A* saint; *BC* uie. 77 *B* fedeil; *D* Icist sainz huem en b. estut. 78 *C* . . i aueit; i *not in A.* 80 De] *B* E. 81 *C* S . . 82a *D* Buens. beals; *BD* essamples; *A* espiz. 83 *A* Quil il, *D* Que il. 84 *D* Q. alat un suen filol q. 85 *D* mēnoc; ert] *A* fud, *D* esteit; *the* e *of* ert (?) *is legible in C.* 86 *A* lui; u] *BD* dunt. 87 *D* dico; *B* uolentifs, *D* uolentis. 88 *D* en liu soltif; *C* sultis. 89 abeth] *D* parreien; *A* parin, *C* parrein, *D* abez. 90 *A* en un euain, *B* en un seruain. *C* en un nauein, *D* en une nef. 91 *D* E puis alat. 92a *BD* nul; *B* nen entre, *C* . .ntra, *D* ne entrent; sul *not in CD.* 93 *E* en itel ille. 94 *B* nul; *B* cille, *C.* ifle; *D* U nul mal orez ne c., *E* V nus ores nului nescille. 95 *D* La fut puiz, *E* La fu peus; *B* de cele, *D* dicel, *E* de chiere. 96 *BE* Quen; *B* paris; *E* la flor.

Propositum suum prosequitur Brendanus; religionis sue instinctu ad quendam Dei ministrum secessit, qui Barrus nomine dictus est. Hic autem moribus et honestate vite praecellens, quaedam devia nemoris habitabat cum trecentis monachis sibi subditis. Cui Brandanus se confessum reddidit; et, postulato ab eo consilio, ait se quandam insulam vidisse, que affinis paradiso fuerat, quam nec aeris corruptio nec tempestatum sevitia te[ti]gerat, ibidemque se florum odore in paradiso

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Quer cel' isle tant pres en fud,
U sainz Mernoc esteit curud,
De paraïs out la vie
E des angeles out l'oïde.
E puis Barinz la le requist,
U vit içо qu'a Brandan dist.

Vv. 103–156. Brendan chooses fourteen Companions.

Quant ot Brandan la veüe
Que cist out la receüe,
De meilz en creit le soen conseil,
E plus enprent sun apareil.
De ses munies quatorze eslit,
Tuz les meilurs que il i vit,
E dit lur ad le soen purpens;
Savrat par eols si ço ert sens.
Quant oïrent içо de lui,
Dunc en parlerent dui e dui;
Respundent lui comunalment
Que ço enprist mult vassalment;

97 cel'] *AB* del; E Car cis illes pres diluec fu. 98 *A* ainz, *B* seint, *DE* saint; *D* mēnoc; *E* avoit geu; *D* curuz. 99 *E* Car de; out] *BD* oid. 100 des] *A* les; *DE* angles; out] *D* oit, *E* avoit; *A* loid'e, *BCDE* loie. 101 *BD* barins; le] *D* lo; *E* E p. apres iluec le quist. 102 *A* uint; *D* icho, *E* ce; qu'a] *BE* que, *CD* que a; *B* brandans. 103 *D* out; *B* brandans; la] *D* la nef; *E* Q. br. sauoit la v. 104 *D* icist, *E* lermites; la *not in E*; *C* receu. 105 De m.] *D* Forment; en creit] *E* entent; le *not in B, D* li; *B* sun; *D* coseil. 106 enprent] *E* ot fort. 107 *AE* eslist. 108 *AB* quil; i *not in CD*; *E* Son oirre e son conseil lor dist. 110 *B* Sauera; *E* Par eus sara. 111 *E* Quant il o. ce. 112 *E* Si en parolent; *D* e d. e d. 113 *B* Respunent li, *C* Respoinent li, *E* Si respondent; *A* comunament, *DE* comunement. 114 *B* enpreist; mult *not in A*; *C* uassament; *D* Sun eire enprenge u. 115 *BC* Preirent; *D* Preerent lui, *E* Proie li ont; *BC* que les; *D* que ot sei les maint. 116

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crescentium pastum fuisse fatebatur, quando sanctum Mernocum filiolum suum per diversa mundi climata quesierat, qui illac transierat, quicque frater illius loci fuerat in quo Barrus abbas erat.

Audiente Brandano quoniam Barrus se talia vidisse fatebatur, majorem fiduciam dictis ejus prebuit; magisque ac magis mentis cupiditate captus est ut propositum perficeret; invicemque vale dicto, ad propria redit habitacula; ibidemque quattuordecim monachos elegit, quos fide et religione noverat prestantiores, quibus que in mente habuit secundum tenorem proposite omnia enucleavit. Hii autem bini et bini incedentes, invicemque audita versantes, in consilium unum reversi sunt, asserentes

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Prïerent l'en ques meint od sei
Cum les seons filz soürs en fei.
Ço dist Brandan: 'Pur cel vos di
Que de vos voil ainz estre fi
Que jo d'ici vos en meinge,
Al repentir puis m'en prenge.'
Cil promettent suurance
Pur eols ne seit demurance.
Dunc prent l'abes iceols esliz,
Puis que out oït d'els tuz les diz,
En capitle les ad menez,
Iloec lur dit cum hoem senez:
'Seignurs, ço que en pensed avum,
Cum el est gref nus nel savum,
Mais prium Deu que nus enseint,
Par sun plaisir la nus en meint;
E enz el nun al saint Espirit
Juine faimes que la nus guit,
E junum la quarenteine
Sur les treis jurs la semaine.'

D C. de ses f.; *CD* en seit; *E* Conme ses freres sor lor foi. 117 *E* Respont b.; *BCE* brandans; cel] *B* co, *E* ce; vus] *E* le. 118 *E* Que ie de; ainz *not in E*. 119 *BE* de ci, *C* de chi, *D* de cest liu; *E* ot moi vos maigne; *BD* menge, *C* meingie. 120 *A* repenter; m'en] *C* me; *E* Cal r. nus ne sen praigne. 121 *E* Cil li; *BCD* pramettent; *B* segurance, *C* seurance, *D* aseurance, *E* seurtance. 122 *A* scit; *D* la d.; *E* E quil ne face d. 123–42 *missing in E*. 123 *D* Ounc; l'] *A* le, *BC* li; *C* iceos. 124 out oït] *C* dit; d'els tuz] *A* dels, *BD* de tuz, *C* de tos. 125 *A* capitel, *D* chapitre; *D* ad amenez. 126 *A* dist; *B* cume home. 127 *C* qu'; en *not in A*; *D* pensez. 128 el] *B* co, *CD* il; *B* ne. 129 *BC* preum; *CD* quil; *D* enseignt. 130 *C* E par sun plasir; *B* que la, *D* quil la; en *not in B*; *D* maignt. 131 el] *CD* al; *BC* espirt. 132 *D* Jeiuine; *B* par sa mercit, *D* quil nus guit; *A* iuit, *C* uirt. 133 *BC* ieunum. 134 *BCD* Sul; *CD* de la; *D* semaigne.

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illis gratum esse; et gratias agentes, preces multas addiderunt ut premeditata adimpleret (*MS.* -rent), et eos secum duceret (*MS.* -rent); et, ut securus ex eis esset, Brandano postulante, (et) omnes unanimiter securitatem promiserunt.

Responso ab eis accepto, abbas e vestigio electos in capitulum conducit; quos sic affatur: 'Vos amici mei atque preelecti, per quos religio nunquam passa est detrimentum, et vos, dulce pecus, fundi nostri fundamentum, qui semper ecclesie bonorum prestitistis fomentum, quam audacis mentis est concipere, quam magni facti adimplere quod proposuimus, non (*MS.* nos) dubitamus. Ideoque Deum celi deprecemur ut doctor nobis sit et

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Dunc n'i ad nul qui se target
De ço faire qu'il lur charget
Ne li abes ne nuit ne jurn
Des ureisuns ne fait tresturn,
De ci que Deus li enveiat
Le angele del cel, quil aveiat
De tut l'eire cum il irat;
Enz en sun quer sil aspirat
Que tres bien veit e certement
Cum Deus voldrat seon alement.
Dunc prent cungé a ses freres,
As quels il ert mult dulz peres,
E dit lur ad de seon eire
Cument a Deu le volt creire.
A sun priur tuz les concreit,
Dit lui cument guarder les deit;
Cumandet eals lui obeïr,
Cum lur abét mult bien servir.
Puis les baiset Brandan e vait.
Plurent trestuit par grant dehait
Que mener ne volt lur peres
Fors quatorze de lur freres.

135 *D* Dunt nen ni; ad] *B* ail; *B* sen; *C* targie. 136 *C* que il lur cargie. 137 *A* nen nuit; *C* iurs, *D* iur. 138 *C* tresturs, *D* tristur. 139 *BC* Dici, *D* Neis. 140 *AC* Le angel, *B* Langele, *D* Langle; *C* qui lenseingnad. 142 sil] *A* cil, *D* li; *B* espirad. 143 Que] *D* E; *C* treis; *D* ueit certeinement; *E* Que bien sauoit certainement. 144 *E* Que d. voloit; *BCDE* sun; *A* alment. 145 *E* Dont; a] *D* de tuz, *E* a tos. 146 *D* esteit, *E* ot este; mult *not in E*; dulz] *B* bons. 147 *A* dist; ad de] *D* aueit tut, *E* a trestot; *BCDE* sun. 148 *A* uoleit, *B* uelt, *C* uoilt; *E* les volra traire; *D* Cum il uult en deu c. 149 *E* prieus tot les chargoit. 150 *A* Dist, *B* De; *CD* li. 151 *D* Comandat els, *D* Eus conmanda. 152 *B* Cume; *D* abez. 153 les] *A* lur, *C* le; *DE* baisat; *BCE* brandans; e] *D* sen. 154 *CD* trestuz; *B* desait, *DE* deshait; *E* Plorant a

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ductor ad propositi perfectionem, et jejunium quoddam quadraginta dierum in honore Spiritus statuamus, unaquaque ebdomada tribus diebus jejunantes.' His dictis omnes assensum prebuerunt. Abbas vero nun-
214[a] quam ab orationibus cessavit, | donec Dominus noster Jesus Christus per angelum suum que perpetraturus esset nunciavit, et sancto flamine inspiravit, ita quod pro rato et constante satis habebat Dei voluntatem ad iter suscipiendum pronam esse. Dehinc autem narravit fratribus suis ea quae contigerant, et eos priori tanquam pastori tradidit, et ejus sicut suis subministrare jussit preceptis; et singulis singula tradidit oscula, et

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Vv. 157–184. PREPARATIONS FOR THE VOYAGE.

Vait s'en Brandan vers la grant mer
U sout par Deu que dout entrer.
Unc ne turnat vers sun parent:
En plus cher leu aler entent.
Alat tant quant terre dure,
Del sujurner ne prist cure;
Vint al roceit que li vilain
Or apelent le Salt Brandan.
Icil s'estent durement luin
Sur l'occean si cume un gruign,
E suz le gruign aveit un port
Par un la mer receit un gort,
Mais petiz ert e mult estreit—
Del derube veneit tut dreit.
Altres, ço crei, avant cestui
Ne descendit aval cel pui.
Ci aloeces fist atraire
Mairen dunt sa nef fist faire,

molt tres grant d. 155 *E* E quen m.; *B* nes uelt; *D* Kar m. nen uoleit li p. 156 *D* Fors sul, *E* Que seul; lur] *D* ses. 157 *BE* brandans; la] *A* le. 158 *E* quil; *BDE* dut, *C* deit. 159 *E* Ains. 160 En] *D* A; *D* lui. 161 *E* Si ala; *D* itant; quant] *B* cume, *D* cum, *E* que. 162 *D* suriurner; *D* nient nen p. c., *E* ne p. ainc c. 163 *BD* al rochet, *CE* a la roche. 164 *B* Ore; *D* Ap. ore, *E* Ont apele; *B* brandein, *E* -ain. 165 *C* luinz; *E* Li mons estoit d. lons. 166 *C* si cum, *D* desuz; *C* uns gruinz; *E* E dune part estoit .j. groins. 167 *C* E sur, *D* De suz, *E* Desos. 168 *not in E*; *BCD* Par unt. 169 *BCD* petit; *A* estreits. 170 *B* De; *E* desrube; *A* tuz drez. 171 *BCD* Altre. 172 *E* descendoit; *A* al ual; cel] *D* cest, *E* le. 173 *B* Iloches, *D* A haloccs, *E* Brandans ilueques; *D* faiseit; *B* f. mairien tr. 174 Mairen *not in B*; dunt] *C* du, *E* dont il; *D* faiseit sa n. f.

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in amplexus [ru]erunt diutissimos, et vale subjuncto lacrimas multi effuderunt, quoniam non nisi illos quattuordecim ducere volebat.

[P]astor justus cum fratribus versus mare iter carpit, ubi Dominus per angelum premonstrarat se profundo committere. Erat autem ibidem montis cujusdam cacumen erectum in nubibus, et in occeano longe extensum, quod adhuc a compatriotis Saltus Brandani nuncupatur; in cujus frontem mare se provolvens, portum quendam parvum fecerat, ita quod pro ejus tranquillitate tutamen navi prestare potuisset. Hic abbas (cum) quam plurima atraxit ad ratem suam struendam, quam ex asseribus

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Tute dedenz de fust sapin,
Defors l'avolst de quir bovin;
Uindre la fist que sculante
Od l'unde fust, e curante;
Ustilz i mist tant cum estout,
E cum la nef porter en pout;
La guarisun i mist odveoc
Qu'il aveient portét iloec,
Ne plus que a quarante dis
De viande n'i out enz mis.

Vv. 185–202. The Three intruding Monks.

Dist as freres: 'Entrez enenz.
Deu gracïez, bons est li venz.'
Enz entrent tuit e il aprés.
Ast vos ja tres curanz adés,
A haltes voiz Brandan criant
E lor palmes vers lui tendant:

175 *A* Tut. 176 *E* le clost; *C* bouim, *E* buevin. 177 *A* Juindre, *E* Joindre; la] *E* le; *A* sculance, *B* fust scrillante, *D* escolante, *E* fust colante. 178 *D* lande; *A* e curance, *C* plus curant, *D* e esculante; *B* En lunde bone e c., *E* E sor les ondes bien flotante. 179 *DE* Ostilz; *B* i estuet, *C* astuet, *D* il uult, *E* estuet. 180 *A* E cume, *D* Si cum, *E* E que; *D* suffrir les p.; *BE* puet, *C* pueit. 181 *D* guarnisun; *BCE* met; *BCE* auoc, *D* ouoec. 182 *A* Qui il aueint, *CD* Que il aueit; *D* portez. 183 Ne] *BD* Nent. 184 out] *E* ont. 185 *E* Puis dist; *BE* entrez enz, *D* entrum ore enz. 186 *A* Deus; *B* Deu merci, *E* A deu graces; *D* gracium. 187 Enz *not in ABD*; *BD* Entrerent t., *C* E entrerent ens; *D* tut. 188 *B* Es, *C* As; ja] *BC* la; *C* treif; *BC* curant; adés] *B* a els; *D* Li uenz les en aporte ades, *E* Es ent vos .iii. corant ades. *After* 188 *D adds* Treis de ses moines lunt seu En la mer lunt mult loign ueu. 189 *B* halte, *C* altes; *D* E unt

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intrinsecus compegit, et extrinsecus coriis bovinis circumtexit, et supra pice linivit, ut viam rectam per undarum ebullitum dirigeret. Exhinc autem supellectilia et utensilia imponuntur, similiter et victus qui quadraginta diebus eis sufficeret.

Dixit deinde Brendanus: 'Intrate, fratres, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti; quoniam prosperum ventum dedit nobis Dominus.' Cujus preceptis omnes paruerunt, et ingressi sunt, Brendano sequente. Quo facto, ecce tres de fratribus suis cursu citissimo sequentes, qui palmas suas tendentes dixerunt: 'Pater noster et pastor, absentiam tuam pati non potuimus; ideoque secuti sumus te. Noli nos post te

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'De ton muster sumes meüd
E desque ci t'avum seüd.
Lai nus, abes, a tei entrer,
E od tei, donz, par mer errer.'
Il les cunut e sis receit;
Qu'en avendrat, bien le purveit.
Ço que par Deu l'abes purvit
Ne lur celet, ainz lur ad dit:
'Les dous de vus avrat Satan
Od Abiron e od Dathan.
Li tierz de vus mult ert temptez,
Mais par Deu ert bien sustentez.'

Vv. 203–264. The First Voyage.

Quant out ço dit l'abes Brandans,
Dunc drechet sus ambes les mains,
E Deu prïet escordement
Les seons fetheilz guard de turment;
E puis levet sus la destre,
Tuz les signet li sainz prestre.

a halte uoiz criant. 190 *C* uer; *D* Bel cher sire naler auant. 191 *C* tuen; *D* mester. muj. 192 *D* iesque, *E* dusques; *C* tei auum, *D* te auum; *B* seiu, *D* suj. 193 a] *D* od, *E* o; *D* aler. 194 *BE* danz; *D* Ensemble od tei uulum aler. 195 *C* cunuit, *D* conuit; e sis] *B* si les; *E* ses. 196 *C* Que en, *D* Que; le] *E* lor. 197 *C* li abes par deu; l'] *A* le, *BE* li; purvit] *E* vit. 198 *B* ceille, *C* ceilet, *DE* celat; *A* dist. 199 *DE* sathan. 200 *CD* datan. 201 *D* Le; *E* ert molt; *CDE* tentez. 202 par] *E* de; bien *not in B*. 203 *BE* co (ce) ot; *A* dist; *B* labe, *C* li abes; *C* brandrans, *D* brendans. 204 *C* drecat; ambes] *B* andois; *D* D. d. labes ses m., *E* Ses mains dreca amont tostans. 205 *B* Deu en deprie, *D* E priet deu, *E* A deu pria; E escortrement. 206 *C* Le; *D* feelz, *E* amis. 207 *BC* lieuet, *DE* leuat; *D* la main d., *E* sa main d. 208 Tuz *not in D*, *C* Tuz tuz; *B* seigne, *C* seignez, *DE* seignat; *E* del roi celestre.

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relinquere, sed itineris commites nos accipe.' Abbas eos novit, et in consortium ejus suscipit, et spiritu prophetie plenus quid de illis contingeret Dei voluntate previdit, dicens eis: 'Duo vestrum in baratro cum Dathan et Abiron supplicium possidebunt sempiternum, et tertius, multis temptationibus fatigatus, Dei tamen gratia salvabitur.'

Hoc dicto, manus suas ad celum erexit, et Deum supplex oravit ut fideles suos a tempestatum tormentis servet, et in viam rectam dirigat; et manu dextera erecta, sancte crucis munimine omnia munivit. Malus statim erigitur, et velum sinus suos pandens ventis | se prestitit; et Choro 214[b]
flante, iter versus orientem dirigitur. Nec mora terra eorum visu se

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Drechent le mast, tendent le veil,
Vunt s'en a plain li Deu fetheil.
L'orrez lur veint del orïent
Quis en meinet vers occident.
Tutes perdent les veüthes
Fors de la mer e des nües.
Pur le bon vent ne se feignent,
Mais de nager mult se peinent,
E desirent pener lur cors
A ço vetheir pur quei vunt fors.
Si cururent par quinze jurs,
Desque li venz tuz lur fud gurz;
Dunc s'esmaient tuit li frere
Pur le vent qui falit ere.
Li abes dunc les amonestet,
Qui curages unc ne cestet:
'Metez vus en Deu maneie,
E n'i ait nul qui s'esmaie.
Quant averez vent, siglez sulunc;
Cum venz n'i ert, nagez idunc.'

210 *BC* plein. 211 *A* Le o., *B* Li o., *C* Le oret, *D* Oriez, *E* Lores; *BE* uient, *CD* uint; del] *B* uers. 212 *E* Ques; en *not in BD*; *D* ameinet; *B* dreit uers; *D* orient. 213 *E* Il perdent totes; *D* perderent lur u. 214 *DE* Fors sul. 215 *E* pas ne; *A* sen seignent; *D* Sur le buen uent puint ne se plaignent. 216 *DE* del; mult] *E* en mer; *E* sen paignent. 217 *D* Que d.; *C* descirent. 218 *B* E co, *C* Ico; quei] *B* quil; *D* ors. 219 Si] *D* Dunc; *D* xv. dis. 220 *DE* Tant que; *C* li uent, *D* lur uent; tuz *not in BDE*, *C* tut; *D* lur est failliz, *E* lor fu molt cors. 221–2 *not in B*. 221 *E* Dont; *A* se maient, *C* se esmaient, *DE* sesma(i)erent. 222 *A* le ueint, *D* li uenz, *E* le bon vent; *E* que; *CD* faillit, *E* faillis; *C* eret, *D* lur ere. 223 *D* Labes; dunc] *D* mult bien, *E* dont; *C* le. 224 *A* Que; *AC* cesset; *D* Li suens c. puint ne c., *E* Que dex les gart dauoir tempeste. 225 *D* Mettet; *DE* en la d.; *BE* manaie. 226 *B* Nen i ait, *D* E nen i at; qui] *E* que ia; *C* se esmaie. 227 *BCDE* aurez; *C* sulunt. 228 *B* Cum uent faldra, *D* Quant naurez (vent *omitted*), *E* Quant naues vent; *B* en dunc,

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recondit, ita quod tantum nubibus et ponto prestetur intuitus. Ventus qui eis prosper fuerat, non, ut de more solet, desidiam in eis generavit; sed omnes pro amore Jesu corpora sua laborare cupientes, manus remis apponunt, ut velo ventum retardarent.

Sic per dies quindecim hylares absportantur, donec ventus cessatus eis necgabat processum. Unde omnes stupore confecti desolantur. Quos abbas, cujus animus semper firmus fuerat, adhortari cepit, dicens: 'Nolite, fratres, contristari. Sed cum ventus suffraganeus vobis fuerit, leti sum-

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As aviruns dunc se metent,
La grace Deu mult regretent,
Quer ne sevent quel part aler,
Ne quels cordes deient haler,
Quel part beitrer, quel part tendre,
Ne u devrunt lur curs prendre.
Un meis sanz vent nagent tut plein
Tuit li frere par nul desdeign;
Tant cum durat lur vitaile
Pener pourent sanz defaile.
Force perdent e viande;
Pur oc ourent poür grande.
Cum lur avient li granz busuinz,
A ses fetheilz Deus nen est luinz;
Pur oc ne deit hoem mescreire.
Cil ki enprent pur Deu eire
Tant en face cum faire pout;
Deus li truverat ke lui estout.
Terre veient grande e halte;
Li venz lur vient san defalte.

E adonc. 229 *B* idunc, *D* trestuz, *E* molt tost. 230 *E* E la merci d.; *A* gracez; mult] *D* forment. 231 *B* Que. 232 *B* queles; *BD* deiuent, *C* deuent; *AC* aler; *E* Ne lor droit cors bien asener. 233 *B* beitier, *D* beiter, *E* bouter; *DE* ne quel. 234 *D* deiuent, *E* il doivent. 235 sanz v.] *D* tut plein; *A* nagerent; *B* tuit pl., *D* par mer, *E* de plain. 236 par] *BE* senz; *D* Trestut li f. comunel. 237 *BE* cume; lur] *DE* la. 238 *D* Penerent lur cors, *E* Porent pener; *E* sans nule faille. 239 *E* Lor f.; *D* Pur co que perdeient lur uiande. 240 *C* P. oec, *D* P. co, *E* E si; *DE* aueient. 241 *DE* Quant; *CE* auint; li *not in D*, *B* les; *D* grant besuign. 242 *BD* deu; *A* nest, *D* nest pas; *E* nen est dex; *D* luign. 243 oc] *CDE* ceo; *D* ne deiuent rien m.; *B* home, *E* nus hom. 244 *A* Si cil, *C* Si ki; *E* Qui entreprant; *D* pur deu prenent; *E* son oire. 245 *C* facet; *E* en p.; *BDE* puet, *C* poet. 246 *B* Deu; *D* D. li trouet, *E* Dex trouera; que] *AB* co que, *E* ca; *BCDE* estuet. 247 *C* T. uent, *E* Il voient t.; *B* grant; *D* de luinz mult h. 248 *D* E li; *C* Li uent; *E* sans nule faute.

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mite; et cum contrarius, auxilium postuletur.' Tunc omnes tractu diutissimo et conabili in transtra cadunt, et nomen Domini invocant. Sed ignotum est eis quo intendant, aut quo proram dirigant (*MS.* erigant). Mense toto integro vento nunquam adjuvante [....]. [....] remos cessavit et stuporem injecit, et magnum parturiebat pavorem.

Sed ex isto eventu sumamus exemplum, quoniam qui pro Dei amore gravia sibi assumunt onera, semper sibi affine sciant Dei amm[i]niculum. Isti enim qui paulo ante metu et erumpnis quam plurimis desolati fuerant,

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Qui de nager erent penét
Sanz tuz travalz la sunt menét,
Mais n'i truvent nul' entrethe
U lur nef fust eschipede,
Quer de rocheiz ert aclose
U nul d'eals tuz munter n'ose.
Halt sunt li pui, en l'air tendant,
E sur la mer en luin pendant.
Des creos desuz la mer resort,
Pur quei peril i at mult fort.
Amunt, aval, port i quistrent,
E al querre treis jurs mistrent.
Un port truvent, la se sunt mis,
Qui fud trenched al liois bis,
Mais n'i out leu fors de une nef;
Cil fud faitiz el rocheit blef.

Vv. 265–306. The Uninhabited City.

Ferment la nef, eisent s'en tuit,
Vunt la veie qui bien les duit;

249 *D* Kar del, *E* Car de; *D* furent pencz. 250 *C* Sen tuit; *D* tut trauail; *E* sunt la; *BD* menez. 251 *DE* trouerent; *CDE* nule. 252 *A* nif; fust] *D* poist estre, *E* fust bien; *C* achipe, *D* ariuee. 253 de] *A* li, *D* del; *BE* roches, *C* rocheit, *D* roche; *D* esteit, *E* ert haute; *B* enclose, *C* anclose. 254 *BCE* nuls; d'eals tuz] *A* deals, *C* de eals, *D* de tuz; munter] *AB* entrer; *DE* nen ose. 255 *C* en le, *E* al; *D* li air pendant; *C* tendent. 256 *B* En sum la; en *not in D*; *C* luinz pendent; *D* tendant; *E* E en viron li rochier grant. 257 *B* De tres, *C* De croes, *D* Les c.; *B* suz, *E* de sor; *A* resurt. 258 *E* i a peril; i at *illegible in C*. 259 *BCDE* e aual; *E* .i. port q.; i quistrent *illegible in C*. 260 *BDE* i m. 261 *D* troueient, *E* trouerent; se *not in E*. 262 fud] *D* sunt; *D* trenchez, *E* trencies; al] *B* a, *C* e; liois] *E* rochier. 263 *A* ni unt, *D* nert; *D* lius; *B* a une, *DE* dune. 264 *A* en le, *D* al; *B* rochier, *D* rochie; *B* bref; *E* Laiens se mistrent tot souef. 265 *B* e sen issent, *D* eissent fors, *E* si issent. 266 *A* uei; *E* que. 267 *E* Tot d. les maine. 268 grant e] *E* forment. 269-70 *not in E*. 269 mult *to* 271 enz *not in C*. 269 *BD* real. 270 *A* De empe-

leti fiunt et incolumes. Terram enim altam et eminentem prospiciunt, et qui ante remorum impulsu fatigati sunt, requiem sumpserunt et venti flamine ad terram visam deferuntur; sed ad eam nullus eis patebat accessus, quoniam terra procera supra mare fuerat, que inferius (*MS.* infernus) lapidosa fuerat, in qua mare concavitatem magnam (navis) fecerat, in quam prosiliens, repercussu quodam statim revolvitur, ita quod, si [navis] accederet, eam cito periclitare faceret. Hanc terram circumeunt, in qua tribus diebus portum querentes, tunc demum parvum quendam invenerunt, qui solummodo navi uni submi(s)nistrare posset requiem.

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Dreit les meinet a un castel
Qui riches ert e grant e bel,
E resemblout mult regal leu,
D'empereür mult riche feu.
Entrerent enz dedenz le mur
Qui tuz ert faiz de cristal dur;
Paleiz veient tuz a marbre,
N'i out maisun faite de arbre;
Gemmes od l'or funt grant clartét
Dun entailét sunt li parét;
Mais une rien mult lur desplout,
Que en la citét hume n'i out.
Dunc esguardent l'alçur palais,
Entrent enenz el nun de pais.
Enz el palais Brandan s'est mis,
E sur un banc puis s'est asis.
Fors sul les soens altres n'i vit;
Prent a parler, si lur ad dit:
'Alez querre par cez mesters
Si rien i at dun est mesters.'

rur. 271 *D* Entre sunt tuz, *E* Il entrerent; dedenz] *A* denz. 272 *D* tuit; *CD* fait. 273 *E* i voient; *B* tut, *D* trestut, *E* fait; a] *DE* de. 274 *C* E ni, *D* Unc ni; *BC* fait; *BD* d'arbre; *E* Ni avoit nule maison darbre. 275 *B* en sunt; *D* i sunt asis; *AB* clarte, *C* claret; *E* Les g. donent g. c. 276 *B* pared; *A* Dun li pareit sunt ent. (*all except first word written on an erasure*; li *corrected from* e *imperfectly erased*), *D* Par grant engien i furent mis, *E* Dont li palais furent geme. *After* 276 *E adds* Les rues furent ricement Bien ovrees a pauement. 277 lur] *D* i; *B* desplut. 278 *BE* Quen, *D* En; *D* citez; *B* ni ut, *C* nen oit, *D* nen out. *After* 278 *E adds* Partot es maisons esgarderent Home ne feme ni trouerent. 279 *E* Dont; *A* les guardent, *D* esguarderent; *A* la cur, *B* lazur, *C* lalceur, *D* les, *E* laucor. 280 *BC* Entrerent enz, *D* Entrez sunt, *E* E entrent ens; el] *AD* al, *B* en. 281 *A* en le, *D* al; *E* brandans; *A* ses mist, *C* se est mis, *E* se mist. 282 puis *not in B*, *D* si, *E* laiens; *AE* sasist. 283 sul] *E* que; *C* ne i; *D* For ses moines altre ne uit. 284 ad *not in D*; *A* dist. 285 *E* soliers. 286 *B* riens; at] *E* est; *B* ad de mangiers; *D* Que ueez ci bels e pleniera.

Quo invento leti, navem fune affirmant, et terram ascendunt, et per viam quam invenerant deambulantes, ad castellum quoddam pervenerunt circumvallatum muro cristallino, quale nunquam prius viderant. Hii ingrediuntur, et domos pulcras inveniunt, non ex lignis compositas, sed marmore pollentes, et gemmis splendidas auri preciosi lucore fulgentibus. Affectuosa quidem cuncta sibi fuerant, excepto eo quod neminem ibi viderant.

Abbas cum sociis suis in palatium ingressus, super cathedram preciosam sedit; dixitque discipulis suis: 'Abite, et circumdagate | hui[u]s domus 215[a]

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but without attempting to exclude the forms and spellings current in his own day. The only features of the text furnished by A, apart from demonstrable corruptions, which have been systematically corrected, are certain late Anglo-Norman developments, especially the dropping of atonic vowels, the addition of inorganic *e* before or after a vowel and at the end of a word, the use of *le* for *li* or *la* before a vowel, the substitution of *i* for tonic *ei* and post-tonic *e*, the adding or dropping of *s* before a consonant, the substitution of final *t* for *z*, and the confusion of the *-er* and *-ir* conjugations. These features, if allowed to subsist, would seriously interfere with the reader's understanding and appreciation of the poem. The use of case-forms in A, though often disagreeing with what we know to have been the author's practice, has normally been allowed to stand; in a few instances only, with the support of the other MSS., glaring inconsistencies have been eliminated.[1]

All rejected spellings and forms of A, and the variant readings of all the MSS., have been included in the footnotes. To have given the orthographic variants of all the MSS. would have swollen the critical apparatus without any corresponding advantage. The spellings and forms used by the Anglo-Norman scribes are nevertheless of considerable interest, both on their own account and because many have survived in English; they have therefore been classified, in the manner which is thought to be most convenient for reference, in Appendix II. When a variant is common to two or more MSS., the spelling is that of the first-mentioned. Palaeographical details (corrections, erasures, etc.) have been mentioned only in a few special instances; for MSS. A and E adequate information on these points is supplied by the diplomatic editions of Suchier and Auracher respectively.

[1] e. g. in vv. 390, 410, 502, 635, 856, 873, 1453.

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THE VOYAGE OF ST. BRENDAN

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THE VOYAGE OF ST. BRENDAN

Incipit Vita Sancti Brendani

Vv. 1–18. PROLOGUE.

DONNA Aaliz la reïne,
Par qui valdrat lei divine,
Par qui creistrat lei de terre
E remandrat tante guerre,
Por les armes Henri lu rei,
Par le cunseil qui ert en tei,
Salüet tei mil e mil feiz
Li apostoiles danz Benedeiz.
Que comandas, ço ad enpris,
Secund sun sens en letre mis,
En letre mis e en romanz
Esi cum fud li teons cumanz,
De saint Brendan le bon abeth.
Mais tul defent ne seit gabeth,

Heading in BD only. 1–18 *replaced in E by* Seignor oies que io dirai Dun saint home vos conterai Dyrlande estoit brandans ot non Molt ert de grant religion. 1 *B* . . me Aliz, *C* De mahalt, *D* Dame aeliz. 2 *B* Pur qui uendrat; *D* deuine. 3 qui] *B* quei; *D* crestrat. 4 *BCD* remeindrat; *B* tute g. 5 *CD* Par. 6 *AC* E par, *B* Pur; *D* ki est; en] *CD* de. 8 *D* Lapostoile; *C* -olies donz; *A* benediz, *BCD* beneiz. 10 *BD* Sulunc, *C* Si cum; en letre] *A* entre. 12 *not in B.* 13 *D* abez. 14 *B* tu le fent; *C* M. tu le defen de cui gabet, *D* Mun escient dirra uertez.

L (*Rejected readings of the MS. are placed in round brackets. Letters and words not in the MS. are placed in square brackets.*)

[P]redecessorum sacra facta (*MS.* fasta) nostrorum ne taceantur, 213ª
quoniam a sapientibus audita et memorie tradita mentis et locutionis et actus enormitates (*MS.* -tis) et labes resecant, et unicuique illorum recte faciendi que sua sunt maximam subministrant idoneitatem, (et) ideo de quodam Dei caro (*MS.* choro) narrare decrevi, quo (ut) facilius exemplum prebeatur auditoribus, quoniam qui carum Dei fieri se promereri satagit, nunquam a desiderio suo justo defraudabitur, secundum quod dictum est:

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Quant dit que set e fait que peot :
Itel servant blasmer ne steot ;
Mais cil qui peot e ne voile,
Dreiz est que cil mult s'en doile.

Vv. 19–38. Saint Brendan.

Icist seinz Deu fud ned de reis
De naisance fud des Ireis ;
Pur ço que fud de regal lin,
Pur oc entent a noble fin.
Ben sout que la scripture dit :
'Ki de cest mund fuit le delit,
Od Deu de cel tant en avrat
Que demander plus ne savrat.'
Pur oc guerpit cist reials eirs
Les fals honurs pur iceals veirs—
Dras de moine—pur estre vil
En cest secle cum en eisil.
Prist e l'ordre e les habiz,
Puis fud abes par force esliz.

15 *D* Qui. seit. 16 *C* seriant, *D* sergant. 17 cil] *A* si ; *D* M. qui bien set e nel uult dire. 18 mult] *C* puis ; s'en] *A* se ; *C* duillet ; *D* Jh'c len portet mult grant ire. 19 *B* Icil seint ; *D* seinz huem, *E* bons hom ; *C* neiz, *DE* nez. 20 des] *C* de ; *E* Del lignage fu as yrois. 21 *D* quil f., E quil ert ; *BD* real, *CE* reial ; *D* lign. 22 *C* De mielz entent, *D* Pur co tendit, *E* Entendi miex ; *E* a bone f. 23 *ADE* le scripture. 24 *C* fuiet ; le] *A* de. 25 Od] *D* A ; *BD* del, *E* el. 26 *AE* plus dem. ; *DE* nen. 27 *words before* guerpit *illegible in C* ; oc] *DE* co ; *E* g. les roials oires ; cist *not in C*. 28 *C* Le ; *E* fauses ; *C* ices ; *E* por les voires. 29 Dras de *illegible in C* ; moine] *C*.unie. 30 *C* icest ; *B* cum eissil ; *E* escil. 31 *B* Pris a, *D* Prist en, *E* Si recut, *illegible in C*. 32 fud *not in B* ; *C* abez ; par] *D* a. 33 *partly illegible in C* ; *D* Pur lamur, *E* Par lart ; *E* molt en i. 34 *E* E qui ; *A* a le ; *BCE* bien, *D* deu. 35 Tres *illegible in C*, *D* Trei ; *B* suz li, *D* sur lui, *E* moines ;

'Querite et invenietis, pulsate et aperietur vobis.' Comitetur, queso, hujus operis executionem virtus Christi, qui bonorum omnium est initium, et suos convocat ad salutem.

Fuit igitur vir iste Brendanus in insula occidentali, Hybernia nomine, a preclaris parentibus, regali scilicet stemate oriundus, qui rerum temporalium, que vere transitoria nuncupantur, delicias tempnens, habitum monachalem suscepit, ut quasi in exilio positus vitam degeret ; animadvertens quia a convictu hominum non est facile labem non contrahere. Qui ordinem susceptum ita mirifice custodivit, ut, voluntate propria

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Par art de lui mult i vindrent
Qui al ordre bein se tindrent:
Tres mil suz lui par divers leus
Munies aveit Brandan li pius,
De lui pernanz tuz ensample
Par sa vertud que ert ample.

Vv. 39–70. His desire to see the Other World.

Li abes Brendan prist en purpens,
Cum hoem qui ert de mult grant sens,
De granz cunseilz e de rustes,
Cum cil qui ert forment justes,
De Deu prïer ne faiseit fin
Pur sei e pur trestut sun lin,
E pur les morz e pur les vifs—
Quer a trestuz eret amis;
Mais de une ren li prist talent,
Dunt Deu prïer prent plus suvent,
Que lui mustrast cel paraïs
U Adam fud primes asis,

leus *illegible in C*, *B* liu. 36 Munies *illegible in C*; *E* Avoit sos luj; *B* bradan, *C* brandrans, *D* brendans, *E* brandans; *B* piu, *E* piels. 37 *B* pernez, *D* preneient; *D* tuit; *BD* essample; *C* . . pernanz tous ensanp . . (*rest illegible*), *E* E de lui prisent tot example. 38 *D* Pur; *BD* qui; *B* iert, *D* iert mult, *E* molt fu; *C illegible except* anple. 39 *partly illegible in C*; *DE* Labes; *BCE* brandans; prist] *E* ot. 40 *first half illegible in C*; *A* home, *E* cil; *E* estoit; mult *not in BE*. *From* 41 *to* 104 *C is for the most part obliterated, but words are legible here and there.* 41 *D* grant cunseil; *B* ruistjes, *C illegible*, *D* ruiste, *E* molt ruistes. 42 *E* Conme; *ABC* iustes, *D* iuste *or* uiste, *E* vistes. 43 *A* fereit, *B* freit, *C* fesei . . 44 *E* Por lui; *C* .un bon lin; *D* lign. 46 a] *A* as; *E* trestot; *A* ert, *B* iert il, *C illegible*, *DE* esteit. 47 *DE* dune; ren] *A* en. 48 *D* De deu preer parfitement, *E* Dont il prioit deu plus s. 49 *B* Que deu, *E* Quil; *BDE* li; *A* mustrat; *E* paradis (*so in all cases*) 50 *E* adans. premiers.

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repugnante, in abbatis dignitatem electus est et receptus. Cujus arte et industria multi ordinem susceperunt, quorum anime pro merito eorum in sinu Abrahe collocate sunt. Monachorum vero suorum numerus usque ad tria milia erat, qui partim in cellis partim in abbatia constituti, ejus exemplo in bonum certatim nitebantur.

Brendanus abbas in bonis eruditus, jejuniis et elemosinis nunquam fatigatus, orationibus semper insistebat pro se et suis, et pro vivis et defunctis, memoriter tenens illud: 'Qui pro aliis orat, pro se ipso laborat.' Sed quoddam precipuum cotidianis orationibus a Domino impetrabat, ut

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Icel qui est nostre heritét
Dun nus fumes deseritét.
Bien creit qu'ileoc ad grant glorie,
Si cum nus dit veire storie,
Mais nepurtant voldret vetheir
U il devreit par dreit setheir,
Mais par peccét Adam forfist,
Pur quei e sei e nus fors mist.
Deu en prïet tenablement
Cel lui mustret veablement;
Ainz qu'il murget voldreit saveir
Quel sed li bon devrunt aveir,
Quel lu li mal aveir devrunt,
Quel merite il recevrunt;
Enfern prïed vetheir oveoc,
E quels peines avrunt ileoc
Icil felun qui par orguil
Ici prennent par eols escuil
De guerreer Deu e la lei,
Ne entre eols nen unt amur ne fai.

Vv. 71–102. The Narrative of Barintus.

Iço dunt lui pris est desir
Voldrat Brandans par Deu sentir.

51 *D* Icil; *DE* fut; *D* eritez, *E* yrete. 52 nus *not in B*; *E* sommes; *D* deseritez, *E* desirete. 53 *BD* crei; qu'] *B* qui, *DE* que; *B* gr. ioie. 54 *E* dist; *B* en ueir, *D* la ueire, *E* la vraie; *B* estorie, *DE* estoire. 55 *BDE* nepurquant uoldreit. 56 *E* U nos deuriens. 57 Mais *not in B*; *D* pechez; *E* M. le pechie que adans fist. 58 *E* Par; *A* e sei nus, *B* sei e nus, *D* nus e sei, *E* issi e nos. 59 *D* ueirablement. 60 Cel] *B* Co, *D* Que co, *E* Qui; *BDE* li; *C* .isablement, *E* creablement. 61 *D* muret, *E* mujre; *BD* uoldrat; *A* uetheir. 62 *BD* sie, *E* bien; *E* doiuent. 63 *B* durent. 64 *E* E quel; *B* receurent, *D* receiuurnt. 65 *D* Que enfern, *E* Infer; prïed] *D* uoldreit; *B* auoc, *E* auoec. 66 *B* queles, *D* ques, *E* quel; *E* paine; avrunt] *E* il est. 67 *E* Icist; qui] *B* que; *E* par lor voil. 68 *C* es . . el, *D* escoil, *E* escueil. 69 *A* gurrer, *D* guerier; *E* e sa loi. 70 *B* Ne entreus, *D* Kar entrels, *E* Nentreus. 71 *D* Co dun lui est pris tel d., *E* Ice dont li prist tel d. 72

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scilicet paradisum sibi ostenderet, in qua prothoplaustum formaverat, que nobis jus hereditarium esset, nisi commisso Ade patris nostri defraudaremur. Hoc ideo fecit, quoniam legerat hunc locum esse deliciarum et
213b glorie, in quo nullis, nisi | crimine mundis, patet introitus. E contra inferni fetida claustra videre cupiit, que gurgite insatiabili suos recipiunt, et in penarum afflictum detrahunt, ubi domus (*MS.* -mos) luctus et horroris est sempiternus.

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Od sei primes cunseil en prent
Qu'a un Deu serf confés se rent:
Barinz out nun cil ermite,
Murs out bons e sainte vitte;
Li fedeilz Deu en bois estout,
Tres cenz moines od lui i out;
De lui prendrat conseil e los,
De lui voldrat aveir ados.
Cil li mustrat par plusurs diz,
Beals ensamples e bons respiz,
Qu'il vit en mer e en terre
Quant son filiol alat querre:
Ço fud Mernoc, qui ert frerre
Del liu u cist abes ere,
Mais de ço fud mult voluntif,
Que fust ailurs e plus sultif.
Par sun abeth e sun parain
En mer se mist, e nun en vain,
Quer puis devint en itel liu
U nuls n'entret fors sul li piu:
Ço fud en mer en un' isle
U mals orrez nuls ne cisle,
U fud poüz de cel odur
Que en paraïs gettent li flur;

D Brendan; *E* pur. 73–92 *missing in E.* 73 *D* A sei; *A* cunseilz. 74 *B* Que a, *D* A; *BD* serf deu. 75 *B* Barrins, *D* Barins; cil] *D* si fut. 76 *D* bones; *A* saint; *BC* uie. 77 *B* fedeil; *D* Icist sainz huem en b. estut. 78 *C* . . i aueit; i *not in A.* 80 De] *B* E. 81 *C* S . . 82 *D* Buens. beals; *BD* essamples; *A* espiz. 83 *A* Quil il, *D* Que il. 84 *D* Q. alat un suen filol q. 85 *D* mẽnoc; ert] *A* fud, *D* esteit; *the* e *of* ert (?) *is legible in C.* 86 *A* lui; u] *BD* dunt. 87 *D* dico; *B* uolentifs, *D* uolentis. 88 *D* en liu soltif; *C* sultis. 89 abeth] *D* parreien; *A* parin, *C* parrein, *D* abez. 90 *A* en un euain, *B* en un seruain. *C* en un nauein, *D* en une nef. 91 *D* E puis alat. 92 *BD* nul; *B* nen entre, *C* . .ntra, *D* ne entrent; sul *not in CD.* 93 *E* en itel ille. 94 *B* nul; *B* cille, *C.* ifle; *D* U nul mal orez ne c., *E* V nus ores nului nescille. 95 *D* La fut puiz, *E* La fu peus; *B* de cele, *D* dicel, *E* de chiere. 96 *BE* Quen; *B* paris; *E* la flor.

Propositum suum prosequitur Brendanus; religionis sue instinctu ad quendam Dei ministrum secessit, qui Barrus nomine dictus est. Hic autem moribus et honestate vite praecellens, quaedam devia nemoris habitabat cum trecentis monachis sibi subditis. Cui Brandanus se confessum reddidit; et, postulato ab eo consilio, ait se quandam insulam vidisse, que affinis paradiso fuerat, quam nec aeris corruptio nec tempestatum sevitia te[ti]gerat, ibidemque se florum odore in paradiso

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Quer cel' isle tant pres en fud,
U sainz Mernoc esteit curud,
De paraïs out la vie
E des angeles out l'oïde.
E puis Barinz la le requist,
U vit içо qu'a Brandan dist.

Vv. 103–156. BRENDAN CHOOSES FOURTEEN COMPANIONS.

Quant ot Brandan la veüe
Que cist out la receüe,
De meilz en creit le soen conseil,
E plus enprent sun apareil.
De ses munies quatorze eslit,
Tuz les meilurs que il i vit,
E dit lur ad le soen purpens;
Savrat par eols si ço ert sens.
Quant oïrent içо de lui,
Dunc en parlerent dui e dui;
Respundent lui comunalment
Que ço enprist mult vassalment;

97 cel'] *AB* del; E Car cis illes pres diluec fu. 98 *A* ainz, *B* seint, *DE* saint; *D* mēnoc; *E* avoit geu; *D* curuz. 99 *E* Car de; out] *BD* oid. 100 des] *A* les; *DE* angles; out] *D* oit, *E* avoit; *A* loid'e, *BCDE* loie. 101 *BD* barins; le] *D* lo; *E* E p. apres iluec le quist. 102 *A* uint; *D* icho, *E* ce; qu'a] *BE* que, *CD* que a; *B* brandans. 103 *D* out; *B* brandans; la] *D* la nef; *E* Q. br. sauoit la v. 104 *D* icist, *E* lermites; la *not in E*; *C* receu. 105 De m.] *D* Forment; en creit] *E* entent; le *not in B, D* li; *B* sun; *D* coseil. 106 enprent] *E* ot fort. 107 *AE* eslist. 108 *AB* quil; i *not in CD*; *E* Son oirre e son conseil lor dist. 110 *B* Sauera; *E* Par eus sara. 111 *E* Quant il o. ce. 112 *E* Si en parolent; *D* e d. e d. 113 *B* Respunent li, *C* Respoinent li, *E* Si respondent; *A* comunament, *DE* comunement. 114 *B* enpreist; mult *not in A*; *C* uassament; *D* Sun eire enprenge u. 115 *BC* Preirent; *D* Preerent lui, *E* Proie li ont; *BC* que les; *D* que ot sei les maint. 116

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crescentium pastum fuisse fatebatur, quando sanctum Mernocum filiolum suum per diversa mundi climata quesierat, qui illac transierat, quicque frater illius loci fuerat in quo Barrus abbas erat.

Audiente Brandano quoniam Barrus se talia vidisse fatebatur, majorem fiduciam dictis ejus prebuit; magisque ac magis mentis cupiditate captus est ut propositum perficeret; invicemque vale dicto, ad propria redit habitacula; ibidemque quattuordecim monachos elegit, quos fide et religione noverat prestantiores, quibus que in mente habuit secundum tenorem propositi omnia enucleavit. Hii autem bini et bini incedentes, invicemque audita versantes, in consilium unum reversi sunt, asserentes

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Prïerent l'en ques meint od sei
Cum les seons filz soürs en fei.
Ço dist Brandan: 'Pur cel vos di
Que de vos voil ainz estre fi
Que jo d'ici vos en meinge,
Al repentir puis m'en prenge.'
Cil promettent suurance
Pur eols ne seit demurance.
Dunc prent l'abes iceols esliz,
Puis que out oït d'els tuz les diz,
En capitle les ad menez,
Iloec lur dit cum hoem senez:
'Seignurs, ço que en pensed avum,
Cum el est gref nus nel savum,
Mais prium Deu que nus enseint,
Par sun plaisir la nus en meint;
E enz el nun al saint Espirit
Juine faimes que la nus guit,
E junum la quarenteine
Sur les treis jurs la semaine.'

D C. de ses f.; *CD* en seit; *E* Conme ses freres sor lor foi. 117 *E* Respont b.; *BCE* brandans; cel] *B* co, *E* ce; vus] *E* le. 118 *E* Que ie de; ainz *not in E*. 119 *BE* de ci, *C* de chi, *D* de cest liu; *E* ot moi vos maigne; *BD* menge, *C* meingie. 120 *A* repenter; m'en] *C* me; *E* Cal r. nus ne sen praigne. 121 *E* Cil li; *BCD* pramettent; *B* segurance, *C* seurance, *D* aseurance, *E* seurtance. 122 *A* scit; *D* la d.; *E* E quil ne face d. 123–42 *missing in E*. 123 *D* Ounc; l'] *A* le, *BC* li; *C* iceos. 124 out oït] *C* dit; d'els tuz] *A* dels, *BD* de tuz, *C* de tos. 125 *A* capitel, *D* chapitre; *D* ad amenez. 126 *A* dist; *B* cume home. 127 *C* qu'; en *not in A*; *D* pensez. 128 el] *B* co, *CD* il; *B* ne. 129 *BC* preum; *CD* quil; *D* enseignt. 130 *C* E par sun plasir; *B* que la, *D* quil la; en *not in B*; *D* maignt. 131 el] *CD* al; *BC* espirt. 132 *D* Jeiuine; *B* par sa mercit, *D* quil nus guit; *A* iuit, *C* uirt. 133 *BC* ieunum. 134 *BCD* Sul; *CD* de la; *D* semaigne.

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illis gratum esse; et gratias agentes, preces multas addiderunt ut premeditata adimpleret (*MS.* -rent), et eos secum duceret (*MS.* -rent); et, ut securus ex eis esset, Brandano postulante, (et) omnes unanimiter securitatem promiserunt.

Responso ab eis accepto, abbas e vestigio electos in capitulum conducit; quos sic affatur: 'Vos amici mei atque preelecti, per quos religio nunquam passa est detrimentum, et vos, dulce pecus, fundi nostri fundamentum, qui semper ecclesie bonorum prestitistis fomentum, quam audacis mentis est concipere, quam magni facti adimplere quod proposuimus, non (*MS.* nos) dubitamus. Ideoque Deum celi deprecemur ut doctor nobis sit et

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Dunc n'i ad nul qui se target
De ço faire qu'il lur charget
Ne li abes ne nuit ne jurn
Des ureisuns ne fait tresturn,
De ci que Deus li enveiat
Le angele del cel, quil aveiat
De tut l'eire cum il irat;
Enz en sun quer sil aspirat
Que tres bien veit e certement
Cum Deus voldrat seon alement.
Dunc prent cungé a ses freres,
As quels il ert mult dulz peres,
E dit lur ad de seon eire
Cument a Deu le volt creire.
A sun priur tuz les concreit,
Dit lui cument guarder les deit;
Cumandet eals lui obeïr,
Cum lur abét mult bien servir.
Puis les baiset Brandan e vait.
Plurent trestuit par grant dehait
Que mener ne volt lur peres
Fors quatorze de lur freres.

135 *D* Dunt nen ni; ad] *B* ail; *B* sen; *C* targie. 136 *C* que il lur cargie. 137 *A* nen nuit; *C* iurs, *D* iur. 138 *C* tresturs, *D* tristur. 139 *BC* Dici, *D* Neis. 140 *AC* Le angel, *B* Langele, *D* Langle; *C* qui lenseingnad. 142 sil] *A* cil, *D* li; *B* espirad. 143 Que] *D* E; *C* treis; *D* ueit certeinement; *E* Que bien sauoit certainement. 144 *E* Que d. voloit; *BCDE* sun; *A* alment. 145 *E* Dont; a] *D* de tuz, *E* a tos. 146 *D* esteit, *E* ot este; mult *not in E*; dulz] *B* bons. 147 *A* dist; ad de] *D* aueit tut, *E* a trestot; *BCDE* sun. 148 *A* uoleit, *B* uelt, *C* uoilt; *E* les volra traire; *D* Cum il uult en deu c. 149 *E* prieus tot les chargoit. 150 *A* Dist, *B* De; *CD* li. 151 *D* Comandat els, *D* Eus conmanda. 152 *B* Cume; *D* abez. 153 les] *A* lur, *C* le; *DE* baisat; *BCE* brandans; e] *D* sen. 154 *CD* trestuz; *B* desait, *DE* deshait; *E* Plorant a

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ductor ad propositi perfectionem, et jejunium quoddam quadraginta dierum in honore Spiritus statuamus, unaquaque ebdomada tribus diebus jejunantes.' His dictis omnes assensum prebuerunt. Abbas vero nun-
214[a] quam ab orationibus cessavit, | donec Dominus noster Jesus Christus per angelum suum que perpetraturus esset nunciavit, et sancto flamine inspiravit, ita quod pro rato et constante satis habebat Dei voluntatem ad iter suscipiendum pronam esse. Dehinc autem narravit fratribus suis ea quae contigerant, et eos priori tanquam pastori tradidit, et ejus sicut suis subministrare jussit preceptis; et singulis singula tradidit oscula, et

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Vv. 157–184. PREPARATIONS FOR THE VOYAGE.

Vait s'en Brandan vers la grant mer
U sout par Deu que dout entrer.
Unc ne turnat vers sun parent:
En plus cher leu aler entent.
Alat tant quant terre dure,
Del sujurner ne prist cure;
Vint al roceit que li vilain
Or apelent le Salt Brandan.
Icil s'estent durement luin
Sur l'occean si cume un gruign,
E suz le gruign aveit un port
Par un la mer receit un gort,
Mais petiz ert e mult estreit—
Del derube veneit tut dreit.
Altres, ço crei, avant cestui
Ne descendit aval cel pui.
Ci aloeces fist atraire
Mairen dunt sa nef fist faire,

molt tres grant d. 155 *E* E quen m.; *B* nes uelt; *D* Kar m. nen uoleit li p. 156 *D* Fors sul, *E* Que seul; lur] *D* ses. 157 *BE* brandans; la] *A* le. 158 *E* quil; *BDE* dut, *C* deit. 159 *E* Ains. 160 En] *D* A; *D* lui. 161 *E* Si ala; *D* itant; quant] *B* cume, *D* cum, *E* que. 162 *D* suriurner; *D* nient nen p. c., *E* ne p. ainc c. 163 *BD* al rochet, *CE* a la roche. 164 *B* Ore; *D* Ap. ore, *E* Ont apele; *B* brandein, *E* -ain. 165 *C* luinz; *E* Li mons estoit d. lons. 166 *C* si cum, *D* desuz; *C* uns gruinz; *E* E dune part estoit .j. groins. 167 *C* E sur, *D* De suz, *E* Desos. 168 *not in E*; *BCD* Par unt. 169 *BCD* petit; *A* estreits. 170 *B* De; *E* desrube; *A* tuz drez. 171 *BCD* Altre. 172 *E* descendoit; *A* al ual; cel] *D* cest, *E* le. 173 *B* Iloches, *D* A haloccs, *E* Brandans ilueques; *D* faiseit; *B* f. mairien tr. 174 Mairen *not in B*; dunt] *C* du, *E* dont il; *D* faiseit sa n. f.

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in amplexus [ru]erunt diutissimos, et vale subjuncto lacrimas multi effuderunt, quoniam non nisi illos quattuordecim ducere volebat.

[P]astor justus cum fratribus versus mare iter carpit, ubi Dominus per angelum premonstrarat se profundo committere. Erat autem ibidem montis cujusdam cacumen erectum in nubibus, et in occeano longe extensum, quod adhuc a compatriotis Saltus Brandani nuncupatur; in cujus frontem mare se provolvens, portum quendam parvum fecerat, ita quod pro ejus tranquillitate tutamen navi prestare potuisset. Hic abbas (cum) quam plurima atraxit ad ratem suam struendam, quam ex asseribus

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Tute dedenz de fust sapin,
Defors l'avolst de quir bovin;
Uindre la fist que sculante
Od l'unde fust, e curante;
Ustilz i mist tant cum estout,
E cum la nef porter en pout;
La guarisun i mist odveoc
Qu'il aveient portét iloec,
Ne plus que a quarante dis
De viande n'i out enz mis.

Vv. 185–202. The Three intruding Monks.

Dist as freres: 'Entrez enenz.
Deu gracïez, bons est li venz.'
Enz entrent tuit e il aprés.
Ast vos ja tres curanz adés,
A haltes voiz Brandan criant
E lor palmes vers lui tendant:

175 *A* Tut. 176 *E* le clost; *C* bouim, *E* buevin. 177 *A* Juindre, *E* Joindre; la] *E* le; *A* sculance, *B* fust scrillante, *D* escolante, *E* fust colante. 178 *D* lande; *A* e curance, *C* plus curant, *D* e esculante; *B* En lunde bone e c., *E* E sor les ondes bien flotante. 179 *DE* Ostilz; *B* i estuet, *C* astuet, *D* il uult, *E* estuet. 180 *A* E cume, *D* Si cum, *E* E que; *D* suffrir les p.; *BE* puet, *C* pueit. 181 *D* guarnisun; *BCE* met; *BCE* auoc, *D* ouoec. 182 *A* Qui il aueint, *CD* Que il aueit; *D* portez. 183 Ne] *BD* Nent. 184 out] *E* ont. 185 *E* Puis dist; *BE* entrez enz, *D* entrum ore enz. 186 *A* Deus; *B* Deu merci, *E* A deu graces; *D* gracium. 187 Enz *not in ABD*; *BD* Entrerent t., *C* E entrerent ens; *D* tut. 188 *B* Es, *C* As; ja] *BC* la; *C* treif; *BC* curant; adés] *B* a els; *D* Li uenz les en aporte ades, *E* Es ent vos .iii. corant ades. *After* 188 *D adds* Treis de ses moines lunt seu En la mer lunt mult loign ueu. 189 *B* halte, *C* altes; *D* E unt

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intrinsecus compegit, et extrinsecus coriis bovinis circumtexit, et supra pice linivit, ut viam rectam per undarum ebullitum dirigeret. Exhinc autem supellectilia et utensilia imponuntur, similiter et victus qui quadraginta diebus eis sufficeret.

Dixit deinde Brendanus: 'Intrate, fratres, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti; quoniam prosperum ventum dedit nobis Dominus.' Cujus preceptis omnes paruerunt, et ingressi sunt, Brendano sequente. Quo facto, ecce tres de fratribus suis cursu citissimo sequentes, qui palmas suas tendentes dixerunt: 'Pater noster et pastor, absentiam tuam pati non potuimus; ideoque secuti sumus te. Noli nos post te

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'De ton muster sumes meüd
E desque ci t'avum seüd.
Lai nus, abes, a tei entrer,
E od tei, donz, par mer errer.'
Il les cunut e sis receit;
Qu'en avendrat, bien le purveit.
Ço que par Deu l'abes purvit
Ne lur celet, ainz lur ad dit:
'Les dous de vus avrat Satan
Od Abiron e od Dathan.
Li tierz de vus mult ert temptez,
Mais par Deu ert bien sustentez.'

Vv. 203–264. The First Voyage.

Quant out ço dit l'abes Brandans,
Dunc drechet sus ambes les mains,
E Deu prïet escordement
Les seons fetheilz guard de turment;
E puis levet sus la destre,
Tuz les signet li sainz prestre.

a halte uoiz criant. 190 *C* uer; *D* Bel cher sire naler auant. 191 *C* tuen; *D* mester. muj. 192 *D* iesque, *E* dusques; *C* tei auum, *D* te auum; *B* seiu, *D* suj. 193 a] *D* od, *E* o; *D* aler. 194 *BE* danz; *D* Ensemble od tei uulum aler. 195 *C* cunuit, *D* conuit; e sis] *B* si les; *E* ses. 196 *C* Que en, *D* Que; le] *E* lor. 197 *C* li abes par deu; l'] *A* le, *BE* li; purvit] *E* vit. 198 *B* ceille, *C* ceilet, *DE* celat; *A* dist. 199 *DE* sathan. 200 *CD* datan. 201 *D* Le; *E* ert molt; *CDE* tentez. 202 par] *E* de; bien *not in B*. 203 *BE* co (ce) ot; *A* dist; *B* labe, *C* li abes; *C* brandrans, *D* brendans. 204 *C* drecat; ambes] *B* andois; *D* D. d. labes ses m., *E* Ses mains dreca amont tostans. 205 *B* Deu en deprie, *D* E priet deu, *E* A deu pria; E escortrement. 206 *C* Le; *D* feelz, *E* amis. 207 *BC* lieuet, *DE* leuat; *D* la main d., *E* sa main d. 208 Tuz *not in D*, *C* Tuz tuz; *B* seigne, *C* seignez, *DE* seignat; *E* del roi celestre.

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relinquere, sed itineris commites nos accipe.' Abbas eos novit, et in consortium ejus suscipit, et spiritu prophetie plenus quid de illis contingeret Dei voluntate previdit, dicens eis: 'Duo vestrum in baratro cum Dathan et Abiron supplicium possidebunt sempiternum, et tertius, multis temptationibus fatigatus, Dei tamen gratia salvabitur.'

Hoc dicto, manus suas ad celum erexit, et Deum supplex oravit ut fideles suos a tempestatum tormentis servet, et in viam rectam dirigat; et manu dextera erecta, sancte crucis munimine omnia munivit. Malus statim erigitur, et velum sinus suos pandens ventis | se prestitit; et Choro 214[b]
flante, iter versus orientem dirigitur. Nec mora terra eorum visu se

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Drechent le mast, tendent le veil,
Vunt s'en a plain li Deu fetheil.
L'orrez lur veint del orïent
Quis en meinet vers occident.
Tutes perdent les veüthes
Fors de la mer e des nües.
Pur le bon vent ne se feignent,
Mais de nager mult se peinent,
E desirent pener lur cors
A ço vetheir pur quei vunt fors.
Si cururent par quinze jurs,
Desque li venz tuz lur fud gurz;
Dunc s'esmaient tuit li frere
Pur le vent qui falit ere.
Li abes dunc les amonestet,
Qui curages unc ne cestet:
'Metez vus en Deu maneie,
E n'i ait nul qui s'esmaie.
Quant averez vent, siglez sulunc;
Cum venz n'i ert, nagez idunc.'

210 *BC* plein. 211 *A* Le o., *B* Li o., *C* Le oret, *D* Oriez, *E* Lores; *BE* uient, *CD* uint; del] *B* uers. 212 *E* Ques; en *not in BD*; *D* ameinet; *B* dreit uers; *D* orient. 213 *E* Il perdent totes; *D* perderent lur u. 214 *DE* Fors sul. 215 *E* pas ne; *A* sen seignent; *D* Sur le buen uent puint ne se plaignent. 216 *DE* del; mult] *E* en mer; *E* sen paignent. 217 *D* Que d.; *C* descirent. 218 *B* E co, *C* Ico; quei] *B* quil; *D* ors. 219 Si] *D* Dunc; *D* xv. dis. 220 *DE* Tant que; *C* li uent, *D* lur uent; tuz *not in BDE*, *C* tut; *D* lur est failliz, *E* lor fu molt cors. 221–2 *not in B*. 221 *E* Dont; *A* se maient, *C* se esmaient, *DE* sesma(i)erent. 222 *A* le ueint, *D* li uenz, *E* le bon vent; *E* que; *CD* faillit, *E* faillis; *C* eret, *D* lur ere. 223 *D* Labes; dunc] *D* mult bien, *E* dont; *C* le. 224 *A* Que; *AC* cesset; *D* Li suens c. puint ne c., *E* Que dex les gart dauoir tempeste. 225 *D* Mettet; *DE* en la d.; *BE* manaie. 226 *B* Nen i ait, *D* E nen i at; qui] *E* que ia; *C* se esmate. 227 *BCDE* aurez; *C* sulunt. 228 *B* Cum uent faldra, *D* Quant naurez (vent *omitted*), *E* Quant naues vent; *B* en dunc,

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recondit, ita quod tantum nubibus et ponto prestetur intuitus. Ventus qui eis prosper fuerat, non, ut de more solet, desidiam in eis generavit; sed omnes pro amore Jesu corpora sua laborare cupientes, manus remis apponunt, ut velo ventum retardarent.

Sic per dies quindecim hylares absportantur, donec ventus cessatus eis necgabat processum. Unde omnes stupore confecti desolantur. Quos abbas, cujus animus semper firmus fuerat, adhortari cepit, dicens: 'Nolite, fratres, contristari. Sed cum ventus suffraganeus vobis fuerit, leti sum-

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As aviruns dunc se metent,
La grace Deu mult regretent,
Quer ne sevent quel part aler,
Ne quels cordes deient haler,
Quel part beitrer, quel part tendre,
Ne u devrunt lur curs prendre.
Un meis sanz vent nagent tut plein
Tuit li frere par nul desdeign;
Tant cum durat lur vitaile
Pener pourent sanz defaile.
Force perdent e viande;
Pur oc ourent poür grande.
Cum lur avient li granz busuinz,
A ses fetheilz Deus nen est luinz;
Pur oc ne deit hoem mescreire.
Cil ki enprent pur Deu eire
Tant en face cum faire pout;
Deus li truverat ke lui estout.
Terre veient grande e halte;
Li venz lur vient san defalte.

E adonc. 229 *B* idunc, *D* trestuz, *E* molt tost. 230 *E* E la merci d.; *A* gracez; mult] *D* forment. 231 *B* Que. 232 *B* queles; *BD* deiuent, *C* deuent; *AC* aler; *E* Ne lor droit cors bien asener. 233 *B* beitier, *D* beiter, *E* bouter; *DE* ne quel. 234 *D* deiuent, *E* il doivent. 235 sanz v.] *D* tut plein; *A* nagerent; *B* tuit pl., *D* par mer, *E* de plain. 236 par] *BE* senz; *D* Trestut li f. comunel. 237 *BE* cume; lur] *DE* la. 238 *D* Penerent lur cors, *E* Porent pener; *E* sans nule faille. 239 *E* Lor f.; *D* Pur co que perdeient lur uiande. 240 *C* P. oec, *D* P. co, *E* E si; *DE* aueient. 241 *DE* Quant; *CE* auint; li *not in D*, *B* les; *D* grant besuign. 242 *BD* deu; *A* nest, *D* nest pas; *E* nen est dex; *D* luign. 243 oc] *CDE* ceo; *D* ne deiuent rien m.; *B* home, *E* nus hom. 244 *A* Si cil, *C* Si ki; *E* Qui entreprant; *D* pur deu prenent; *E* son oire. 245 *C* facet; *E* en p.; *BDE* puet, *C* poet. 246 *B* Deu; *D* D. li trouet, *E* Dex trouera; que] *AB* co que, *E* ca; *BCDE* estuet. 247 *C* T. uent, *E* Il voient t.; *B* grant; *D* de luinz mult h. 248 *D* E li; *C* Li uent; *E* sans nule faute.

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mite; et cum contrarius, auxilium postuletur.' Tunc omnes tractu diutissimo et conabili in transtra cadunt, et nomen Domini invocant. Sed ignotum est eis quo intendant, aut quo proram dirigant (*MS.* erigant). Mense toto integro vento nunquam adjuvante [....]. [....] remos cessavit et stuporem injecit, et magnum parturiebat pavorem.

Sed ex isto eventu sumamus exemplum, quoniam qui pro Dei amore gravia sibi assumunt onera, semper sibi affine sciant Dei amm[i]niculum. Isti enim qui paulo ante metu et erumpnis quam plurimis desolati fuerant,

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Qui de nager erent penét
Sanz tuz travalz la sunt menét,
Mais n'i truvent nul' entrethe
U lur nef fust eschipede,
Quer de rocheiz ert aclose
U nul d'eals tuz munter n'ose.
Halt sunt li pui, en l'air tendant,
E sur la mer en luin pendant.
Des creos desuz la mer resort,
Pur quei peril i at mult fort.
Amunt, aval, port i quistrent,
E al querre treis jurs mistrent.
Un port truvent, la se sunt mis,
Qui fud trenched al liois bis,
Mais n'i out leu fors de une nef;
Cil fud faitiz el rocheit blef.

Vv. 265–306. The Uninhabited City.

Ferment la nef, eisent s'en tuit,
Vunt la veie qui bien les duit;

249 *D* Kar del, *E* Car de; *D* furent pencz. 250 *C* Sen tuit; *D* tut trauail; *E* sunt la; *BD* menez. 251 *DE* trouerent; *CDE* nule. 252 *A* nif; fust] *D* poist estre, *E* fust bien; *C* achipe, *D* ariuee. 253 de] *A* li, *D* del; *BE* roches, *C* rocheit, *D* roche; *D* esteit, *E* ert haute; *B* enclose, *C* anclose. 254 *BCE* nuls; d'eals tuz] *A* deals, *C* de eals, *D* de tuz; munter] *AB* entrer; *DE* nen ose. 255 *C* en le, *E* al; *D* li air pendant; *C* tendent. 256 *B* En sum la; en *not in D*; *C* luinz pendent; *D* tendant; *E* E en viron li rochier grant. 257 *B* De tres, *C* De croes, *D* Les c.; *B* suz, *E* de sor; *A* resurt. 258 *E* i a peril; i at *illegible in C*. 259 *BCDE* e aual; *E* .i. port q.; i quistrent *illegible in C*. 260 *BDE* i m. 261 *D* troueient, *E* trouerent; se *not in E*. 262 fud] *D* sunt; *D* trenchez, *E* trencies; al] *B* a, *C* e; liois] *E* rochier. 263 *A* ni unt, *D* nert; *D* lius; *B* a une, *DE* dune. 264 *A* en le, *D* al; *B* rochier, *D* rochie; *B* bref; *E* Laiens se mistrent tot souef. 265 *B* e sen issent, *D* eissent fors, *E* si issent. 266 *A* uei; *E* que. 267 *E* Tot d. les maine. 268 grant e] *E* forment. 269-70 *not in E*. 269 mult *to* 271 enz *not in C*. 269 *BD* real. 270 *A* De empe-

leti fiunt et incolumes. Terram enim altam et eminentem prospiciunt, et qui ante remorum impulsu fatigati sunt, requiem sumpserunt et venti flamine ad terram visam deferuntur; sed ad eam nullus eis patebat accessus, quoniam terra procera supra mare fuerat, que inferius (*MS.* infernus) lapidosa fuerat, in qua mare concavitatem magnam (navis) fecerat, in quam prosiliens, repercussu quodam statim revolvitur, ita quod, si [navis] accederet, eam cito periclitare faceret. Hanc terram circumeunt, in qua tribus diebus portum querentes, tunc demum parvum quendam invenerunt, qui solummodo navi uni submi(s)nistrare posset requiem.

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Dreit les meinet a un castel
Qui riches ert e grant e bel,
E resemblout mult regal leu,
D'empereür mult riche feu.
Entrerent enz dedenz le mur
Qui tuz ert faiz de cristal dur;
Paleiz veient tuz a marbre,
N'i out maisun faite de arbre;
Gemmes od l'or funt grant clartét
Dun entailét sunt li parét;
Mais une rien mult lur desplout,
Que en la citét hume n'i out.
Dunc esguardent l'alçur palais,
Entrent enenz el nun de pais.
Enz el palais Brandan s'est mis,
E sur un banc puis s'est asis.
Fors sul les soens altres n'i vit;
Prent a parler, si lur ad dit:
'Alez querre par cez mesters
Si rien i at dun est mesters.'

rur. 271 *D* Entre sunt tuz, *E* Il entrerent; dedenz] *A* denz. 272 *D* tuit; *CD* fait. 273 *E* i voient; *B* tut, *D* trestut, *E* fait; a] *DE* de. 274 *C* E ni, *D* Unc ni; *BC* fait; *BD* d'arbre; *E* Ni avoit nule maison darbre. 275 *B* en funt; *D* i sunt asis; *AB* clarte, *C* claret; *E* Les g. donent g. c. 276 *B* pared; *A* Dun li pareit sunt ent. (*all except first word written on an erasure*; li *corrected from* e *imperfectly erased*), *D* Par grant engien i furent mis, *E* Dont li palais furent geme. *After* 276 *E adds* Les rues furent ricement Bien ovrees a pauement. 277 lur] *D* i; *B* desplut. 278 *BE* Quen, *D* En; *D* citez; *B* ni ut, *C* nen oit, *D* nen out. *After* 278 *E adds* Partot es maisons esgarderent Home ne feme ni troverent. 279 *E* Dont; *A* les guardent, *D* esguarderent; *A* la cur, *B* lazur, *C* laiceur, *D* les, *E* laucor. 280 *BC* Entrerent enz, *D* Entrez sunt, *E* E entrent ens; el] *AD* al, *B* en. 281 *A* en le, *D* al; *E* brandans; *A* ses mist, *C* se est mis, *E* se mist. 282 puis *not in B*, *D* si, *E* laiens; *AE* sasist. 283 sul] *E* que; *C* ne i; *D* For ses moines altre ne uit. 284 ad *not in D*; *A* dist. 285 *E* soliers. 286 *B* riens; at] *E* est; *B* ad de mangiers; *D* Que ueez ci bels e pleniers.

Quo invento leti, navem fune affirmant, et terram ascendunt, et per viam quam invenerant deambulantes, ad castellum quoddam pervenerunt circumvallatum muro cristallino, quale nunquam prius viderant. Hii ingrediuntur, et domos pulcras inveniunt, non ex lignis compositas, sed marmore pollentes, et gemmis splendidas auri preciosi lucore fulgentibus. Affectuosa quidem cuncta sibi fuerant, excepto eo quod neminem ibi viderant.

Abbas cum sociis suis in palatium ingressus, super cathedram preciosam sedit; dixitque discipulis suis: 'Abite, et circumdagate | hui[u]s domus 215[a]

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Alerent cil e truverent
Ço que plus dunc desirerent,
Ço fud sucurs de viande,
E de beivre plentét grande,
De or e de argent la vaisele
Que forment fud bone e bele.
Quanque voldrent tut a plentét
Trovent iloec u sunt entrét.
L'abes lur dist: 'Portez nus ent.
N'en prengez trop, ço vus defent.
E prïez Deu chescun pur sei
Que ne mentet vers Deu sa fai.'
Pur ço les volt li abes guarnir,
Quer bien purvit que ert a venir.
Cil aportent asez cunrei,
E n'en prestrent a nul desrei;
Tant mangerent cume lur plout,
E cum idunc lur en estout.
De Deu loër ne se ublïent,
Mais sa merci mult la crïent.

287 *E* Cil i vont; e] *D* si, *E* e si i. 288 *E* adont plus; *D* Ico quil plus d. 289 *E* le s.; de] *D* de la. 290 *C* plentez, *D* uit plente, *E* plente molt. 291 *BDE* Dor e dargent; la] *D* i ad, *E* molt grant. 292 *BCDE* Qui; *ABDE* e b. e b.; *D* buen. 293 *E* E quant que; *B* uoustrent, *D* uolent; tut *not in E*; *D* plentez. 294 *D* entrez. 295 L'] *A* Le, *C* Li; *B* dit; *D* pernez n. e., *E* en prenes ent; *BCD* en. 296 N'en] *B* Ne; *A* prenget, *B* prennez, *CDE* pernez; ço] *D* iol, *E* iel; *B* defen, *C* defenc *or* defen, *E* desfent. 297 *D* prez; Deu] *E* tot; *A* checun, *C* cascuns; pur] *DE* par. 298 *CD* mentez; sa] *D* ta. 299 *D* uult; *D E* labes. 300 *E* Quil porveoit; que] *B* qu, *E* ce qui. 301 *E* Cil auoient. 302 n'en] *A* ne; *BDE* pristrent, *C* prennent. 303 *ABC* cum, *DE* cum il; *B* plut. 304 *B* dunc, *C* idunt; *B* lur estut; *E* E que cascuns asses en ot. 305 *B* loier, *E* proier; *D* puint ne, *E* pas ne; *BE* sublient. 306 mult la] *D* nuit e jur, *E* ades li;

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officinas, et querite utrum nobis necessaria aliqua invenire poteritis.' Abeunt, et que sibi oportuna fuerant inveniunt; scilicet dapibus et potu et vasibus argenteis et aureis loca aptissime referta, et quecumque sibi idonea judicarent. Quibus abbas dixit: 'Afferte nobis dapem unde refici possimus; sed curam impendite ut, temperantie adherentes, que maxima virtutum est anime, mediocriter sumatis, et Deum humiliter precibus circumvenite unusquisque pro se, ut nullus vestrum peculantis carnis blandiciis assentiens, fraude demonis in aliquo delinquat.' Hoc autem dixit, prenoscens quid contingeret. His verbis cuncti favorem prebentes,

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Vv. 307–354. THE STOLEN GOBLET.

Del herberger pregnent oser;
Quant fud l'ure, vunt reposer.
Cum endormit furent trestuit,
Ast vos Sathan qui l'un seduit:
Mist l'en talent prendre an emblét
Del or qu'il vit la ensemblét.
L'abes veilout, e bien vetheit
Cum diables celui teneit,
Cum lui tendeit un hanap de or—
Plus riche n'at en nul tresor.
Cil levet sus, prendre l'alat,
E en repost tost l'enmalat;
E puis que out fait le larecin,
Revint dormir en sun reclin.
Tut vit l'abes u reposout,
Cum cil freres par nuit errout;
Pur tenebres ne remaneit:
Sanz candeile tut le vetheit,

C crierent, *E* prient. 307 *C* erberger; *BC* prennent, *DE* pernent; *E* loser. 308 *E* Q. eure vint; *C* le ure; *D* si uunt cucher. 309 *DE* Quant; *D* endormiz; *B* sen furent tuit; *D* trestut. 310 *BDE* Es; *C* satan; *D* suiduit, *E* sosduit. *C ends here.* 311 l'en] *DE* li; *E* de pr.; *B* en emblee, *D* en emblez, *E* en enble. 312 or] *D* ure; *E* que iluec vit ensanble; la *not in B*; *B* assemblee, *D* essemblez. 313 *BD* Li abes; bien] *D* co, *E* si. 314 *A* Cume, *E* Conment; *D* diable; celui] *E* li. 315 *E* E li tendi; *A* leui, *BD* li; *B* henap; *BDE* dor. 316 *E* Meillor navoit; *A* ni at en un t.; *B* not, *D* nout. 317 *B* leua, *D* lieuez, *E* lieue; *E* sus e sen ala. 318 *D* E puis mult tost si, *E* E en post le tost; *B* le mucad, *E* mal en a. 319 E *not in D*; *B* quot, *E* cot. 320 *A* Reuin, *D* Vint, *E* Revait; *A* dormer. 321 *AD* Tuit; *B* li abes; *D* v il ueillout, *E* ou reposa. 322 cil] *E* li; *D* frere; *E* erra. 323 *B* teniebres, *E* loscurte. 324 *B* S. la candeille, *E* S. lumiere; tut] *E* bien; *B* ueer.

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escam non supra modum atulerunt, et quantum ad horam eis sufficeret prandebant; et, ut doctor eorum jusserat, orationibus conanter insistebant.

Totaque nocte perendinare cupientes, ibidem morati sunt. Cumque hora cubandi advenerat, cubiculis requiem capiebant. Quibus undique sopitis, ecce Satanas, qui unum eorum dolosis illecebris (*MS.* doloso illecebri) seduxit, et affectum furandi aurum animo ejus injecit. Sed abbas, cujus animus semper vigilabat, aspexit qualiter ciphum aureum sibi porrexerat, et qualiter ille surgens cepit, et in peram suam recon-

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Quar quant ço Deus li volt mustrer,
Sur ço ne stout cirge alumer.
Treis jurs enters sujurnerent,
E puis al quart s'en turnerent.
Brandans lur dist: 'Seignurs, vus pri,
N'en portez rien od vus d'ici,
Neïs un punt de cest cunrei,
N'enteins l'aigue pur nule sei.'
Forment plurant dist as freres:
'Veiez, seignurs, cist est leres.'
Cil s'aparceut que l'abes sout
Del larecin; cument il l'out
Cunuit; a tuz confés se rent,
As pez le abét mercit atent.
Dist lur abes: 'Prïez pur lui,
Vus le verrez murrir encui.'
Devant trestuz tuz veables
Eisit criant li diables:
'Cheles, Brandan, par quel raisun
Gettes mei fors de ma maisun?'

325 ço *not in E*; li *not in A*; *B* uelt, *E* voloit. 326 *E* Ne li estuet; *B* nestut, *D* nestuet. 327 enters] *ABE* e. i, *D* al chastel; *BD* suriurnerent. 328 *D* E al quart iur; al] *B* el; *A* quarte; *B* sen returnerent, *D* diluec t., *E* si sapresterent. 329 seignurs] *E* a tos. 330 N'en] *A* Ne; *E* Que vos nen portes rien; *BE* de ci. 331 *D* Nis; *BE* point, *D* puint; *B* dicest. 332 *B* Nenteimes leue, *D* Ne entaimes lewe, *E* Nentres en laighe; *A* nul se, *E* le soi. 333 *E* Voiant trestos dist; as] *BDE* a ses. 334 *A* Veidez (i *added above line*), *BDE* Veez; *E* segnor; *DE* icist. 335 *B* Cist; s' *not in A*; *BE* sapercut; *B* li abes. 336 Del] *D* Le; *A* larcein, *E* hanap dor; *E* il ot. 337 *B* Conuist le a tuz, *E* A tos conut; *B* sen. 338 *A* A; *A* le abes, *B* labed, *D* labez, *E* li chiet; *D* merciz. 339 lur *not in E*; *B* labes, *E* li abes. 341 *E* D. eus tous; tuz] *B* tut, *D* trestut, *E* e tos; *E* uoiables. 342 *D* Sen eisit, *E* En issi. 343 *E* Queles brandans; *BD* quele r. 344 *B* Getez men, *E* Me

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di[di]t, et deinde regrediens in cubiculo recubuit. Hoc autem sine luminarii administratione abbatem vidisse ne miremur; quoniam quod a Deo monstratur absque cerei adjumento monstrari potest.

Exhinc fratres tribus diebus ibi morati sunt, et quarto recesserunt. Dixitque Brendanus: 'Ne deferatis hinc aliquid, fratres, nisi quod huc attulistis, nec etiam panem aut aquam.' Et fusis lacrimis dixit: 'Videte, fratres, istum, qui tanta dementia captus est, ut in hac nocte furando minister demonis factus est.' Advertens autem reus operis illum hoc scire, coram pedibus ejus se provolvens, omnibus confessum se reddit, dicente Brendano: 'Orate fratres pro illo, quia hodie eum mori videbitis.'

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Dist al frere ço que il volt,
Mercit li fait, e puis l'asolt.
Des que receut cumungement,
Veanz trestuz la mort le prent;
Le spirit en vait en paraïs,
En grant repos u Deus l'at mis.
Al cors firent sepulture,
Prïent Deu qu'en prenget cure.
Icist fud un des tres freres
Qu'en la nef receut li peres.

Vv. 355–376. God provides all Necessaries.

Vindrent al port el rivage;
Ast vus mult tost un message:
Pain lur portet e le beivre,
E sis rovet cel receivre.
Puis lur ad dit: 'Soür seez,
Quelque peril que vus veiez;
Que que veiez, n'aëz poür:
Deus vus durat mult bon oür,

getes; ma *not in A*. 345 *A* qui il, *BD* quil. 346 *B* le solt. 347 *E* Des quil; *D* out receu; *B* cumengement, *D* cumuniement, *E* cónmujnement. 348 *B* Veant trestuit, *D* Veant trestuz, *E* Voiant ax tos; la *not in A*, *D* e a; *E* mors. 349 *BD* Lespirt, *E* Lespirs; *first* en *not in B*. 350 *A* repose; *BD* deu. 351 *D* Al seint cors; *E* sa sep. 352 *DE* E p.; *A* que, *D* que en. 353 *AB* Cist, *E* Ce; *B* uns, *E* li uns; des] *D* dices, *E* de ces. 354 *D* Qui en; la] *DE* sa; *A* naf *corrected to* nef. 355 *A* Vindrint; el] *D* e al, *E* sor le. 356 *BD* Es lur m. t., *E* Atant es vos lors; un] *D* le deu. 357 *D* Le p.; lur *not in BD*; *BDE* aporte; le] *B* a, *E* mies a; *A* beuire. 358 cel] *A* cil; *B* Si lur rueue icel r., *D* E rouez a ceus r. (s *erased after* E), *E* E si lor rueue ce r. 359 *A* dist. seet. 360 *B* Quel p., *E* De quel p.; *B* ueez, *D* aiez. 361 *BD* ueez; *B* nen aiez; *E* paor. 362 *E* vos fera; oür] *E* socor.

Tunc vero, videntibus illis, Satanas a corpore ejus exivit, et exclamans dixit: 'Qua ratione, Brendane, ex domo mea me proicis?' Tunc autem, confessione et absolutione recepta, mortis nexibus occupatus, viam carnis universe aggreditur; et spiritus migravit ad domum Domini Dei in requiem eternam, | et corpus statim sepulture traditur, sociis suis orationes 215[b] fundentibus; vir quidem dicens quod nunc evidenter apparet.

Accedunt cominus ad litora; quos quidam De[i] nuntius, qui panem et potum eis attulerat, sic affatur: 'Accipite hoc; et quicquid periculi videatis, fide firma roborati non perterreamini, sed securi estote; quia omne bonum dabit vobis Dominus, et virtute Christi, que magna quidem

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E ço verrez que alez querant,
Par la vertud de Deu la grant.
E de cunrei nen esmaëz
Que vus ici asez n'aiez:
Ne frat faile desque vendrez
En icel liu u plus prendrez.'
Parfunt clinant, saisit les en;
Plus ne lur dist, meis alat s'en.
Or unt voüt li Deu servant
Que il eirent par Deu cumant,
E unt pruvét tut a soüt
Par miracles que unt voüt;
E bien veient que Deus les paist.
De loër Deu nuls ne se taist.

Vv. 377–434. The Isle of Sheep.

Siglent al vent, vunt s'en adés,
Li cunduz Deu mult lor est pres.
Curent par mer grant part del an,
E merveilles trestrent ahan.

363 *D* E uerrez co; *E* cales. 364 *D* uertuz; de *not in B*; la] *ABDE* le. 365 *D* del; *B* nen esmaiez, *D* ne uus maez, *E* ne vos esmaies. 366 *B* assez ici, *E* tos iors asses; n'] *A* nen; *D* Que en la ueie nen aiez. 367 *A* Nen; *E* Nares faute; *D* faillir; *A* dis quen, *D* iesque, *E* tant que. 368 *AD* cel, *E* tel; *A* leiu; *E* prenderes. 369 *D* Clinant parfunt; *B* mercient len. 370 *BDE* dit. 371 *D* Ore. ueuz; li] *B* le. 372 *E* Quil. 373–4 *not in E*. 373 *A* un; *D* prouez tuit a souz. 374 *D* ueuz. 375 *A* ueiant; *D* qui; *BD* deu, *E* il; les] *A* le. 376 *E* De luj loer; *D* nul. 378 *D* Le conduit; *DE* lur est mult; est] *B* fu. 380 E] *B* U; *BD* traistrent; *E* E molt i sueffrent grant ahan. 382 luin] *E* pres; *B* pot, *E* puet; *D* parer. 383 *A* icel. 384 *B* Nen i, *E* Se ni; *A* de le n. se tart, *B* de n. sen tart. 385

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est, quod penis vexati queritis, leti videbitis. Nolite expavescere quod victus carentia vos mestificet; antequam victus iste vobis deficiat, majorem copiam alterius habebitis.' Et, inclinato capite, vale intermiscetur (*MS.* -itur) utrimque, et recedens plura non loquitur. Liquet Dei servis illorum itineri Dei gratiam assensum prebere: et, visis miraculis, Deo ovanter gratias et laudes (*MS.* suades) reddunt. Et, quia Dei dono victus sufficientia eis prestabatur, animi eorum proni sunt ad orationes.

Ventus eos in navem ingressos in remotas marium partes cito devehit; et Dei semper comes est suffragium. In maris autem peragratione magna

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Terre veient a lur espeir,
Cum de plus luin lur pout pareir.
Drechent lur nef icele part,
E n'i at nul del nager tart.
Lascent cordes, metent veil jus,
Ariverent e sailent sus.
Veient berbiz a grant fuisun,
A chescune blanche tuisun;
Tutes erent itant grandes
Cum sunt li cerf par ces landes.
Dist lur l'abes: 'Seignurs, d'ici
Ne nus muverum devant terz di.
Jusdi est oi de la ceine,
Cum li filz Deu suffrit peine.
Il nus est douz e prest amis,
Qui prestement nus ad tramis
Dunt poüm sa feste faire.
Pensez de la nef sus traire.
De icez berbiz une pernez,
Al di pascal la cunreez;
A Deu cungét de ço ruvum,
Altre quant nus or n'i truvum.'

B Lacent; cordes] *D* les tres; metent] *E* laissent; veil] *D* le. 386 *D* E ar. 388 A] *D* E; *E* Cascune a blance le tujson. 389 *DE* esteient; itant] *B* tantes, *D* issi. 390 *A* li cers, *D* les cers; *D* en ices l., *E* parmi les l. 391 *B* Dit; lur *not in E*; *BE* li abes; *E* segnor; *BE* de ci. 392 *D* muurum, *E* mourons. 393 *A* Judis, *D* Le iosdi, *E* Car ioesdi; oi] *B* iur. 394 *B* li fil, *D* le fiz; *E* Que dex por nos soffri grant paine. 395–6 *not in B*. 395 *A* douz & e pres; *D* Il est guarde de nus tut dis. 396 Qui] *DE* E; *D* pramis. 397 *B* Dunc; *DE* nus p.; *A* la fest. 398 *D* Or p., *E* P. tost. 399 *B* E des, *D* Dices, *E* De ces; *E* prenes. 400 di] *BDE* iur. 401 *D* Al d. congiez dico; *D* pernum, *E* prendon. 402 *B* A. que n. ore ni truuerum, *D* Quant ore altre ni trouum, *E* Q. nos ci autre ne t.

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pars anni consumitur, et labore magno confecti sunt. Tandem terram videntes, illuc navem dirigebant, et navis cursum remorum impulsibus augentes, applicuerunt. (Secundo ad insulam, ubi greges ovium erant, venerunt.) Tunc exilientes greges ovium conspiciunt albis velleribus velatarum, quarum magnitudo cervorum magnitudini compar fuerat. Tunc dixit eis abbas: 'Mora nostra triduana erit hic. Hodie dies solutionis est. Festum ejus celebremus qui pro nobis mortem passus est. Ipse pro nobis in omnibus propicius est. Navem vestram super aridam ponite; et unam istarum ovium ad diem occidite paschalem; et, cum

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Que cumandat, içọ fait unt,
E par tres dis ileoc estunt.
Al samadi lur vient uns mes,
De la part Deu salüet les.
Peil out chanut, oilz juvenilz;
Mult out vescut sanz tuz perilz.
Pain lur portet de sun païs:
Granz e mult blanz guasteus alis;
E si lur falt neüle rien,
Tut lur truverat, ço promet bien.
L'estre d'iloc l'abes anquist;
Ne sai s'osat, mais poi l'en dist.
Ço respundit: Asez avum
Quanque des quers penser savum.'
'E!' dist l'abes, 'berbiz ad ci,
Unc en nul leu tant grant ne vi.'
Respunt lui cil: 'N'est merveille:
Ja ci traite n'ert öeile;
L'ivers nen i fait rancune,
Ne d'enfertét n'i mort une.

404 dis] *D* iurz. 405 *B* El s.; *D* uint lur; *BD* un. 406 la *not in B*. 407 *D* chanuz e mult ert bel. 408 *B* sen; *D* Des oilz resemblot iuuencel. *After* 408 *D adds* Mult par esteit de grant age Vnches nout ire en sun curage. 409 *B* aporte; *D* Ainz lur aportet un pain grant. 410 *A* Grant; *B* bels gastels; *D* Mult blanc guasteals auenant, *E* Simenels blans e pain alis. 411 si] *DE* se il; *ABDE* nule. 412 *D* Trouerat lur, *E* Tot trouera; *BD* pramet. 413 L'] *D* E. 414 *A* so asat, *B* si osad, *D* sosast; l' *not in E*. 415 Ço] *B* E co, *D* E. 416 *E* de cuer. 417 *E* Dist li abes. 418 *E* Ainc de mes ex; *B* greinurs, *D* t. granz, *E* si grans. 419 *B* R. icil, *D* R. li cil, *E* Cil li r.; *BD* nen est, *E* nest pas. 420 *BD* ici; *A* nert tr.; *E* trait; *B* niert, *DE* nen ert. 421

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alius non sit presens, a Deo capiamus licentiam.' Precepto ejus paruerunt, et tres dies ibidem morati sunt.

Die vero tercia quidam Dei nuntius venit ad eos, et ex parte Dei salutat eos. Pilos habuit senili albedine affectos, et oculos juvenili radio micantes. Longo quidem tempore absque omne periculo vixerat. Panem ex patria sua eis attulit, placentas scilicet magnas, albas valde et azimas; et si carentia alicujus quod eis oportunum esset illos mestificet, spondet se
216[a] suffragium conferre. E(e)sse ejus abbas querit, | sed, nescio an ausus sit, parum ei manifestavit. Copiam tum omnium eorum que mente cuperet, dixit se habere. Tunc abbas percunctari cepit de copia et magnitudine ovium. Cui dixit: 'Ne mireris, quoniam cura pascendi molestiam non

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A cel' isle que tu veis la,
Entre en ta nef, Brandan, e va.
En cel' isle anuit estras
E ta feste demain i fras.
Demain enz nuit en turnerez;
Pur quei si tost, bien le verrez.
Puis revendrez, e sanz peril,
Bien pres siglant de cest costil;
E puis irez en altre liu,
U jo en vois e la vus siu,
Mult pres d'ici; la vus truverai,
Asez cunrei vus porterai.'

Vv. 435–480. The Great Fish.

Siglet Brandan, nel cuntredit,
Vait al isle que il bien vit.
Vent out portant e tost i fud,
Mais bien grant mer out trescurud;

B Li urs, *D* Juer, *E* Jvers; i *not in A*; *BDE* ni f. nule r.; *A* raencune. 422 *BE* enfermete, *D* enfertez; *D* nen i; *B* murrad, *DE* muert; une] *D* nule. 423 que *to* 425 isle *not in B*. 423 A] *D* En; *E* cele; *D* tu i ueez la. 424 *D* Entrez; *E* brandans; e] *D* si. 425 *E* cele ille; *A* entras, *E* esteras. 426 E *not in DE*; i *not in B*; *BDE* feras. 427 *E* D. al soir; en t.] *D* turnerez, *E* retorneres. 428 bien] *E* vos. 430 *D* dicest. 431 *E* Apres iras. 432 en vois] *E* irai; vus] *E* me. 433 *E* de ci; la *not in BDE*. 435 *BE* brandans; *E* contredist. 436 *D* quil; *E* que cil li dist. 437 *E* ont; portant] *A* par deu; i fud] *E* en vont. 438 *E* Molt tres g. m. trespase ont; *D* trescuruz.

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ingerit pastori. Omnis abest corruptio aeris, et omnis turbo hyemalis; nemo ex infirmitate hic moritur. Ingredere navem cum fratribus tuis, et vade apud insulam quam vides, et nocte ibi moraberis, et crastina die festum paschale celebrabis, et ante noctem discedes. Causa autem tam maturi discessus tibi apparebit. Dehinc autem juxta hanc terram transibis, et ad alium locum transmeabis; et illuc te sequar, et quecumque tibi fuerint necessaria submini-strabo.'

Brendanus ingreditur, et vento in puppi flante, proram ad insulam dirigit, ad quam, quamvis aliquantulum remotam, cito transfertur. Excepto abbate, omnes exeunt. Dehinc autem orationibus nocturnis insistunt; et mane facto matutinis laudibus leti servitium paschale in

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E issi vait qui Deus maine.
Terre prennent, e sanz peine;
Eissent s'en fors tuit li frere
Fors sul l'abes qui enz ere.
Beal servise e mult entrin
Firent la nuit e le matin.
Puis que unt tut fait lur servise
En la nef cum en iglise,
Charn de la nef, qu'il i mistrent,
Pur quire la dunc la pristrent;
De la busche en vunt quere,
Dunt le manger funt a terre.
Cum li mangers fud cunreez,
Dist li bailis: 'Or aseez.'
Dunc s'escrïent mult haltement:
'A! donz abes, quar nus atent!'
Quar la terre tute muveit,
E de la nef mult s'en fuieit.
Dist li abes: 'Ne vus tamez,
Mais Damnedeu mult reclamez;

439 *B* E si, *E* Issi en; *E* deu; *BE* en m.; *D* Bien creient cil que deu les meisne. 440 *D* La t. pernent tut s. p., *E* T. ont porpris sans nule p. 441 *BE* Issent; *D* Eisuz sunt f.; *B* trestuit, *DE* trestut. 442 *BE* labe; *E* que; *A* en, *BDE* dedenz. 443 *E* Riche s.; *A* sevise; e *not in D*; mult *not in BE*; *BDE* enterrin. 444 *E* Font cele n.; *D* Firent al seir e al m. 445 que] *E* quil; unt] *A* out; tut *not in DE*; *E* le lor. 446 *E* Ens en; *A* glisc, *D* une glise. 447 *E* que il. 448 la] *E* le; *BD* idunc, *E* adonc. 449 *D* Si en uunt de la b. q., *E* E de la b. aloient q. 450 *B* en funt, *E* fisent; *D* D. il f. lur m. a t. 451 *B* Cume, *E* Quant; *D* manger; *B* cunrez. 452 bailis] *E* abes; *D* or uus a., *E* or vos seez. 453 *E* Dont; *A* ses scirent, *D* sen eissent; mult h.] *D* hastiuement. 454 A] *E* He; *BE* dans; *D* Kar pour unt de grant turment. 455 *B* muet. 456 mult] *E* si; *A* se luigneit, *B* sen fuet. 457 tamez] *E* rames. 459 *E* vostre. 460 a] *E* ot. 461 *B* Getent. lung ras; *D* Dune

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navi, sicut in ecclesia, excellenter perficiunt. Quo perfecto, carnem coquendam ad terram jubent[ur] portare, ut modo paschali reficerentur. Prandium statim paratum est, et sedere jubentur. Interim insula movebatur, et navi fugiens elongari cepit, et omnes in clamorem magnum proruperunt, dicentes: 'Brendane pater, noli nos deserere.' Quibus ait: 'Ne perterreamini, fratres, sed in Deo sit fiducia vestra fixa. Colligite escam nostram totam, et intrate.' Et funes projecit ad eos; tamen in accessione pannos eorum humefecerunt. Omnes intrant; sed insula cursu

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E pernez tut nostre cunrei,
Enz en la nef venez a mei.'
Jetet lur fuz e bien luncs raps.
Parmi tut ço muilent lur dras.
Enz en la nef entré sunt tuit;
Mais lur isle mult tost s'en fuit:
De dis liwes bien choisirent
Le fou sur lui qu'il i firent.
Brandan lur dist: 'Freres, savez
Pur quei poür oüt avez?
N'est pas terre, ainz est beste
U feïmes nostre feste,
Pessuns de mer sur les greinurs.
Ne merveillés de ço, seignurs.
Pur ço vus volt Deus ci mener
Que il vus voleit plus asener.
Ses merveilles cum plus verrez,
En lui mult mielz puis encrerrez;
Mielz le crerrez e plus crendrez,
A sun comant plus vus prendrez.

planche fait i unt punt, *E* Getent bons fus e loing cras. 462a *D* tuit. moillez se sunt. 463 *D* Dedenz la; *E* entrerent. 464 *E* isles. 465 *A* E de, *B* E; *A* luiues, *E* lues; *D* tresbien; *A* chosserent, *E* coisirent le feu. 466 *E* Seur lille ke il i f.; *D* fiu; *B* uirent, *D* mistrent. *After* 466 *E adds* Lor caldiere i ont obliee Ens en lautre an lont retrouee (*cf.* 837–8). 467 *E* Brandans; *B* frere. 468 oüt] *B* uus en. 469 *D* Co nest pas isle, *E* Nest mie t.; *E* ancois. 470 U] *AD* V nus, *E* Sor qui; D fesimes. 471 *B* tut li gr., *D* tut des gr., *E* tos li gr. 472 *E* Ne vos en m.; *BD* merueilliez dico. 473 vus] *E* nos; *D* uult; *B* deu; *D* ici. 474 *A* Qui il; *E* Que plus nos v.; *D* Que il uult p. aseigner. 475 *B* cume, *E* que. 476 *D* E en; *A* puis mult m., *B* mult m., *D* plus m., *E* plus fermement (puis *not in BDE*); *ADE* crerrez. 477–8 *not in A.* 477 Mielz] *B* Mult; *BD* plus le; *BE* criendrez. 478 *B* Pur sun c., *E* De lui servir; *B* plus uus penerez, *E* plus peneres.

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citissimo abfugit, et ignem quem desuper fecerunt videre poterant spacio decem leucarum (.i. m[i]liarium *added above line*) interposito. Brendanus, quem nullum latebat verum, socios suos affatur dicens: 'Ne miremini, fratres, insulam fugientem; quoniam terra non est, sed quedam maris belua que magnitudine omnes alias excellit. Ideoque illam nobis ostendi voluit Dominus, ut ex eo magis cognosceremus, quoniam 'mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis', et quanto magis videbitis, tanto magis fide firmiores eritis, et Deum magis timebitis.'

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Primes le fist li reis divins
Devant trestuz pessuns marins.

Vv. 481–580. The Paradise of Birds.

Quant out ço dit l'abes Brandan,
Bien ad curut de mer grant pan.
Veient terre halte e clere,
Si cum lur out dit cil frere.
Venent i tost e arivent,
Ne del eisir ne s'eschivent,
Ne pur altre rien ne dutent,
Mais a terre la nef butent;
Amunt un duit s'en vunt süef,
E od cordes traient lur nef.
Al chef del duit out une arbre
Itant blanche cume marbre,
E les fuiles mult sunt ledes,
De ruge e blanc taceledes.
De haltece par vedue
Muntout l'arbre sur la nue;

479 *DE* deuins. 480 *D* trestut, *E* tos les. 481 *B* co out, *E* ce ot; *A* dist; *B* brandans, *D* brendans. 482 *E* Si ont c.; *D* curuz; *A* un g. 483 *E* Il voient; *D* mult h.; *A* alte edere. 484 Si *not in E*, *A* Cil, *D* Eissi; *B* cume; *E* auoit; *A* dist; cil] *D* cel, *E* cil .ſ. 485 *E* Vinrent; *D* Veient mult tost; *E* ariuerent. 486 *B* Del e. pas ne; *A* se siuent, *E* sesciuerent; *D* De la tere puint neschiwent. 487 *D* pur nule a.; *E* Ne de rien nule ne se d. 488 *DE* a la. 489 s' *not in E*; *D* mult suef. 490 od] *E* a. 491 *D* si out, *E* voient; *BDE* un. 492 *B* blanc; *D* Qui est itant blanc cum un m., *E* Qui tos estoit blans c. m. 493 *D* i sunt mult, *E* avoit molt. 494 e *not in A*, *BE* e de, *D* de; *B* entaillees. 495 *BDE* E de; *D* halte; par] *E* de. 496 *DE* Muntat; *A* le arbre, *E* li arbres; *D* desur. 497 *D* iesque en, *E* de ci quen. 498 *B* branchee, *D* branche; la] *D* bien se, *E* le. 499 *and* 500

Hoc dicto, magnam maris partem jam transierant, et terram eminentem,
216b prout | frater predixerat, videbant; ad quam cito perveniunt. (Tercio venerunt ad insulam que veneriunt que vocabatur Paradisus Avium.) Et applicantes exierunt, et per rivum quendam navem suam super aridam traxerunt (*MS.* -exunt). Erat autem in illius rivi fonte arbor quedam, que albedine tota affecta est, lata habens folia, que quidem rubea erant, sed albis maculis passim superseminata. Procera nimis fuerat cacumen ejus in nubibus extendens, et a summo usque deorsum ramis et foliis fecundissima; ita ut pro ejus densitate et latitudine terram undique

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Des le sumét desque en terre
La brancheie mult la serre
E ledement s'estent par l'air,
Umbraiet luin e tolt l'esclair,
Tute asise de blancs oiseus—
Unches nuls hom ne vit tant beus.
Li abes prent a merveiller,
E prïet Deu sun conseller
Que li mustret quel cose seit,
Si grant plentét d'oiseus que deit,
Quel leu ço seit u est venuz,
D'iço l'asent par ses vertuz.
Sa prïere quant la laisat,
L'un des oiseus s'en devalat;
Tant dulcement sonat li vols
En eschele cum fait li cols;
E puis qu'asist desur la nef,
Brandan parlat bel e süef:
'Si tu es Deu criature,
De mes diz dunc prenges cure.
Primes me di que tu seies,
E en cest liu que tu deies,

transpcsed in D. 499 *E* E le somet estent en lair. 500 *BD* Vmbreie, *E* Ombroie; *E* tot; *AB* le clair. 501 *B* Tut a., *D* Tute est a., *E* Tos fu assis. 502 *A* nul; tant] *E* si. 503 *BDE* Labes; *E* se prant, *BD* p. mult. 504 *E* p. a deu. 505 *A* Qui, *B* Quil; *B* quele chose co seit. 506 *A* des oiseus. 507 leu *not in D.* 508 *B* De co, *E* De ce; *B* lenseint; ses] *D* sa. 510 *A* deuolat, *E* avala. 511 li vols] *B* la uoiz, *E* sa uois. 512 *E* Con en la cloce f.; *BD* eschiele; *B* cops, *D* cous. 513 *B* quant sist, *D* que sist. *E* sasist; *B* sur. 514 *B* Brandans; bel] *D* e bel, *E* bien. 515 *D* E si; *B* ies; *A* de deu, *D* deus, *E* la deu; *A* crature. 516 *A* meis; *D* Dunc te prenge de m. d. c., *E* De ma parole pranges c. 517 que tu] *D* quel chose, *E* ce que tu. 518 E *not in AD*; *D* icel l.; *D* qui tu ueies, *E* que faire doies.

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obumbraret, et solis aspectui subjacere non permitteret. Obsita avibus albis erat, quales homo nunquam viderat.

Brendanus eis visis valde miratur, et Deum sedulus deprecatur ut eum certificet de avibus quarum copiam (*MS.* quo-) vidit, et de loco in quo fuerat. Oratione perfecta, una illarum avium statim descendit, et ab alis aere percusso, sonus quidam fit ad modum cimbali sonantis. Que postquam super navem sederat, abbas dicere cepit: 'Si tu Domini nostri Jesu Christi creatura es, curam adhibe dictis meis. Revela michi quid sis, et quid in hoc loco facias, et similiter de aliis avibus.' Respondens

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E tu e tuit cil altre oisel,
Pur ço que mei semblez mult bel.'
L'oiseil respunt: 'Angele sumes,
E enz en ceil jadis fumes;
E chaïmes de halt si bas
Od l'orguillus e od le las
Par superbe qui revelat,
Vers sun seignur mal s'eslevat.
Cil fut sur nus mis a meistre,
De vertuz Deu nus doust paistre;
Pur oc que fut de grant saveir,
Sil nus estout a meistre aveir.
Cil fud mult fels par superbe,
En desdein prist la Deu verbe.
Puis que out ço fait, lui servimes,
E cum anceis obedimes;
Pur ço sumes deseritét
De cel regne de veritét.
Mais quant içe par nus ne fud,
Tant en avum par Deu vertud:
N'avum peine si cume cil
Qui menerent orguil cum il.

519 *DE* tut; cil] *A* li. 520 *A* que a m.; *B* que me semble si b., *D* qui me semblent m. b., *E* que molt me samble b. 521 *D* Li osiel, *E* Li oiseax; *D* angl'es. 522 *D* Que od deu del c.; en] *BE* el; fumes] *E* estommes. 525 *E* suberbe; *A* que reluelat, *E* se reuela. 526 *A* m. les lauat, *BD* mar se leua, *E* si avala. 527 *D* Icil; mis] *E* asis. 528 *BD* Des, *E* E de; deu *not in DE*; *A* dut, *DE* deueit. 529 oc] *BDE* co; *E* quil. 530 *A* Si, *E* Sel; *BDE* estut; *D* auer. 531 *BDE* fel; *D* par grant s., *E* plain de suberbe. 532 *E* E en; *A* desclem; prist] *D* ad pris, *E* ot; la] *E* le; Deu] *D* de. 533 *E* E puis cot; lui] *D* celui. 534 *B* E cume a. lui o., *D* E que puis od lui o., *E* Si con devant li o. 535 *B* fumes; *D* deseritez, *E* desirete. 536 *BD* Dicel; de v.] *D* e deseurez. 537 par] *B* pur. 538 par D.] *B* perdu; *D* uertuz. 539 *E* Nauons pas p.; si *not in DE*; *A* cum. 540 *A* manerent; cum] *D* od. 541 Mal] *D* Mes; *B* nauum, *E* nauomes. 542 *D* maiestez.

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autem avis dixit: 'Angeli sumus, et cum illo de celo cecidimus, qui superbia propria devictus, cum infinitis sociis ruinam passus est, quorum magister et pastor fuerat, quosque pro sapientia ejus magna virtute Dei instruere tenebatur. Set superbia commotus, virtutem in vit[i]um redigens, ex Lucifero Letifer dictus, Domini sui verbum contempsit. Nos autem postea ei, sicut et prius, paruimus; ideoque ejecti sumus. Set quia illius rei perpetratores non fuimus, virtute Dei penis non affligimur, sicut et illi qui secum superbia commoti sunt. Nullius boni carentiam habemus, nisi quia majestatem Domini non videmus, nec presentiam, nec in con-

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Mal nen avum fors sul itant:
La majested sumes perdant,
La presence de la glorie,
E devant Deu la baldorie.
Le num del leu que tu quesis,
C'est as Oiseus li Paraïs.'
E il lur dist: 'Or ad un an
Que avez suffert de mer le han;
Arere sunt uncore sis
Anz que vengez en paraïs.
Mult suffereiz peines e mal
Par occean, amunt, aval,
E chescun an frez la feste
De la Pasche sur la beste.'
Puis que out ço dit, si s'en alat
Ensum l'arbre dun devalat.
Quant vint del jurn al declinant,
Vers le vespre dunc funt un cant;
Od dulces voiz mult halt crïent,
E enz el cant Deu mercïent
C'or unt veüd en lur eisil
Itel cumfort cum erent cil.

543 *E* E la; *D* presentie, *E* presente. 544 deu] *D* ih'c; *E* la grant b. 545 del leu] *D* de lui. 546 as] *D* a; li] *BE* le, *D* lur. 547 E il] *A* E, *D* Loisel; *B* dit; *E* ore. 548 *E* Caues; *D* s. grant ahan, *E* s. icest hahan. 549 *BE* encore; *A* seis. *After* 549 *D adds* Que oste as oiseals lur paris. 550 *B* uienges, *E* venres. 551 *A* suffreiz, *BDE* sufferez; *A* e p., *D* e peine. 552 *BD* loccean, *E* la mer; *A* amult; *BE* e aual. 553 E] *A* C; an] *B* iur; *A* i frez, *BDE* ferez. 554 *DE* desur. 555 *A* Pui que, *E* Quant; *B* co ot; *A* dist; si *not in B*. 556 *D* E ensum; *AB* En sun a.; dun *not in D*, *B* dunc, *E* si; *D* sen muntat, *E* sen vola. 557 del] *AD* le; E Q. vait li iors a d. 558 *D* Ver; dunc] *E* si; un *not in A*. 559 *D* duce, *E* douce; *A* uoices; *A* creient, *D* criant, *E* escrient. 560 *A* en le; *D* E deu m. enz al chant, *E* E en lor c. deu en m. 561 *A* Or, *BD* Car, *E* Core; *D* ueuz; *B* elis, *E* escil. 562 *A* urent, *D* eurent.

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spectu ejus gloriam. Hic Paradisus est Avium. Et hodie quidem annus transigitur ex quo maris passus es tormenta; sex vero adhuc restant, antequam ad paradisum pervenias. Occeanus quam plurimis laboribus te contorque[bi]t, et quolibet istorum annorum festum paschale super maris beluam celebrabis.' His dictis, ascendit super arborem de qua descenderat.

Cum sol cursu suo declivi ad | occasum tenderet, omnes concentu pari 217[a] et voce dulci canere ceperunt, et Deo altissonis modulationibus laudes et gratias dabant, quod illis exulatis (*MS.* exultatis) hominem humane

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Humaine gent unches anceis
N'i enveiat li suvereins reis.
Dunc dist l'abes: 'Avez oïd
Cum cist angele nus unt goïd?
Loëz en Deu e gracïez:
Plus vus aimet que ne quïez.'
La nef leisent en l'aiguage,
E mangerent al rivage;
E puis chantent la cumplie
Halt od mult grant psalmodie.
Puis enz as liz tuit se spandent
E a Jesu se cumandent.
Dorment cum cil qui sunt lassét
E tanz perilz qui unt passét;
Mais nepurtant a chant de gals
Matines dïent ainz jurnals,
E as refreiz ensemble od eals
Respunt li cors de cez oiseals.

563 *B* genz; *A* a ceis, *B* ainz. 564 li *not in D*; *D* suuerain, *E* sourains. 565 *E* Dont; l'] *A* le; *B* loid. 566 *D* cil oisel. 567 en *not in A*; *all except first three letters written on an erasure in A.* 568 vus] *BD* nus; *D* aiment; *BD* quidez, *E* quidies. 569 *D* leisserent, *E* laissierent; *A* leugue, *BE* laigage, *D* lewage. 570 *D* E si; al] *B* el, *E* sor le. 571 *D* puis si; *E* Apres chanterent lor c. 572 Halt *not in AB*; *D* Si i ot m.; od] *E* a; *E* grande; *BD* salmodie, *E* salmonie. 573 *B* enz es l., *E* as reclins; *B* tuz, *D* trestuz, *E* trestot; *D* se pandent. 574 *E* E puis a; *D* ih'c; *D* bien se. 575 *D* lasez. 576 *B* E ki unt t. p. passe, *D* E tant peril cum unt passez, *E* E tant perils orent passe. 577 *BDE* Nepurquant; a] *BD* al, *E* as; *BDE* des; *B* glas. 578 *E* M. cantent as iornals. 579 od *not in B*, *A* ed; *D* E as r. dices oiseals. 580 *B* Respunent. dicels; *A* oisals; *D* Chantent li moine ensemble dous. 581 *D* Puis chantent prime al. 582

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creationis videre licuit. Quod quidem mirum solatium eis fuerat, quia humanam gentem ante hoc ad illos Deus nunquam transmiserat. Hoc audiens Brendanus dixit sociis suis: 'Audite, fratres, quanta gloria istis angelis Dei ex nobis. Laudate et glorificate Deum, quia magis nos diligit quam credatis.' Viri sancti requiem terre desiderantes, super litus sedentes reficiuntur, et postea in completis celebrandis cura sedula impenditur. Dehinc et membra sua fessa cubiculis sternunt requiem receptura. Labore fessi cito sopiti sunt, et tamen in gallicantu matutine devotissime celebrantur, et in re[s]ponsionibus aves simul cum eis respondent.

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Vv. 581–622. PREPARATIONS FOR THE SECOND YEAR.

En prime main al cler soleil
Ast vus venant le Deu fedeil
Par qui asen unt cest avei,
E par sun dun unt le cunrei.
Cil lur ad dit: 'De viande
Jo vus truverai plentét grande;
Asez averez, e sanz custe,
Desque uitaves Pentecuste.
Puis les travalz estout sujurn:
Dous meis estrez ici enturn.'
Dunc prent cungé e s'en alat,
E al terz di la repairat;
Dous feiz tuzdis la semaine
Cil revisdout la cumpaine.
Cum lur ad dit, eissil firent;
En sun enseign tut se mistrent.
Quant vint li tens de lur errer,
Lur nef prengnent dunc a serrer;

BDE Es; *E* uenu; le] *A* de, *BD* li. 583 *D* asens, *E* assent; unt] *B* uont; *E* anoi. *After* 584 *D adds* Suriurnez ore oet semaines Kar mult auez suffert grant peines. 585 *AD* E il, *E* Jcil; *A* dist; *D* de la u. 586 *B* Vus t. io, *E* Vos t. a; *D* plentez. 587 *DE* aurez; e] *D* tut; *BD* sen, *E* sans grant. 588 Desque] *AB* As, *D* Jesque as, *E* Les; *B* oitaues, *D* utaues, *E* octaues; *ABDE* de p. 589 *B* Apres les t., *D* Apres trauail; *BDE* estuet; *D* suriurn. 590 *A* ci en jurn, *B* ci enuirun; *D* Kar mult auez sufert dulur, *E* E tant remanes ci entor. 591 *E* Dont; *D* cungiez; e] *D* puis, *E* si. 592 E *not in D*; di] *DE* iur. 593 *D* Dons; *BE* tut dis, *D* tuz jurz; la] *DE* en la; *D* semaigne. 594 *B* reuisout; *D* Reuisetot cele c., *E* Les reuisdoit sans nule paine. 595 *A* dist; *B* issi, *D* cil si, *E* ensi le. 596 *A* En sun seig, *B* El suen ensein, *D* En sa creance, *E* En son enseignement; tut *not in E*, *D* tuz; *E* misent. 597 *B* uient; li] *BD* le. 598 *BE* prennent, *D* pernent; *E* dont.

Mane autem facto, et sole radios suos fundente, ecce Dei minister cujus erudicione edocti sunt, et administratione victum habent, qui eos alloquitur, dicens: 'Victus sufficientiam vobis dabo, et sine labore adquisitionis hic usque ad octavas Pentecostes morabimini, quia post labores longos et graves mora duorum mensium vobis conceditur.' Licentia vero sumpta discessit, et die tercio revenit; sicque unaquaque ebdomada amicos suos visitans confortabat; qui secundum consilium ejus opera sua disposuerunt.

Apropinquante mete prefixe tempore, navem suam compaginibus firmaverunt, et coriis bovinis circumsuunt, quoniam fluctuum crebra

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De quirs de buf la purcusent,
Quar cil qu'i sunt a plein usent;
Asez en unt a remüers
Que estre puisset lur baz enters.
E bien de tut se guarnissent,
Pur defalte ne perisent.
Cil lur liverat pain e beivre
Cum il voldrent plus receivre;
Tut ad cunté a pleins uit meis:
La nef ne pout plus suffrir peis.
Quant cil e cil baisét se sunt,
Prengnent cungét e puis s'en vunt.
Cil lur mustrat od mult granz plurs
Quel part dourent tendre lur curs.
Ast vus l'oiseil desur le mast;
Dist a Brandan que s'en alast.
Grant curs li dist qu'ad a faire,
E mult ennois ad a traire;
Uit meis enters estreit baïs
Ainz que pusset entrer païs,
Ainz qu'al isle vengent Albeu,
U estreient al Naël Deu.

599 *E* quir. molt bien le cueurent; *B* parcusent. 600 qu'i] *A* que, *D* qui i; *E* De bone uolente i oevrent. 601–4 *not in B.* 601 a] *A* e. 602 *E* Questre; lur] *D* li; *E* bassentiers. 603 E] *D* Tres; *A* guarnisseint; *E* E de conroi bien se g. 604 *D* Que pur, *E* Que par; *A* periseint. 605 *BDE* liurad; *B* e p. e, *D* mangier e, *E* p. e le. 606 *BD* Tant cum; il] *D* cil en; *B* uoldrunt, *D* uuldrunt, *E* uoloient; plus *not in BD.* 607 *D* Il en recurent, *E* Tot a conble; a *not in B*; pleins *not in D*, *E* plain; *D* oet, *E* .vii. 608 *D* puet. 609 *E* cist e; *D* baisez; se] *AB* sen. 610 *BE* Prennent, *D* Pernent; puis] *E* si. 611 *AE* grant. 612 *A* Que; *B* durent, *D* deiuent, *E* deuront; *B* prendre, *DE* tenir. 613 *BDE* Es; *B* sur. 614 que] *D* qui; *A* alat. 615 *A* Granz succurs, *B* Grant ueie; *B* dit; *BD* quil ad, *E* a il. 616 *B* ennui; *D* m. i ad ennuie; *E* E m. danois li covient t. 617–18 *not in B*; *D* Oet mes entiers trauaillerez Ainz que al liu nume uengez,

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impulsio alios dissolverat. Sic in omnibus sibi providerant, ut nulla egestate coacti ab itinere eorum deficerent, et ille Dei famulus panem et potum habundanter eis tribuit ad spacium octo mensium, nec eo amplius navis pat(t)i poterat; et singulis oscula junxit, et discedunt. Fletum magnum intermiscens, eis monstravit qua parte cursum suum dirigerent. Interea una illarum avium super malum des[cen]dens dixit: 'Abite, fratres, celeriter. Cursum magnum et fastidiosum per octo menses duraturum facturi estis, antequam ad insulam Albei perveniatis, ubi in

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Puis qu'out ço dit, plus ne targe;
Vait s'en al vent tost la barge.

Vv. 623–780. The Isle of Ailbe.

Vunt s'en mult tost en mer siglant,
De tant bon vent Deu graciant.
Crut lur li venz, e mult suvent
Crement peril e grant turment.
Puis quatre meis veient terre,
Mais fort lur est a cunquerre;
E nepurtant a la parfin
Al siste meis virent la fin.
Prengent terre, mais nepuroec
Nul' entree truvent iloec;
Virun en vunt quarante dis,
Ainz que en nul port se seient mis,
Quar li rocheit e li munt grant
A la terre lur sunt devant.
Puis mult a tart truvent un cros
Que fait uns duiz, qui lur ad os.

E .viii. m. e. seroit en mer Ains que terre porroit trouer. 619 *A* quad, *D* que al; *B* uienge, *D* uiengez, *E* viegnent; *A* abeu. 620 *A* estreint, *B* estrez, *D* il serrunt, *E* il seront; *BD* noel, *E* noeil. 621 *D* Plus que ot; *B* que unt; *A* dist; ne] *A* ni, *E* ne se; *A* target, *last letter expunctuated.* 622 *D* mult tost al uent; *A* tut, *E* mult tost. 623 Vunt] *E* Dont; s'en] *B* cil; *E* en m. molt t. 624 tant] *E* si. 625 *D* uent. 626 peril] *E* souent. 627 *D* siuuerent t.. *E* uoient grant t. 628 *DE* forte; est] *BE* ert; *D* fut lur. 629 *BE* nepurquant. 630 *B* sistme; virent] *A* iurn; *D* Plus furent seur al matin, *E* Lont conquise li pelerin. 631 *BE* Prennent, *D* Pernent; *A* P. a t. m. que pur oec. 632 *BE* Nule; *D* entrer; *D* ne trouent, *E* norent. 633 *D* Venent e uunt, *E* Vont enuiron. 634 *BD* quen, *E* ca. 635 *B* rochet, *D* rocheie, *E* rochier; *A* munz. 636 *D* Sunt a la t. dedeuant, *E* E la t. sont haut d. 637 a *not in D*; *B* terre *corrected to* tart. 638 *D* un doit; ad] *E* est.

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natale Domini morab[im]ini.' Nec plura loquente ave, vela ventis | pan- 217b
duntur, et absportantur.

Ex venti prosperitate cun[c]ti letantur, et, dum prosper est, in cursum velocem nituntur. Set vento crescente, crevit et timor eorum. Exhinc post quatuor menses terram viderunt, set difficilis ad eam erat accessus, ita quod demum in fine sexti mensis labore contorti ad terram venerunt. Set nec portus nec quies navi inveniri poterat, ita quod quadraginta diebus terram circumeuntes, tandem applicuerunt, quia terra scopulosa erat

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Cil cundüent lur nef amunt ;
Reposent sei, quar lassét sunt.
Puis dist l'abes : 'Eisums en fors,
Querums que seit mester as cors.'
Eisent s'en tuit e uns e uns,
L'abes ovoec ses cumpaignuns,
E funtaine trovent duble,
L'une clere, l'altre truble.
Vunt i curant cum sedeillus.
Dist lur l'abes : 'Retenez vus.
Prendre si tost jol vus defent,
D'ici que avum parlé od gent.
Quel nature nus ne savum
Aient li duit trovez que avum.'
Les diz l'abét cil les crement,
E lur grant seif mult la prement.
Hastivement, e nun a tart,
Ast vus currant un grant veilard.
Poür oussent, ne fust l'abit —
Quar moines ert—mais rien ne dit.

639 Cil] *A* Qui ; *BDE* cunduient ; lur] *BE* la. 640 *D* leissez. 641 *B* dit li abes ; *B* issum nus en f., *E* issons nos f. ; en *not in A*. 643 *first* e *not in AD* ; *E* Issent sen t. ce fu raisons. 644 *BE* auoc, *D* oduoec. 645 E] *D* Dous ; *DE* funtaines trouerent. 646 *D* est clere, *E* fu c. ; *D* fut t., *E* torble. 647 *B* cume ; *BE* scelus, *D* seillus. 648 *B* Dit ; *DE* D. li abes ; *B* restez. 649 *A* io, *B* iel ; *E* Del p. que iel uos desfent. 650 *D* De si ; *E* De ci caions ; od] *DE* a. 651-2 *not in B*. 651 nel] *AE* nel. 652 *D* A. les dous ; *A* que trouet auum, *E* que nos veons. 653 *E* Li d. ; *A* labes, *D* labez, *E* a labe ; *D* icil. 654 lur] *E* la ; *BD* sei ; *D* m. en apriement, *E* souent lor grieuent ; *A* E lur m. g. s. les p. 655 *B* a nune t., *D* e nient t. 656 *BDE* Es ; currant] *E* uenu. *After* 656 *E adds* Labes le uoit merueille en a Ainc si grant home nesgarda. 657 *and* 658 *transposed in E*. 657 *D* eussent, *E* eust. 658 *E* Moines estoit ; mais] *D* e ; rien] *E* mot.

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supra pontum erecta, et natura operatrice quendam portum habebat in quo requiem capiebant. Quod quidem gratum eis fuerat, quia turbine et timore fatigati erant. Tunc dixit eis abbas : 'Exeamus, et videamus an aliqua nobis necessaria invenire possimus.' Et ex[e]untes duos fontes statim invenerunt, ex quorum uno aqua liquida ebullivit, et ex alio aqua turbulenta scaturivit. Hi sicut sitientes acurrunt, cupientes sitim eorum sedare. Quos abbas dictis suis increpavit, dicens : 'Abstinete vos a desideriis vestris, donec locuti fuerimus cum hominibus hujus patrie. Nescimus enim cujus nature sint rivuli quos invenimus ; et idcirco prohibeo ne gustetis.' Dictis abbatis fidem prestiterunt, et sitim eorum premunt.

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Vient enchaër as pez Brandan;
Drechet lui sus cil par la main.
Clinet parfunt e humlement,
Le abét e tuz baiser enprent.
Puis prent Brandan par la destre
Pur mener l'en a sun estre;
As altres dist par sun signe
Vengent vedeir leu mult digne.
Cum alouent, l'abes ad quis
Quels leus ço seit u se sunt mis;
Mais cil se taist, respuns ne fait,
Goït les fort od mult duz hait.
Tant unt alét que ore veient
Le leu u il aler deient:
Abeïe bele e bone,
Plus sainte n'at suth le trone.
L'abes del leu fait porter fors
Ses reliques e ses tresors:
Cruz e fertres e les tistes
Bien engemmez de amestistes,

659 *B* Veient, *D* E uint; *D* chair; *E* Ou voit brandan as pies li chiet. 660 *B* Drece le. man; *D* Li abes len d. p. l. m., *E* Brandans le voit les lui lasiet. 661-2 *not in B.* 661 *E* Cil lenclina e; *DE* humblement. 662 *A* Le abes, *D* Labez; *A* tuit. 663 *D* pernent, *E* a pris. 664 *D* E pur; a sun] *E* droit a lor. 665-6 *not in B.* 665 *D* As moines; *D* diseit, *E* a dit; *A* seigne. 666 *E* Viegnent; *D* ueer; *DE* un liu; mult *not in E.* 667 *A* le abes, *D* labbe; *B* enquis. 668 *DE* Quel liu; seit] *E* est. 669-70 *not in B.* 670 *A* duce; *E* Conduist les tost a m. grant h. 671 *D* alez; *D* quil u, *E* que il veoient. 672 il *not in D*; *DE* deveient. 673 *D* A. est, *E* Une a. 674 sainte] D bele; *D* nen at, *E* not; *BDE* desuz; *D* la trune. 675 L'] *A* Le, *D* Li; *B* hors. 677 *BDE* Croiz; *E* les bons tixtes; *D* Les c. les f. e les trestes. 678 *AE* engemmet, *D* enginees; *B* de amet., *D* damet., *E* a bones listes.

Interea senex quidam magnus valde, motu citissimo currens, veniebat ad eos. Hic quidem stuporem et pavorem eis injecisset, nisi habitum monachalem habuisset. Erat quippe monachus, set verbum nullum proferens, coram pedibus Brendani se provolvit; set cito manu a Brendano erigitur. Deinde vero, capite humiliter inclinato, abbatis dexteram sumpsit, ut ad mansionem suam illum duceret, et sociis suis signa fecit comitandi. Euntibus illis, abbas querere cepit quis locus ille esset; set non respondit ei verbum. Vu(u)ltu tamen hylari intuens, signum gaudii magni fecit; et ambulantes, locum ad quem ituri erant videbant. Erat autem ibi abbatia quedam, cui nulla sub trono Dei venustate et bonitate comparari poterat. Abbas ecclesie reliquias jubet exportari, cruces

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De or adubez e de peres
Preciuses e enteres,
Od encensers de or amassét,
E les gemmes enz encassét.
Li vestiment sunt tuit a or—
En Arabie nen at si sor—
Od jagunces e sardines
Forment grandes e entrines;
Od tupazes e od jaspes
Itant cleres sunt les haspes.
Tuit li moine sunt revestud,
Od lur abét sunt fors eisud.
Od grant goie e grant dulceur
Processiun funt li seignur;
E quant baisét se sunt trestuit,
Chescun le altre par la main duit.
Meinent en lur abeïe
Brandan e sa cumpainie;
Servise funt bel e leger—
Nel voleient trop agreger.
Puis vunt manger en refraitur,
U tuit taisent fors li litur.

679-88 *not in B.* 679 *D* Dor adubees, *E* Dor sont adoube. 680 *D* Bien p., *E* Molt p.; *E* e molt chieres. 681 *E* dencensiers; *A* censers (*expunctuated*) encers, *D* censiers; *DE* dor; *D* amasez. 682 enz] *D* bien; *D* enchasez. 683 *DE* uestement. tut. 684 *E* na nul si; *D* De cel darabe del meillur. 685 *D* iacunces; *DE* e od. 686 grandes] *E* beles; *DE* enterrines. 687 *D* E od; *DE* topaces; *A* e od les i., *E* o bones i. 688 *A* clers; *D* Listees erent tutes les capes, *E* Erent listees bien les chapes. 689 *DE* Tut; sunt] *E* si; *D* reuestuz. 690 *A* abes, *D* abez; *BE* issud, *D* eissuz. 691 *E* molt grant; e] *B* od, *DE* e od. 692 li] *D* lur. 693 *D* beiscz; *B* sen; *D* trestuz. 694 *B* Chascuns, *E* Li .i.; *BDE* laltre; la] *D* sa; *D* duiz. 695 *AD* M. les en, *E* M. dedens. 696 *D* Dan b. e, *E* B. ot lui. 699 *A* en fraitur, *B* al r., *E* el refrotoir. 700 *DE* tut; *B* se taisent; *A* for; *B* le litur, *D* li letur, *E* le litoir. 701 *A* dulce; *D* asez bon p., *E* oes e blanc p.

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scilicet, scrinia, texta simul preciosa auro et gemmis fulgentia, cum turribulis auro et lapidibus preciosis nitentibus. Vestimenta quidem |
218a eorum auro micabant, quo melius Arabia non habebat. Sardinibus quidam magnis decorantur, et topasiis et jaspidibus; clariores vero jaspides non habent. Monachi omnes indutis albis cum abbate exeunt, et cum gaudio magno et letitia pompam faciunt; et osculatis illis, singulos singuli manu capiunt, et introducunt. Introductis illis, servitium honestissimo modo celebratur. Post hec refectorium ingressi sunt, ubi nulli loqui permissum est, preterquam solo lectori. Pane albo dulci et sano reficiuntur,

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Devant eals unt dulz e blanc pain,
Bien savurét e forment sain;
Racines unt en lu de mes,
Qui sur deintez saülent les.
Puis unt beivre mult savurét:
Aigue dulce plus de murét.
Quant sunt refait, levét s'en sunt,
E verseilant al muster vunt;
Vunt verseilant miserere
Desque en estals tuit li frere,
Fors sul iceals qui servirent:
En refreitur cil resirent.
Quant l'eschele fud sonee,
Puis que l'ure fud chantee,
L'abes del leu fors les meinet;
D'els e de lui lur enseignet,
Qui sunt, cument, des quant i sunt,
De qui, par qui succurs i unt:
'Nus sumes ci vint e quatre
Qui conversum en cest atre.
Uitante anz ad que prist sa fin
A saint Albeu le pelerin.

702 *D* sauorez, *E* sauoreus; *B* furment. 703 *D* lun. 704 *B* deinted; *A* saluent, *D* sealot, *E* saoule. 705 *A* mul; *D* sauorez. 706 *BD* Ewe; de] *BD* que; *D* murez. 707 *D* leuez; s'en] *E* se. 708 al] *E* el. 709 *B* Vers. uunt; *D* trestut li frere, *E* la miserele. 710 *B* D. as, *D* Tresque as, *E* Dusques; *D* la miserere, *E* trestot li f. 711 *D* For; sul *not in A*; iceals] B icil. *E* ices; *E* qui les s. 712 *B* El r., *E* En lor refrotoir; cil] *B* u se, *DE* se; *BDE* refirent. 713 *E* E quant; *B* eschiele, *D* eschelette; *A* sone. 714 *D* E puis, *E* Apres; *A* chante. 715 *DE* Li abes. 716 *B* De els, *E* E dels; *A* de leu, *DE* del liu. 717 *A* Si, *E* Quil; cument *not in E*; *B* e des; i] *E* que il i. 718 *B* De qui part e quels securs unt; *A* s. sunt. 719 *BDE* ici. 720 *A* Ci, *D* Que ci; *E* conuersonmes; *D* altre. 721 *D* Vint anz; ad *not in B*; que] *D* qui li. 722 *A* li pelerein.

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et honestate gaudentes, loco dapium splendidarum radices com[e]derunt, et inde optime saturati sunt. Aquam dulcem potabant, que palato grata est gustu, et sanitatis est servatrix. Quibus refecti (*MS.* -tis) a mensa surgunt; et psallendo 'miserere' ad ecclesiam gradiuntur. Illi vero qui ad prandium serviebant, in refectorio sunt refecti.

Deinde etiam, pulsato tintinnabulo, et hora cantata, abbas extra eos conducit, et explicavit eis esse ejus et monachorum suorum, et qui sint, et unde venerunt, et quantum ibi morati fuerint; dicens quoniam 'viginti quatuor sumus in hoc atrio conversantes. Octoginta autem anni (*MS.* -is)

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Riches hom fud, de mult grant fiu,
Mais tut guerpit pur icest leu.
Quant alat en tapinage,
Apparut lui Deu message;
Ça l'amenat, trovat lui prest
Icest muster qu'uncore i est.
Quant oïmes en plusurs leus
Que ci maneit Albeus li pius,
Par Deu ci nus asemblames
Pur lui que nus mult amames.
Tant cum vesquit, lui servimes,
E cume abét obeïmes.
Puis que le ordre nus out apris,
E fermement nus out asis,
Dunc lui prist Deus de sei mult pres;
Uitante anz ad que prist decés.
Deus nus ad puis si sustenuz
Que nuls mals n'est sur nus venuz,
De nostre cors nul' enfertét,
Ne peisance ne amertét.
De Deu nus veint—el n'en savum—
La viande que nus avum;

723 *D* e de; mult *not in BD*; *E* fin. 724 *A* tuit; *AB* cest; *E* lin. 725 *DE* Q. il; *B* en pelerinage. 726 *D* Li aparut; lui] *B* li; *DE* li deu. 727 Ça] *A* Qui; *A* lamanat, *B* le menad; lui] *A* leu, *DE* li. 728 *D* Cest; *ABD* que uncore, *E* quencore. 729 *D* eumes. 730 *E* ci estoit; *B* albeu. 731 *E* De par luj ci; *D* ici. 732 nus *not in D*; *D* mult ia, *E* forment. 733 *B* cume, *E* con il. 734 *A* C. a abes, *D* Cum nostre abez; *D* sil ob., *E* lui ob. 735 *BDE* lordre. 737 *D* Puis, *E* Dont; lui] *BE* le, *D* nus; *DE* deu; sei] *E* luj; mult *not in AE*; *D* si pres de sei. 738 *B* Oit anz. quil; *D* ad si cum io crej. 739 ad *not in A*; *BE* sustenu. 740 *D* nul mal; *B* nen est puis uenu; *E* uenv. 741 *B* noz; *E* nule; *AB* enfermetet, *D* enfertez. 742 *BDE* pesance; *D* amertez. 743–4 *not in B*. 743 *A* deus; *A* ueient, *DE* uient; n'en] *A* ne, *D* nel. 745 *B* nul eur, *E* nul oretor. 746 *E* Ne

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transacti sunt post patris nostri Albei peregrini obitum. Qui quidem dives homo fuerat, et terram magnam habebat. Set pro amore istius loci possessionem suam totam reliquit (*MS.* -id), quia Dei nuntius ei apparuit, et ad hunc locum duxit, et eam ecclesiam promptam, quam adhuc possidemus, sibi comendavit. Postquam vero audivimus quoniam pius Albeus hic habitasset, gratia Dei hic coadunavimus, et quamdiu duravit Albeus, ei ut magistro et pastori paruimus. Set postquam in religione et ordine servandis nos eruditos fecerat, Dei voluntate fatis concessit, et obiit, octoginta annis jam evolutis. Posteaque Dominus nos sic servavit, quod nullum malum nos mestificavit, nec ulla adversitas nobis conti(n)git, nec

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Nus n'i avum nul loretür,
Ne n'i veduns aportetür,
Mais chescun jurn tut prest trovum,
Sanz ço qu'ailur nus nel ruvum,
Tute veie le jurn uvrer
Entre les dous un pain enter;
A di festal ai tut le men
Pur super, e chascun le son;
E des dous duiz que veïstes,
Dunt pur un poi ne preïstes,
Li clers est freiz, que al beivre avum,
Li trubles calz, dun nus lavum.
E as hures que nus devum
En noz lampes fou recevum,
Ne pur l'arsun que cist fous fait
Cire ne oile le plus n'en vait;
Par lui emprent, par lui esteint,
N'avum frere de ço se paint.
Ici vivum e sanz cure;
Nule vie n'avum dure.
Ainz que vostre venir sousum,
Volt Deus qu'a vus cunrei ousum;

i; *A* uenduns. 747 *A* tuit; *B* truum. 748 *BD* que aillurs; nus nel] *A* nes nel, *B* ne. 749 *A* uie; *BD* par iur; *E* Le ior auons sans nul dangier. 750 les] *D* leisi, *E* nos. 751 *BDE* Al iur. mien. 752 *AB* Pur le s.; e] *B* a; *D* Ch. des freres ad; *BD* suen, *E* sien. 753 *B* E les; *D* dous deiz, *E* fontaines; *D* que hui u. 754 *D* que ne; *E* ne mespreistes; *BD* presistes. 755 *A* Li cres; al] *D* a; *E* que nos beuon. 756 *BE* chalt. 757 *A* has; devum] *B* leuum, *D* chantum, *E* cantons. 759 l' *not in B*; *E* larsure; cist] *E* li; *B* feu. 760 *B* C. plus ne nus ualt, *D* C. ne el p. ni uait, *E* C. ne o. de p. ne vait. 761 *B* esprent, *D* uait, *E* estaint; esteint] *DE* esprent. 762 *BD* dico; *B* sen; *D* peignt. 763 *E* viuomes; e] *D* tuz. 764 *D* nen auom, *E* nauomes. 765 *D* seusum; *E* Ancois que nos vos seuson. 766 *D* que a; *BE* que cunrei (a vus *omitted*); *D* eusum, *E* eusson.

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ulla corporis infirmitas aut inbecillitas nos debilitavit. Ex Deo escam nostram habemus, nec aliunde habere putamus; quoniam non est dapifer qui afferat aut tribuat, | nec adquisitor qui perquirat aut disponat. Set 218[b] unoquoque die non festo binis panem in promptu invenimus, die vero festo binis binos, ut bis in die reficiamur (*MS.* -mus). Illorum quidem fontium quos hodie vidistis, et fere bibistis, ille qui liquidus est, frigidus quidem est, et potum nobis subministrat; et alius calidus est, et ad lavandum nos aquam prestat. Ignis in lampadibus nostris accenditur horis convenientibus, nec olei aut cere materia illo igne consumitur, et nullius nostrum opera indiget, quia per se extinguitur et reaccenditur. Antequam

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Il le dublat plus que ne solt:
Bien sai que vus receivre volt.
Des Thephanie al uitme di
Dunc a primes muverez d'ici;
Desque dunches sujurnerez,
Puis a primes vus an irez.'
Dunc dist Brandans: 'N'est liu si chers
U mansisse si volunters.'
Respunt l'abes: 'Ço va quere
Pur quei moüs de ta terre;
Puis revendras en tun païs,
Ileoc muras u tu nasquis.
Muveras d'ici la semaine
As uitaves de Thephaine.'

Vv. 781–822. The Intoxicating Spring.

Quant vint le jurn que l'abes mist,
Brandan de lui le cungé prist.
Li uns abes l'altre cunduit,
Ensemble od lui li moine tuit.

767 le *not in A*; plus que ne] *B* pois que; *D* quil; *BE* sot. 768 *E* soi; *A* refaire. 769 *B* Del thefaine, *D* De tephaine, *E* De la piphanie; *A* uitime, *B* oitme, *D* utme, *E* hujme. 770 *E* Doat; *DE* muurez; *BE* de ci. 771 *B* Desqua, *E* Dusca; *B* dunc, *D* adunches; *BD* suriurnerez. 772 *E* Donc; a primes] *B* apres. 773 *D* brendan; *DE* lius. 774 *A* mansesisse, *B* meisse, *D* masise; si] *D* tant; *BDE* uolentiers. 775 *B* labe, *E* li abes; *D* ico uois. 776 *D* tu meus; *E* hors de. 777 *E* P. en iras. 779 *D* Murras, *E* Mouras; *DE* de ci en la. 780 uitaves] *cf. 588*; *B* del, *DE* de la; *D* tepheine, *E* tiefane. 781 *A* ueint; *BD* li iurs, *E* al ior; *BDE* dist. 782 *BE* Brandans; *A* de leu, *BD* del liu; le *not in D*. 784 od *not in E*; lui] *D* li; *B* les meine t. 786 *A* Qui les luinet, *B* Dunc esloinent, *D* Qui esluigne; *D* de lui albeu. 787 *E* Siglent; en] *B* par; par *not in B*; *D* loign. 788 unt]

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adventum vestrum sciremus, Deus nos dap(p)ibus munivit, quia plus quam solitus est nobis dedit, et scimus inde quia voluit vos hic recipere. Usque ad octabas epiphanie nobiscum morabimini, tunc autem discedetis.' Respondit Brendanus: 'Nescio locum in quo libentius manerem quam hic.' Et dixit abbas: 'Quere locum qui a patria tua te alienavit, et ad patriam tuam redibis; ibique morieris, ubi vite sumpsisti exordium.'

Accedente die quo Brendanus discedere debuit, accessit ad abbatem, et licentiam ab eo impetravit. Qui cum monachis suis Brendanum cum sociis versus mare conduxit. Navem intrant, et vento prospero flante, Albei insula propter nimiam elongationem visui intuentium prebere non

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Entrent en mer, vent unt par Deu
Quis esluinet del isle Albeu.
Curent en mer par mult lunc tens,
Mais de terre unt nul asens.
Failent al vent e a cunreid,
Crut l'egre faim e l'ardant seid;
E la mer fud tant paisible
Pur quei le curs unt peinible:
Espesse fud cume palud;
Tel i out enz ne creit salud.
Deus les succurt par orage:
Terre veient e rivage,
E bien sevent li afamét
Que de Deu sunt forment amét.
Trovent tele lur entree
Cum se lur fust destinee.
Un duit unt cler e pessuns denz,
Si em pernent a plus que cenz.
Mester lur unt virun l'umeit
Herbes qui sunt el betumeit.
L'abes lur dist: 'N'aiez cure
De beivre trop sanz mesure.'

BDE nunt; *A* sens. 789 *E* Taillent; *BDE* al c. 790 *B* le egre. 791 *DE* itant; *A* passibile. 792 *B* Par; *E* que; *A* vnt le c., *D* le cors lur est; *AE* mult p.; *BDE* penible. 793 *D* Espeise; *A* palude, *D* paluz. 794 *E* Tels; *A* salude, *D* saluz. 795 *A* succurc, *D* s. tost, *E* socorut. 796 *D* La t.; *D* e le r., *E* e bon r. 797 *D* Dunc s. bien. 798 *A* Que la les ad deus destinet, *D* Que de uiande aurunt plente, *E* Que dex lor a socors done. 799 *E* Trouerent; *A* tel, *D* icele. 800 *AB* Cume; *DE* Cum sele. 801 *B* un; *BDE* enz. 802 Si em] *A* E cil em, *B* Si, D Dunt il; *BE* prennent; a *not in ADE*; *E* plus de .ij. cens. 803 lur *not in B*; virun *not in A*; *B* uirun lu med, *D* a cele feiz; *E* M. lor orent voirement. 804 qui] *A* que; *A* en b., *B* el betumet, *D* esbetumeiz, *E* el betument. 805 *BE* Li abes; lur *not in B*. 806 De *not in A*; *B* sen, *E* outre.

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poterat obstaculum; sicque diu currunt, nullam terram videntes. Dehinc et, vento deficiente, fames magna et sitis creverunt; et maris et aera nimia tranquillitas corpora eorum languida fecit. Et quia aqua ad modum paludis spissa erat, quidam eorum salutem desperabant. Set Dei solamen affine erat, quoniam ventus prosper fit; terram vident et portum; et ex eo judicant se a Deo diligi.

Ingressum navi inveniunt, qualem corde premeditari scirent. Aquam liquidam inveniunt, et in ea copiam piscium sumunt. Dix[it]que eis Brendanus: 'Ex hac aqua, fratres, ultra modum ne bibatis.' Illi autem fidem dictis non prestantes, secundum sitim eorum sumpserunt. Tantum

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Cil em pristrent secund lur seid;
As diz abét ne tenent feid.
Tant em pristrent puis a celét
Pur quei furent fol apelét,
Quar li sumnes lur cureit sus
Dum il dormant giseient jus;
Qui trop beveit giseit enclins,
Tel jurn, tel dous, tel tres entrins.
Brandan priout pur ses muines,
Que il vedeit tuz suduines.
Des que en lur sens cil revindrent,
Pur fols forment tuit se tindrent.
Dist lur abes: 'Fuium d'ici,
Que ne chaiez meis en ubli.
Mielz vient suffrir honeste faim
Que ublïer Deu e sun reclaim.'

Vv. 823–896. Friends Revisited.

Par mer d'ileoc se sunt tolud,
Desque al jusdi vint absolud;

807 *D* pernent; *BD* sulunc; *E* trop por le soi. 808 As] *A* A; *BE* labe, *D* labez; *D* natorment f., *E* ne portent f. 809 *A* alelet; *D* Puis en furent fol apelez, *E* Mais tant burent li afame. 810 *B* il furent; *D* Quant il furent enyurez. 811 *B* li sumeilz, *D* cel ewe, *E* li somels; *A* curent, *B* curreit, *DE* curut. 812 *BD* dorment e gisent; *A* geisent. 813 *B* beiuent gisent. 814 *second* tel *not in B*; *E* Un ior ou .ij. iij.; tres] *A* .iii.; *BE* enterrins, *D* entiers. 815 *BE* Brandans; *E* ses amis. 816 *A* il ne deit, *B* il uit; *A* tuit, *B* tut, *E* si; *B* seduines, *D* sudeines, *E* endormis. 817 *B* Desquen, *E* E quant en; en *not in A*; sens *not in B*; *D* li moine uindrent. 818 *D* Forment pur fol; *E* Por fol e por bricon se t. 819 lur *not in E*; *BE* li abes, *D* labes; *E* de ci. 820 *BDE* chaez; *A* umbli. 821 *B* uient a s. 822 *E* Coblier; *D* de. reclaime. 823 *E* se sont diluec; *D* toluz. 824 *E* Dusque ioesdi; vint *not in B*; *D* absoluz. 825 *BDE* repairad; *B* pere, *D* pares, *E* par luj. 826 *B* En laltre

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219[a] biberunt, quod stulti jure dici possent. Quia sompnus | subitus per menbra eorum surrepere cepit; et qui ultra modum sumpserat, secundum quantitatem potus eorum dormivit, quidam die uno, quidam duobus, quidam vero tribus. Assidue orabat Brendanus pro monachis suis, de quorum infortunio immoderanter doluit. Post sompnum, quando in sensu proprio constituti sunt, pro stultis se reputabant. Dixitque eis Brendanus: 'Fugiamus hinc, ne iterum a vobis Deus oblivioni tradatur. Melius est nobis famem honestam sustinere quam Deum nostrum oblivisci.'

Deinde mari se comendarunt, angustias pacientes usque ad diem

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Dunc reparat peres Brandan
En la terre u fud l'altre an.
Ast lur hoste, le veil chanud.
Al port lur ad un tref tendud;
Bained i ad les travailez,
E nuveals dras apareilez.
Funt la ceine e lur mandét,
Cum en escrit est cumandét,
E sunt ileoc desque al terz di.
Turnerent s'en al samadi,
E vunt siglant sur le peisun.
L'abes lur dist: 'Fors en eisum.'
Lur caldere qu'il perdirent
En l'an devant, or la virent;
Li Jacoines l'ad gwardee,
Or l'unt sur lui retruvee;
Plus asoür sur lui estunt,
E lur feste plus bele i funt.
Tute la nuit desque al matin
De festïer ne firent fin;
Le di paschur celebrïent,
De lur hures ne s'ublïent.

t.; *E* il fu. 827 *B* Es uus, *DE* Es; *D* lur loste; *B* li uielz chanuz, *D* le uiel chanuz. 828 *A* porte; *BD* tenduz. 829 *D* Baignez; i] *B* en. 831 *E* Il f.; la] *B* lur; *B* cene, *E* chaine; lur] *DE* le; *D* mandez. 832 *E* lescrit; *D* comandez. 833 *D* iesqual, *E* duscal; terz] *A* .iii. 835 E] *D* Si; sur] *B* par. 836 *B* Li abes; lur *not in B*; *BE* dit; en *not in A*; *D* fors neisun; *B* issum, *E* isson. 837 *E* que il; *D* quil i p. 838 *B* ore la, *E* iluec; *DE* reuirent. 839 *B* Chascuns lad, *D* Li peisuns lur ad, *E* La balaine lot; *B* tresbien g., *DE* bien g.; *D* garde. 840 *B* Ore; l' *not in A*; *DE* desur; *E* li; *D* retroue. 841 *A* Pluis. 842 plus *not in AB*, *DE* mult; *B* bel. 843–4 *not in B*. 843 *A* tut; *E* duscal. 844 *D* festeire, *E* festoier. 845 *BDE* Le iur; *B* pascal, *DE* de pasches; *A* celebreient, *E* celebrerent. 846 *D* E de; *A* hure; *BD* se oblient, *E* soblierent.

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absolutionis Christi; quo ad terram illam rediit, in qua anno precedente fuit. Et ecce hospes eorum adventus pre[s]cius, qui tentorium quoddam fecerat, et balneo quod fecerat eis menbra eorum fessa molliens, pannis novis induit. Feceruntque cenam prout in lege cautum est; et usque ad diem tercium morati sunt. Sabbato discedunt, et vento agitati ad piscem perveniunt, et, jubente Brendano, exeunt. Exeuntes aenum suum anno precedenti ibi relictum nunc inveniunt. Et quia Gasconius tam bene servaverat, securiores sunt super eum, et pulcrius festum faciunt. Nocte tota usque ad mane in celebratione seduli sunt; et die paschali servitium

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Plus de midi ne targerent,
Mais dunc lur nef rechargerent;
Tut a leisir e tut süef
Entrent d'iloc enz en lur nef.
Alat s'en tost e curt li sainz
Vers les oiseus u furent ainz;
Bien unt choisit l'arbre blanche
E les oiseals sur la branche.
De luin en mer bien oïrent
Cum li oisel les goïrent;
De lur canter ne firent fin
Desque arivé sunt li marin.
Traient lur nef amunt le gort
U l'an devant ourent lur port.
Ast lur hoste chi tent un tref;
Cunrei portet pleine sa nef.
Dist lur: 'Ci streiz del tens un poi.
A voz cungez jo m'en revoi.
Ici mandrez, e sanz custe,
Desque uitaves Pentecoste.
Ne dutez rien, ne demurai;
Quant mesters ert, vus succurrai.'

847 *E* Quant fu midis; *B* micdi; ne] *BD* ni, *E* ne se. 848 *D* Tuz a la mer se repeirerent, *E* E dilueques sen repairierent. 849–50 *not in A*. 849 tut] *B* a. 850 *B* Entrerent; *D* Entrent trestuz en la n. 851 *D* A sen nagent tuit li s.; tost] *A* cost. 853 Bien] *B* Si; *A* un. le arbre. 854 *E* desor. 855 bien] *E* molt; *A* oierent. 856 *A* li oiseals, *B* les oisels; *A* goierent, *E* conioirent. 857 fin *not in A*, *B* fun. 858 *D* Jesque ariuez; *A* li pelerin. 859 le] *D* lur. 860 *A* U la d.; *B* U lur nef d. prist p. 861 *B* Es uus, *DE* Es; *D* lur loste qui tient. 863 *A* streit, *B* estrez, *DE* esterez; del tens *not in E*. 865 *B* remandrez, *D* remaindrez, *E* remanres. 866 *B* D. as, *D* Jesque as, *E* Les; uitaves] *cf. 588*; *ABDE* de p. 868 ert] *B* est. 869 od] *E* a lor; *AE* chaines, *D* chaenes. 870 *E* ilueques; *AB* set, *E* .viij. 871 le] *E* li; aler] *D* errer. 872 *B* a deualer, *D* a uoler. 873 *A* uola, *D* fol; *E* tot

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plenarie perficiunt. E[x]hinc circa meridiem navem ingressi, ad terram ubi aves fuerant iter tendunt.

Nec mora, arborem albam, et aves desuper viderunt. Que quidem propter adventum eorum plausu magno canere non cessabant, donec applicuerunt. Navem suam traxerunt in gurgite ubi prius portum habuerunt; et ecce hospes qui tentorium eis parat, quicque navem suam dape farcierat (*MS.* farxierat). Et dixit eis: 'Ad octav(v)as Pentecostes hic morabimini. Abire me oportet; et inde mesticia ne cruciemini, quoniam cum opere precium vobis fuerit, venire non differam.' Navis

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Ferment lur nef od chaeines,
E sunt iloec uit semaines.
Quant vint le tens de lur aler,
L'un des oiseals prent avaler;
Sun vol ad fait tut a cerne,
Puis s'est asis sur la verne.
Parler voldrat; Brandan le veit,
Dist a chescun que em pais seit.
'Seignurs', ço dist, 'a cest sujurn
Tuz cez set anz freiz vostre turn,
E chascun an al Naël Deu
Sujurnerez en l'isle Albeu;
La ceine freiz e le mandét
U vostre hoste l'at cumandét;
E chescun an freiz la feste
De la Pasche sur la beste.'
Quant out ço dit, si s'en alat
Ensum l'arbre dum devalat.
La nef en mer parfunt flotet;
L'oste chescuns abootet,
Chi del venir ne s'est targét.
Vent de cunrei sun bat chargét,

droit al c. 874 s' *not in B*; *DE* desur; *B* guuerne. 875 *BE* brandans. 876 *B* Dit; *A* checun; *D* set. 877 *BE* Seignur; *B* co dit, *E* fait il; *B* a chescun s. 878 Tuz *not in D*, *E* Tot; set *not in A*, *D* cest; *B* ferez ci, *DE* ferez; *E* vo; *D* tort. 879 E *not in A*; *BDE* noel. 880 *B* Suriurnerez; *A* en isle, *B* al isle, *D* al liu. 881 *B* La eene frez, *E* Le chaine feres; *D* Ferez la c. e laumunde. 882 *E* uos ostes. 883 E *not in D*; *BDE* ferez. 884 *DE* desur. 885 *A* dist. 886 *A* En sun; *D* E ensum; l' *not in A*; *A* d. deuolat, *B* dunc deualad, *D* si muntat, *E* si sen vola. 887 *D* parfunde en m. flotout; *E* en la m. 888 *E* Lostes; *B* chascun, *E* cascun ior; *D* aboueitout. 889 *A* Chil de, *E* Que del; *D* targez. 890 *B* Veient, *E* Vint; *BD* del; *D* chargiez.

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eorum anchora retenta est, et octo septimanas pernoctaverunt. Tempore autem di[s]cessus una illarum avium ab arbore demititur, et in girum volitans super navem descendit, et signum fecit loquendi. Hoc videns Brendanus, sociis silentium imponit; et avis dixit: 'Sciatis [quoniam] quolibet annorum septem futurorum, | non procedentes, set quasi orbi- 219b
culariter commeantes, nativitatem Domini super insulam Albei celebrabitis, cenam vero et mandatum, ubi hospes vester precepit, facietis. Deinde et super piscem pascha immolabitis.' Nec plura loquens, arborem ascendit. Navis profundo committitur, et ecce hospes, eorum non

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E de sa nef charget la lur
Od bon cunrei de grant valur.
Puis apelet Filz Marie
Que guart cele cumpainie.
Del revenir metent termes.
Al departir fundent lermes.

Vv. 897–968. The Fight of the Sea-serpents.

Trestout curent al portant vent
Chis fait errer vers occident.
Dormante mer unt e morte,
Chi a sigler lur est forte.
Puis q'unt curut tres quinzeines,
Freidur lur curt par les veines,
Poür lur surt forment grande,
Que lur nef est tut' en brande,
E poi en falt pur turmente
La nef od eals que n'adente.

891 *D* chargat ; la *not in A*. 893 *BD* le fiz ; *E* P. pria deu le fil m. 894 *A* Qui, *E* Que il ; *B* reguarde ; *A* cel, *D* icele. 895 *D* De lur r. ; *E* m. lor t. 896 *D* E al ; *B* espandent, *E* fonderent. 897 *B* Trestuit ; *D* Mult curent tost, *E* Molt tost c. 898 *A* Chi f. ; errer] *E* corre ; vers] *D* al. 899 unt] *DE* tro(e)uent. 900 *D* al s. ; est] *A* ert, *D* est mult, *E* estoit. 901 *BD* que unt, *E* quil ont ; *D* curuz ; tres] *A* .iii. 902 *E* Froidors ; *BE* crut ; *D* Freidure sofrent e grant peines ; *E* parmi. 903 *E* Puor. e forment. 904 *BD* Kar, *E* E ; *D* esteit ; *BD* tute en, *E* trestote ; *D* branle. 905 *E* Poi en failli ; *D* poie ; *DE* pur la t. 906 *D* que ele ; *E* Que trestote la nef nadente. 907 *B* E puis ueient el ; *DE* uient ; el] *A* e ; *D* dunt mult, *E* dont

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immemor, qui navem suam victu refertam vacuavit, et aliam honeravit, deprecans Dominum pro eorum salute. Exhinc reveniendi terminus ponitur, et in di[s]cessu lacrime funduntur.

[F]unes undique bajulantur, et locis propriis disposite. Navem in cursum pronam faciunt, et velum vento impletur, ita quod, gibboso quodam tractu ad proram distentum, illos celeres ad partes orientales rapiat. Post hec autem mare languidum fuerat, quod quidem eque citum ut prius negabat progressum ; ita quod rostri ruentis impetu direptum, utraque parte carine ebullitum, quodam [modo] in spumam quam plurimum transubstantietur. Sic cum sex ebdom[ad]arum spacium equore agitati (*MS.* uegetati) essent, timor immoderatus ad eos accessit, et venas frigore mortificavit, et nervos contraxit. Quippe tempestas valida, fervore maris crescente, navem fere mersit supinam. Dehinc et quoddam infortunium isto intollerabilius

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Puis lur veint el dun s'esmaient
Plus que pur nul mal qu'il traient:
Vers eals veint uns marins serpenz,
Chis enchaced plus tost que venz.
Li fus de lui si enbraise
Cume buche de fornaise;
La flamme est grant, escalfed fort,
Pur quei icil crement la mort.
Sanz mesure grant ad le cors,
Plus halt braiet que quinze tors;
Peril n'i oust fors sul de denz,
Sil fuireient mil e cinc cenz.
Sul les undes que il muveit,
Pur grant turment plus ne stuveit.
Cum aprismout les pelerins,
Dunc dist Brandan li veirs divins:
'Seignurs, n'entrez en dutance:
Deus vus en ferat la venjance.
Guardez que pur fole poür
Deu ne perdez ne bon oür;

il. 908 *B* que t., *E* que il aient. 909 *BE* uient, *D* uint; *D* un marin. 910 *A* Chi. 911 *B* Le feu, *D* Li feu; enbraise] *B* se esbraise, *D* esbraise, *E* les esbrase. 912 *D* Cum une b., *E* Con ardant busce. 913 *A* flun, *E* flambe; *D* grande. a fort. 914 *B* qui cil. 916 *B* braheit, *E* crie. 917 *A* ni out, *B* ni ust, *D* nust, *E* neust; *B* des dous, *E* des dens. 918 *A* Cil furent, *B* Se il i fussent, *D* Si f., *E* Sel f. 919 *A* Sur; *A* qui il, *D* quil. 920 Pur] *DE* Plus; plus *not in E*, *D* pas; *E* ni estouoit. 921 *E* Quant; *B* apresmot; *E* des. 922 *D* deuins; *E* Dont d. brandans li voir devis. 923 *E* Seignor; *D* nen e., *E* ci e. 924 vus] *E* nos; en *not in AB*. 926 *D* Ne p. deu; *E* Que ne p. vo creator.

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eis contigit; quoniam serpens quidam marinus, ad instar forna(s)cis flammivomus, eos audacter invasit. Ex cujus ore flamma exiens, facies quoque intuentium calefaciens, mortem crudelissimam minabatur. Corporis quidem magnitudo modum excedit. Ore quoque vox emissa quindecim taurorum vocem posset (*MS.* -ent) ebetare. Dentium ejus atrocissime voracitati hominum mille et octingenti non resisterent. Unde fluctuantes que ex corporis sui impulsione fiebant, sole ad periculum sufficerent. Apropinquante serpente, Brendanus, cujus fidei firmitas nullis impulsionibus quateretur, sociis suis dixit: 'Videte ne intentio vestra ita sedula sit in timorem, ut ab orationibus fundendis tota dirimatur (*MS.* -metur), et sic a via recta vobis pereuntibus, Dei negetur subsidium. Erigite corda | vestra, et, timore abjecto, Dei absperate solatium, quod 220a

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Quar qui Deus prent en sun cunduit
Ne deit cremer beste qui muit.'
Puis que out ço dit, a Deu urat;
Ço qu'out urét ne demurat.
Altre beste veient venir,
Qui bien le deit cuntretenir.
Dreit cum ceste vers la nef traist,
L'altre qui veint a rage braist;
Ceste cunuit sa guarrere,
Guerpit la nef, traist s'arere.
Justedes sunt les dous bestes;
Drechent forment halt les testes;
Des narines li fous lur salt,
Desque as nües qui volet halt;
Colps se dunent de lur noës,
Tels cum escuz, e des podes.
A denz mordanz se nafrerent,
Qui cum espez trenchant erent;
Salt en li sanz as aigres mors
Que funt li dent en cez granz cors;

927 qui] *A* que; *BE* deu. 928 *D* beste c. qui est muit; *B* cremeir, *DE* cremir; *E* qui vit. 929 *D* Quant out, *E* Puis cot; ço *not in A*; *A* dist; a Deu] *B* apres, *D* si. 930 *B* que ot. 932 le] *D* la. 933 *B* D. curs tent, *D* Cum ceste dreit; *A* cest. 934 qui] *B* kil; *AB* ueient, *DE* uient; a rage] *A* arge. 935 *A* Cest; *B* cunut bien, *E* conut; *B* guerre, *D* guerriere, *E* gerroiere. 936 *A* sairere; s'] *B* sen, *DE* sei. 937 *B* Justes funt, *E* Ajostees s. 938 *D* Drecierent; *B* f. haltes, *D* f. alte, *E* en haut amont; les] *D* le. 939 *D* narilles. feu. 940 qui *not in B*; *B* uolent; *E* De ci cas n. uole en haut. 941 *B* Cous, *D* Cops, *E* Grant cols; *D* donouent; *B* coes. 942 cum] *D* as; e des] *D* de lur, *E* e de lor; *B* pous. 943 *BDE* As; *E* sentrenaurerent. 944 *B* Si cume; *A* espiz, *BE* espees; *B* e trenchanz, *D* trenchanz, *E* trancans. 945 en] *A* enz; *B* senes, *D* saus; as] *A* fud, *E* a. 946

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quidem omni successu prestantius cito nos vindicabit.' Et hoc dicto oravit, et a voluntate sua non fraudatus est.

Nec mora, aliam quandam beluam accedentem cernunt, que jure priori posset resistere. Ad navem recto itinere tendens, vocem ad modum fragoris arborum emittit. Hoc audiens prior, navem reliquit (*MS.* -id), et ad adversariam suam se transtulit, et utrimque magnis clamoribus [et] concursibus concurrunt. Et erectis alte capitibus, e naribus in nubes sursum ignis efflatur. Dentium morsibus utrimque vulnerantur, quorum acies armorum acumine magis est nocua. Ex tractibus dentium sanguis emanans aquam rubeam reddit; et in largis vulneribus aqua relabens salsa iram

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Les plaies sunt mult parfundes,
Dun senglantes sunt les undes.
La bataile fud estulte,
En la mer out grant tumulte.
E puis venquit la dereine,
Morte rent la primereine;
A denz tant fort la detirat
Que en tres meitez la descirat;
E puis que fist la venjance,
Realat a sa remanance.
Ne deit li hom mais desperer,
Ainz deit sa fait plus averer,
Quant veit que Deus si prestement
Vivere trovet e vestement,
E tanz succurs en perilz forz,
E estorses de tantes morz.
L'abes lur dist: 'Laisum tut el:
Seignur servir bien deit l'um tel.'
Cil respunent mult volunters:
'Quar bien savum que nus ad chers.'

A li denz, *D* des denz; cez] *DE* lur; *D* grant. 947 *D* i sunt, *E* furent. 948 Dun] *D* Que; *D* en sunt, *E* furent. 949 *BDE* fud mult. 950 *D* E en; *E* molt g. 951 *E* daerraine. 952 *B* M. esteit, *D* Si rent m., *E* M. rendi; *BDE* prem-. 953 *BD* As; tant *not in B*; la] *A* le; *E* As d. mordans tant le detire. 954 *BE* Quen; *E* parties; la] *BE* le; *B* decirad, *D* detirat, *E* descire. 955 fist] *D* en out faite, *E* il vit. 956 *B* Ralad, *D* Si r., *E* R. sent; *B* ramanance. 957 *A* Nc, *D* Ne se; li *not in AD*, *E* nus; mais *not in DE*; *DE* desesperer. 958 *BDE* fei; *D* aurer. 960 *BDE* Viure; *E* V. lor done. 961 *D* E tant s. e peril fort. 962 *D* E esturs sunt, *E* E delivre; *AD* tante; *D* mort. 963 *B* Li abes. dit. 964 *D* Seignurs; *B* seruir d. lum b., *D* b. d. hum s.; *E* Molt doit on seruir segnor tel. 965 *DE* respundent; *BDE* uolentiers. 966 que] *DE* quil.

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concitat pugnantium. Duellum sevissimum tandem terminatur, quia a postrema prior victa, mortis passa est angustiam. Nec mirum, quia acumine dentium in tres partes distraxit. Et postquam ex vindicta facta corda spectantium titillaverat, ad mansionem propriam rediit. Dixitque sociis suis Brendanus: 'Fidei lorica induamini, et spe muniti, karitate roborati, pre omnibus Dominum diligite, et illi in timore servite. In multis enim periculis vos salvavit, et nunc etiam a morte iminenti miro suffragio vos eripuit. Aliis omnibus postpositis, illi soli magna devotione et mente sedula serviamus.' Dictis ejus assensum prestiterunt, et nocte tota agitati, terram mane facto conspi(s)ciunt.

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Puis al demain terre veient,
E ariver bien se creient.

Vv. 969–1004. The Voyagers are Miraculously Fed.

Vunt i mult tost e sailent fors
Pur reposer lur penez cors.
Sur l'erbeie tendent lur tref,
E sus traient al secc lur nef.
Cum a terre ariverent,
Les tempestes aviverent;
Cunuit Brandans al air pluius
Que li tens ert mult annuus.
Li venz lur est cuntresailiz,
E li cunreiz lur est failiz;
Mais cil pur oc ne s'esmaient,
Quelque peril que il traient:
L'abes lur ad tant sermunét,
E Deus par tut asez dunét,
Que ne poient puint mescreire
De nule rien en lur eire.

967 *D* al derain, *E* len demain grant. 968 *B* Chargier, *E* A ariver; *B* creeient, *E* conroient. 969 *D* Funt; i *not in AB*; *B* hors. 970 penez] *A* lassez. 971 *B* Sur la riue. 972 al] *E* a; *D* E od cordes t. l. n. 973 a] *D* a la, *E* il a la. 974 *D* E les; *E* Les cors tempeste. 975 *D* brendan; *B* pluus, *D* plueos; *E* Conut al air plujos brandans. 976 li] *B* lu; *B* ennuius, *D* ennuoes; *E* Que anious ert molt li tans. 977 est] *A* ert. 978 *A* lur ert, *B* cuntre. 979 *E* M. onques por ce; *D* M. icil p. co nes maient. 980 *B* Que que; peril] *D* haan; *E* p. il onques t.; *D* il i t. 981 tant *not in B*. 982 *D* partuit. 983 *D* Que il; *BDE* poent; puint] *BD* nient, *E* de rien. 984 rien] *E* cose; *DE* en tut lur. 985 *A* nent, *D* uient, *E* lor vient. 986 *E* Del grant p. la; *A* ueient, *B* uient, *D* uint; terce] *B* traire. 987 *D* Le

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Ad quam tendentes statim applicuerunt, et exilientes corporibus suis requiem querebant. Dehinc et tentorium fecerunt, et ad aridam navem suam traxerunt. His factis, tempestas aucta est, et ventus eis contrarius, ex nubibus nimbosis et coagulatis dissolutione quadam facta, procellam magnam injecit; insuper et [victus] defectus famem crudelissimam minabatur. Set viri fortes nullis infortuniis desolari possunt, quia animi eorum sermone Brendani mitigati sunt, et bonorum memores que Deus sibi in adversis contulerat, nullatenus possunt contristari. Nec mora,
220[b] pis|cis occisi terciam partem unda impelente terram vident attingere, que,

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Puis aprés ço, nïent a tart,
Del peisun veint la terce part;
L'unde de mer tant la serre
Que ariver lur fait a terre;
La turmente sus la chacet,
Pur ço que a cez aise facet.
Dunc dist Brandans: 'Veiez, frere,
Ki enemis ainz vos ere
Or nus succurt par Deu grace;
Mangerez en grant espace.
Ne dutez rien, il nus ert past,
Quelque semblant qu'il nus mustrast;
Tant en pernez, as voz suspeis,
Que ne failet devant tres meis.'
Al sun cumant cil le firent:
A tant de tens se guarnirent.
D'eigue dulce des funtaines
Funt lur tunes tutes pleines,
E de busche se guarnissent.
Puis q'unt l'uré, si s'en issent.

unde; *E* itant; la] *BD* le. 988 lur] *B* la, *DE* le. 989 *DE* E la. 990 ço] *B* oc; *D* que asez; *E* Por ce passer caise lor f. 991 *E* Dont; *D* lur d. brendan; *E* or vees. 992 *D* Cil qui enemi; *E* Que anemis ancois; vos] *DE* nus. 993 *B* Ore uus, *E* Que or vos; *D* par la. 994 *D* Si en mangerum; *E* Mangeres ore a bon e. 995 nus] *BDE* uus; *B* est. 996 *B* Queque; qu' *not in DE*; nus] *BD* uus; *E* mostrat. 997 as] *BDE* a; *BD* uoz supeis, *E* vo sopois. 998 *E* Quil; tres] *A* .iii. 999 Al] *DE* A; *B* suen; *E* icil. 1000 tens] *E* busce. 1001 *B* De aigue, *D* Del lewe, *E* De laighe. 1002 *D* Firent, *E* Sont; *D* tuneals; *E* trestotes. 1003 *E* buisce; *A* se guarnirent, *E* bien se garnirent. 1004 *E* Quant ont; *BD* que unt; *D* lur uent; si *not in A*; *A* sen alirent, *E* sen issirent; *D* eisent.

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tempestuoso flamine c[o]gente, per cujusdam unde summitatem ad siccum transmittitur. Dixitque abbas: 'Videte, fratres, quanta est gratia Dei. Qui prius nobis nocuus, in mortem nostram parandam fervescens tota opera nitebatur, nunc quidem opifer ad vite nostre sustentationem quasi sponte collaturus est suffragia. Ex illo enim cibabitis, quamvis torvo vultu vos infestaverit; et ex illo tantum sumite, quod tribus his mensibus vobis victus non deficiat.' Quod factum est. Et idriis suis et doliis aqua dulci repletis, vento prospero veniente abierunt.

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Vv. 1005–1034. GRIFFIN VERSUS DRAGON.

De miracles Deus ne cesset.
Altre peril les apresset.
Si fust primers, ne fust meindres
Icist perilz, enz fust graindres;
Mais ne crement pur le purpens
Qu'il unt de Deu, e le defens.
Uns grips flammanz del air descent,
Pur eals prendre les ungles tent,
E flammantes ad les goës,
E trenchantes fort les poës.
Bord de la nef n'i ad si fort
Sul od l'ungle que nel en port;
Pur sul l'aïr e le sun vent
Pur poi la nef achant ne prent.
Cum les caçout eisi par mer,
Vint uns draguns flammanz mult cler;
Mot les eles e tent le col,
Vers le gripun drechet sun vol.

1005 *B* Des, *E* De ses; *B* deu; *D* Mais les merueilles deu ne cesent. 1006 *E* Vns altres perils; *D* mult les apresent. 1007 *D* Se il f. premiers. mendre; *B* Si fud li premiers meindres, *E* Icil perils ne fu pas m. 1008 *D* peril; *B* fu; *D* mult greindre; *E* Del premerain anchois fu g. 1009 *BE* nel; le] *E* lor. 1010 *E* desfens. 1011 *B* grifs; *D* flammant. decent; *E* Uns grans griphons vint avolant. 1012 *E* prandres; les] *D* ses; *D* tient. 1013 *D* E flambantes, *E* Molt flamboiantes; ad] *D* aueit. 1014 fort] *D* aueit, *E* e fors. 1015 la *not in B*. 1016 *E* Que a ses ongles; *A* lungles; *B* quil ne port, *D* kil nen port, *E* ne lenport. 1017 sul] *D* sun; l'aIr] *E* del air; e le] *B* de, *D* e pur, *E* e de. 1018 Pur] *E* A; *A* naf; achant] *D* tute, *E* parmi; *DE* fent. 1019 *E* Quant; *B* enchacot; *B* issi, *D* e si, *E* ensi. 1020 *DE* un (*E* .j.) dragun flammant; mult cler] *AB* par mer. 1021

Et ad aliud tormentum accesserunt, quod quidem majus priore esset, si prius illo conti[n]geret; set ex adversis minime expa(s)vescunt, quia Deus in adversis eis solet propiciari (*MS.* -icitiari). Non mora, grifo quidam ex aere descendens, et ad modum fulminis (*MS.* fluminis) seviens, ad eos capiendos ungulas tendit. Rictus autem deformis, et horror qui in membris circumquaque fuerat, fere (*MS.* feris) omnibus metuenda jure viderentur. Asser in navi tam firmus non fuerat, quem non erueret, si pedibus occuparet. Alis suis creberrime percutientibus aera tam fortiter verberavit, ut navem fere cogeret periclitare. Grifone isto[s] fugante, ecce quidam draco ignis candore inflammatus, qui cervice erecta et motis alis

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La bataile sus est en l'air ;
Li fus d'els dous fait grant esclair ;
Colps e flammes e mors e buz
Se entredunent veiant eals tuz.
Li grips est granz, draguns maigres ;
Cil est plus forz, cist plus aigres.
Morz est li grips, en mer chaït
Vengét en sunt kil unt haït.
Vait s'en draguns od victorie ;
Cil en rendent Deu la glorie.
Vunt s'en icil d'iloec avant ;
Par le spirit Deu bien sunt savant.

Vv. 1035–1066. The Congregation of Sea-monsters.

Vint la feste de saint Perrunt,
Ki fud ocis el pred Nerunt ;
Feste li funt cil e glorie,
A saint Perrunt l'apostorie.

B Muueit, *DE* Muet ; e *not in ABE* ; *B* tendeit, *E* estent. 1022 *E* griphon. 1023–4 *not in D*. 1023 sus est] *E* fu sus. 1024 *B* feu ; d'els] *A* de, *B* des, *E* daus. 1025 *BD* Cops ; *B* flambes ; *AD* morz. 1026 *BE* Sentredunent, *D* Sentredone ; *D* ueanz ; *E* voiant trestos. 1027 *B* d. est, *DE* li d. ; *E* maindres. 1028 *D* Cist : *A* fort ; cist] *A* cil, *B* e cist, *D* e cil ; *E* qui plus est graindres. 1029 est *not in D* ; *D* chaiz. 1030 *D* Vengiez. quil lunt haiz. 1031 s'en *not in E* ; *BE* li d., *D* dragun ; od] *A* portet, *E* o sa. 1032 *E* rendirent ; *B* a deu la g., *DE* a deu g. 1033 *E* V. sent dici jluec. 1034 *B* lespirt, *D* les spirt, *E* lesperit ; *A* mult sunt, *D* s. bien, *E* sont ; *E* sachant. 1035 *E* Dont vint ; de *not in E* ; *B* perrun, *D* perun, *E* pieron. 1036 el] *A* al, *D* en ; *B* nerun, *D* neirun, *E* noiron. 1037 *DE* icil. 1038 *B* perrun lapostoille ; *D* De seint pere li apostoile, *E* Le ior saint pieron lapostoile.

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versus illum tetendit. Et in iram concitati, concussibus o[b]viis duellum iniunt acerbissimum, ita quod ex flamma exeunte aer circumquaque illuminatur, ex ictibus et flammis et morsibus et inpulsibus ether sonat et splendet. Grifo magnus valde erat et fortis ; set draco macer erat et acer, qui quidem propter agilitatem ejus grifonem victum in mare stravit, et victor abiit. Hoc videntes servi Dei gavisi sunt, et gratias Deo reddiderunt, et leti di[s]cesserunt.

Adveniente festo beati Petri apostoli, quando in prato Neronis occisus est, festum ejus cum devotione et gloria celebrare studuerunt. Cum autem secundum legis traditionem abbas officium voce clara et preconio dulci

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Cum l'abes fist le servise,
Si cum la lei est asise,
Chantout mult halt, a voiz clere.
Dunc li dïent tuit li frere:
'Beal pere chers, chante plus bas,
U si ço nun, perir nus fras;
Quar tant cler' est chascun' unde,
U la mer est plus parfunde,
Que nus veüm desque en terre,
E de peissuns tante guerre.
Peissuns veüm granz e crüels —
Unc n'oïmes parler de tels.
Si la noise les en commout,
Sachez murir que nus estout.'
L'abes surrist, e sis blasmat,
E pur mult fols les aasmat:
'Seignurs, de rien pur quei dutez?
Voz creances cum debutez!
Perilz avez suffert plus granz,
Vers tuz vus fud Deus bons guaranz.
Uncore ore ne vus vint cist.
Clamez culpe!' Brandans lur dist.

1039 *E* Quant; *DE* li abes. 1040 *BE* cume; la lei] *A* lais; *D* En la nef cum en un iglise (*cf.* 446). 1041 *E* E ch.; *D* alt. 1042 *E* Dont; *A* D dient; *D* diseient; *D* tut, *E* trestot. 1043 *E* Bieax peres; *D* cher; *BD* chantez, *E* cantes. 1044 ço *not in D*, *A* que; *A* murer, *BD* peril; *B* feras, *E* fas. 1045 tant *not in B*; *E* t. par est clere li onde; *BD* clere. chascune (*D* ches-). 1046 *E* La ou; plus *not in A*. 1047 *B* Kar; *A* uenum; *D* iesque en, *E* de ci en. 1048 *B* des p., *E* des grans p.; *A* gurre. 1050 *E* Ainc; *B* ditels, *D* dicels. 1051 *DE* Se; la] *E* ceste; en *not in BE*; *BDE* cumuet. 1052 *BE* S. que m.; que *not in AD*; *BDE* estuet. 1053 *D* susrist, *E* sen rist; sis] *A* les, *E* ses. 1054 *E* E conme f.; *A* asinat, *DE* aesmat. 1055 *BE* Seignur; de rien] *E* fait il. 1056 *A* creance; cum] *E* molt. 1057 *D* Peril; *B* sufferz; *B* greinurs, *E* molt grans; *D* grant. 1058 *D* trestuz; *E* si vos fu

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honestasset, dixerunt fratres sibi: 'Voce demissa canta, domine; alio-
221[a] quin naufragium patiemur. Quia aqua | adeo clara est, ut ad maris fundum inspicere possimus; et pisces magnos et crudeles videmus innumerabiles, quales nunquam humano patebant aspectui, quos si cantu tuo commoveris, moriemur.' Tunc abbas eos vituperans, et pro stultis reputans, chachinnavit, dicens: 'Fidem vestram cur a vobis expellitis? Nolite timere quicquam nisi Dominum Deum nostrum, et eum in timore diligite. Multa pericula vos temptaverunt; set Deus in omnibus vobis remedium semper contulit salutare. Nondum vobis iminet periculum. Ut quid

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Chantat plus halt e forment cler.
Sailent bestes ruistes de mer,
Vunt costeant la nef enturn,
Goïsant la feste del jurn.
Puis q'unt chantét que al jurn partint,
Chescun peissun sa veie tint.

Vv. 1067–1106. The Great Pillar and Canopy.

Avant curent, e veient cler
En mer halte un grant piler;
De naturel fud jargunce,
D'altre mairein n'i out unce;
De jargunce fud saphire;
Riches estreit ki'n fust sire.
Desqu'as nües muntout ensus,
As funs de mer descendeit jus.
Uns paveiluns enturn i tent;
Des le sumét en mer descent,
De or precius uvrét sutil —
Pur tut le mund faiz ne fust il.

dex g.; vus] *BD* nus; bons *not in D*; *B* pasturs, *D* guarant. 1059 *D* Ne unchore, *E* Encore; ore *not in AD*; vint] *B* unt. 1060 *B* Clamet culped; *D* cope, *E* vos colpes; *D* brendan; lur *not in E*. 1061 *BE* Chantez; *D* alt. 1062 *D* beste, *E* poisson; *DE* ruiste. 1063 *A* costant, *B* sen costeant, *E* costoiant. 1064 *E* Joissent. 1065 *E* Quant ot ch.; *BD* que unt; *D* chantez; *B* qual, *E* cal; *B* apartint. 1066 *B* Chascuns peissuns. 1067 *A* Qvant c. 1068 *E* En la; *A* halt. 1069 *D* Qui fut de n. i., *E* De nature fu de i.; *BDE* iagunce. 1070 D'altre] *B* Del; *D* mariem; *BD* un unce, *E* vne once. 1071 *D* E de; *BDE* iagunce; *E* fu e s. 1072 *DE* esteit; *BDE* ki en; *DE* fut. 1073 *BD* Desque as, *E* Duscas; *E* montoit lasus. 1074 *DE* Al f.; *D* descendit. 1075 *D* Vn pauilun. 1077 *BD* Dor; uvrét] *A* il ueirent, *D* ourez; *B* subtil, *D* sultil; *E* De precious oeure sobtil. 1078 *A* le munde, *B* lor deu; *BD* fait.

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desperatis?' Et reversus Brendanus sollempnius celebravit. Dehinc et monstra marina undique emergere ceperunt, et pre gaudio diei festi exultantia, navem secuta sunt. Perfecto autem diei servitio, statim discesserunt.

Paulo post procedentes columpnam quandam viderunt, cujus materia (*MS.* -am) tota jaguntia saphir erat; cujus basis ad fundum maris extenditur, et summitas ad nubes erigitur. Ex summo autem usque ad maris superficiem tentorium quoddam in latitudinem crescens descendit. Quod quidem auro fulgebat precioso, et opere pollebat subtilissimo. Cujus

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Siglet Brandan icele part ;
Ainz qu'i venget semblet lui tart.
Sigle levét entret en tref
Od ses muines e od sa nef.
De smaragde veit un alter
U li pilers descent en mer ;
Li sacraires fud sardoine,
Li pavemenz calcedoine.
Enz el piler fermét aveit
Tref de fin or : ço susteneit ;
E les lampes sunt de beril.
Cil ne crement ci nul peril ;
Ici estunt desque al terz jurn.
Messes chantent tuit al lur turn.
Brandans en prent purpens en sei,
Ne deit querre le Deu secrei.
Dist as muines : 'Creés mun sen :
Toluns d'ici, alum nus en.'
Un chalice mult festival
Prent li abes, tut de cristal ;
Bien set, de Deu ne resortet,
Pur servir l'en quant l'en portet.

1079 *BE* brandans ; *A* icel. 1080 *E* Quil i viegne ; qu'i] *A* que, *B* quil i ; lui] *D* li. 1081 *D* lieue, *E* leuee ; *B* entreit, *E* entra ; en] *B* le, *D* al, *E* el. 1082 ses] *BD* les ; *E* Labes brandans avoec sa n. 1083 *D* Des mareldes, *E* Desmeralde ; *E* altel. 1084 U] *D* Dunt ; *E* Onques nus hom ne vit mais tel. 1085 fud] *B* en fud, *D* fut de, *E* fu dun ; *B* sardonies. 1086 *D* pauement ; *B* calcedonies, *D* de calcedoine, *E* de calsidoine. 1087 *D* Que enz ; el] *A* li, *D* al ; *D* fermez. 1088 *B* Treis, *D* Tries, *E* Pumieax ; *E* dor fin ; ço] *D* quil, *E* ques. 1089 *E* Les l. s. tot de. 1090 *D* Cist ; *B* Que ne cremeit cil. *E* Si ne redoutent ; ci *not in ABE*. 1091 *B* Els i e., *D* Jci furent, *E* Jluec estoit ; *B* desqual, *D* iesqua, *E* duscal ; terz] *A* .iii. 1092 *BE* Messe ; *E* cantant ; *DE* tut ; al] *BDE* a. 1093 *D* Brendan. 1094 *BD* segrei. 1095 *B* Dit ; *E* cres ; *B* munt. 1096 *E*

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op[er]is precio totus mundus non sufficeret. Ad hanc tendentes, Brendanus velo erecto cum sociis et navi in tentorium intrat. Altare quoddam vidit, ubi columpna in mare descendit, quod ex marmore venuste factum erat ; sacrarium autem ex sardonio, et pavimentum ex calcidonio. Trabes autem aurea (*MS.* aureos) subportabat, que (*MS.* qui) in columpna firmabatur. Lampades ex berrillo erant, que in preclaritatis proprie fulgore lumen intrinsecus contentum (*MS.* -temptum) intuentibus pocius augerent quam minuerent. Hic usque ad diem tercium morabantur. Brendanus autem secum deliberans (*MS.* -ratis), et premeditans secreta Dei non esse investiganda sociis suis dixit : 'Discedamus. Via restat transeunda.' Sumpsitque secum abbas calicem quendam cristallinum, in Deo confisus

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Grant curs unt fait li pelerin,
Mais uncore ne sevent fin;
E nepurtant ne s'en feignent,
Mais cum plus vunt, plus se peinent,
Ne de peiner ne recrerrunt
De ci que lur desir verrunt.

Vv. 1107–1186. The Smithy of Hell.

Apparut lur terre truble,
De neir calin e d'enuble;
De flaistre fum ert fumante,
De caruine plus puante;
De grant nerçun ert enclose.
Cist ne rovent estre am pose,
E de mult luign unt or oït
Que la ne erent guaires goït.
Mult s'esforcent de ailurs tendre,
Mais ça estout lur curs prendre,
Quar li venz la les em meinet;
E li abes bien les enseignet,

Tornes de ci. 1097 *A* chaliz. 1098 *AB* labes. 1099 *D* que a deu ne peserat; *E* Por deu servir labes lenporte. 1100 *A* le portet; *B* P. s. al q. laporte, *D* Quant pur lui seruir len portat, *E* Ses conpaignons molt reconforte. 1101 *A* granz. 1102 *BE* encore. 1103 *D* Mes ne pur quant, *E* E non p. q.; ne s'en] *D* ne se, *E* pas ne se. 1104 *E* vont e plus. 1105 *BDE* pener; *B* se crerrunt, *D* retrerrunt, *E* rekerront. 1106 ci] *D* si. 1107 *E* molt tr. 1108 *D* chalim; *E* de molt noble. 1109 *E* De noire fumee fumante. 1100 *B* poante; *D* E de c. mult p., *E* Plus de c. fu p. 1111 *B* turtume, *D* nertume, *E* noirece; ert] *E* fu; *BD* aclose. 1112 Cist] *B* Ici; *D* rouasent, *E* rouerent; am] *BDE* en. 1113 E *not in B*; *A* un; *BD* ore, *E* bien. 1114 *B* nerent, *DE* nierent; *A* guairs. 1115 *D* M. par; *BE* daillurs. 1116 ça] *E* la; *B* estut, *DE* lur estuet. 1117 *DE* la tut dreit les; en *not in BDE*. 1118 *DE* tres bien; *D* le seignet, *E* les saine.

---

se male non egisse, quia non cupiditatis stimulo citatus, set ad misterium Dei honeste faciendum absportavit.

Peregrini et servi Dei intervallo magno a patria sua sunt remoti; et tamen iter preteritum pro nichilo reputan|tes, in viam carpendam audaces 221
sunt et seduli, et pre nimia dilectione prosequendi propositum labor improbus in eis fastidium generare non potuit; set leti semper spe tota ad finem tendunt laboris, non quia labor infestus eis fuerit, set quia propositum prosecutum fuisse tota dilectione cupiebant.

Velo igitur ventoque agitati terram quandam vident, que tetra quadam caligine obnubilosa obfuscata, fumum et putredinem emittit. Hii autem propter horrorem terre vise ejus absentiam magis cupiebant quam presentiam. Alias iter tendere sedule nitebantur; set vento cogente illac

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E dit lur ad: 'Seignurs, sachez
Que a enfern estes cachez.
N'oustes mester unc mais si grant
Cum or avez de Deu guarant.'
Brandans ad fait sur eals la cruz:
Bien set, pres est d'enfern li puz.
Cum plus pres sunt, plus veient mal,
Plus tenebrus trovent le val.
Des parfunz vals e des fosses
Lammes ardanz volent grosses;
De fous sufflanz li venz enruit,
Nuls tuneires si halt ne muit.
Estenceles od les lammes,
Roches ardanz e les flammes
Par cel aïr tant halt volent
Le cler del jurn que lur tolent.
Cun alouent endreit un munt,
Virent un fed dunt poür unt;
Forment fud granz icil malfez,
D'enfern eisit tuz eschalfez;

1119 *E* Dist li abes; *A* E dist lur bien s.; *B* saciez. 1120 *B* Quen e., *DE* Que pres deufern; *BDE* chaciez. 1121 *B* Nustes m. unc si g., *DE* Neustes mes m. si g. 1122 *BDE* ore; de] *BD* del. 1123 *B* Brandanz, *D* Brendan; *BD* croiz, *E* crujs. 1124 *B* le poiz, *D* li puiz, *E* li pieus. 1125 *E* Quant sont plus pres; *B* sunt pres. 1126 *E* voient. 1127 *D* Les; *E* fals e de grant f. 1128 *B* Flammes, *D* Lalmes; *D* en uolent, *E* lor u. 1129 *B* Des f., *D* Li feus, *E* Des fols; venz] *E* fus. 1130 *ABD* tuneirs; si] *D* plus. 1131 *D* Lestenceles; *E* Estinceles volent e l. 1132 les] *D* grant, *E* roges; *D* flambes. 1133 *D* icel; *E* Parmi cel air issi h. v. 1134 *D* Que le cler iur lur t., *E* Lair cler del ior trestot lor t. 1135 *E* Quant il vinrent. 1136 *D* Vient; *D* un malfez, *E* enfer. 1137 *D* grant; *B* cil; *E* Puis ont veu .i. grant malfe. 1138 *E* issu; *DE* tot; *E* escaufe. 1139 en] *BE* el, *D* al; *E* tenoit. 1140

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transire oportebat. Abbas vero, omne gaudium illinc abesse sentiens, sociis suis dixit: 'Nunc quidem precipue Dei indigemus suffragio, quia baratrum nobis est affine.' Et, manu dextera levata, se et illos crucis signaculo munivit. Quanto magis appropinquabant, tanto magis malorum copia eis apparebat; eminentiusque puteum illum infernalem videre potuerunt. Qui ex cavernis suis fetidis et vallibus horrendis flammas et laminas igne candentes et faculas et cautes (*MS.* cantes) igne accensas (*MS.* -sos) in nubes emittit. Que quidem in aere vagantia alteque commeantia, pre copia eorum nimia diei ab eis adimunt claritatem, et eos suppositos obnubilant. Ex igne inferius ascendente sonus quidam gignitur ad modum tonitrui magni.

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Un mail de fer en puin portout —
A un piler asez i out.
Cum s'aparçout par sun reguard
As uilz flammanz cum fus chi art,
E veit iceals, a tart li est
Que sun turment tut i ait prest.
Jetant flammes de sa gorge,
A granz salz curt en sa forge.
Revint mult tost od sa lamme
Tute ruge cume flamme;
Es tenailes dun la teneit
Fais a dis bofs bien i aveit.
Halcet la sus vers la nue,
E dreit vers eals puis la rue;
Esturbeiluns plus tost ne vait,
Quant sus en l'air li venz le trait,
Ne li quarels d'arbaleste,
Ne de funde la galeste.
Cum plus halcet, e plus enprent,
E en alant forces reprent;

E bien i avoit. 1141 *E* Quant; *B* sapercout, *D* se parcut, *E* sapercut; par] *E* en. 1142 *D* flambant, *E* flanblans; chi] *E* li. 1143–4 *not in E*. 1143 E *not in D*; a] *D* e. 1144 tut i ait] *D* sur els. 1145 *D* E ietat flambes, *E* Geta grant flame. 1146 *A*] *D* E; grant assalz, E grant s.; *D* uient, *E* corut; sa *not in B*. 1147 tost *not in E*; *E* a vne l.; *D* E uient curant od tut sa leine. 1148 *E* E tote; *D* Qui fut r. c. flambe. 1149 *D* Les; *B* tanailles; *E* Dunes t. la t. 1150 *B* F. as dous b. 1151 *D* Lancet; la] *ABDE* le; *E* envers. 1152 *E* Tot d. envers; puis *not in B*. 1153 *D* Esturbeillun. 1154 le] *B* la. 1155 li *not in B*; *A* quarel, *E* quarreax; *A* darbeleste, *D* dareblaste, *E* de larbaleste. 1156 *D* de la f.; *B* baleste (a *corrected from* e); *E* Ne la f. ne la g. 1157 *D* eshalcet plus; *BDE* esprent. 1158 E *not in A*; *E* force.

Transeuntibus illis per cujusdam montis confinia, satelles quidam qui in ore calefactus fuerat eis apparuit, stuporemque magnum injecit. Quippe magnus erat enim valde, et malleum quendam ad modum columpne magnum manu portabat. Cumque oculis suis flamantibus inmitem eis aspectum redderet, in dampnum eorum statim pronus erat (*or* fuit?; *MS.* fuerat), et flammas ex ore suo evomens, largis passibus ad cavernam suam regreditur. Et celer in reditum laminam quandam candentem forcipe mediante portabat. Forceps autem decem bobus onus competens esset. Quam alte erectam conamine magno ad illos projecit. Telum missile, aut plumbum balia (*MS.* palea) contortum, eam sullevatam velocitate superare non posset; que | quanto magis extollitur, tanto magis vis ignis ex vento 222[a]

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Primes depart, puis amasset.
Ne cheot sur eals, ainz les passet.
U cheit en mer, iloeches art
Cum brüere en un asart;
E mult lunc tens art la lame
Enz en la mer a grant flamme.
Li venz la nef ad cunduite,
Pur quei d'iloec pregnent fuite.
Al vent portant s'en alerent,
Mais la suvent reguarderent;
L'isle virent alumee
E cuverte de fumee.
Malsfeiz veient millers plusurs,
Criz de dampnez oënt e plurs.
Puur lur vent, mult forment grant,
Del fum chi luign par l'air se spant.
Endurerent cum melz pourent,
Eschiverent cum plus sourent.
Sainz hoem cum ad plusurs travailz —
De faim, de seif, de freiz, de calz,
Ainxe, tristur e granz poürs —
De tant vers Deu creist sis oürs.

1159 *E* e puis. 1160 *BDE* chiet; *E* ancois; les *not in A*; *D* trespaset. 1161 U *not in D*; *A* iloec. 1162 *B* atart; *D* Kar co esteit de male part, *E* Conme bruiere enmi .j. sart. 1163 *B* A m. grant t., *D* A m. lugn t.. Molt longement; *D* ardeit, *E* i art; *D* leine. 1164 Enz *not in A*; a] *BD* od; *DE* mult g.; *D* flambe. 1165 *D* uent; ad] *D* en; *E* aconduite. 1166 *BE* prennent, *D* pernent; *E* la f. 1167 Al] *B* A; *E* tost sen. 1168 *B* s. la, *E* la molt s.; *A* reguardernt. 1169 *A* alumine, *E* tot alumee. 1170 *A* fume, *E* grant fumee. 1171 *B* Malfeiz, *DE* Malfez; *D* uirent. 1172 *A* cent e plusurs, *B* cent e plurs, *D* oient plurs, *E* oent plujsors. 1173 mult *not in AD*, *E* e. 1174 *A* fume; *D* De la fumee qui sespant, *E* Del fum denfer qui loing sespant. 1175 *E* End. le; *D* Bien durent cum il purent. 1176 *D* Eschiuuerent; *BD* surent; *E* E esloignierent miex quil porent.

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obviante augetur. Quod si navem attingeret, aut ictu seviente perforaret, aut ignis ustione funditus consumeret. Set, Dei gratia subveniente, navem transiens in mare cecidit, et calorem suum diu retinuit. Ex elementorum siquidem dupplici repu(n)gnantia sonus magnus et fervor orti sunt.

Dei servi in fugam seduli, vento prospero longe statim remoti sunt; et tamen continue retro aspexerunt. Insulam illuminatam viderunt, et fumo coopertam. Demonum milia cernebant. Ululatus et fletus et planctus et clamores dampnatorum audierunt. Ex fumi autem exeuntis et per aera undique sparsi putredine nasi eorum rugam traxerunt. Et quam

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Eisi est d'els, puis q'unt voüd
U li dampnét sunt reçoüd.
En Deu ferment lur fiance,
N'i aturnent mescreance.
Vunt s'en avant, ne dutent rien,
Quar ço sevent que espleitent bien.

Vv. 1187–1214. The Smoke-capped Mountain.

Ne demurat fors al matin,
Virent un lu pres lur veisin:
Un munt cuvert de nublece;
Las meinet vent par destrecce.
Vindrent i tost al rivage,
Mais mult ert de halt estage;
Nuls d'els trestuz choisir ne pout
La haltece que li munz out;
Vers la rive plus ne descent
Que la u plus amunt s'estent;
E la terre est tute neire —
Tele nen out en tut l'eire.

1177 *D* Maint; *E* Con cil qui ont plujsor t. 1178 *BD* sei; *DE* freit. 1179-80 *not in D.* 1179 *B* En sei tristurs; *E* Ou ont este o grant paors. 1180 *E* lor crut doucors. 1181 *E* Issi; *BD* que unt ueud, *E* que vent orent. 1182 *A* dampnez; *E* Sen vont diluec con ancois porent. 1183 *D* Qui en; *E* fermerent. 1184 *D* E ni; *E* Ni avoient mais m. 1185 s'en *not in B*, *DE* en; ne] *A* ni. 1186 *A* Par co, *E* Car or; *E* quesploitent. 1189 *E* de grant n. 1190 Las] *B* La les, *DE* Les; *A* meineit; *E* li vens. 1191 *D* Mult u. tost; *E* V. desos droit al r. 1192 *E* estoit. 1193 *E* tos; *A* choiseir, *second* i *above* e; *E* ch. pas ne puet. 1194 *E* eut. 1195 *D* descendent. 1196 *D* a mout. 1197 est *not in AB*; *E* E la roche fu. 1198 *A* Tel; *B* naueit, *E* not veu; *AD* tut lur eire, *B* nul e. *After* 1198 *D adds* Vn des moines unt perdu Ne seuent pruz que est deuenuz.

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bene potuere sustinentes eam (*MS.* eos), tota co[r]pora absentaverunt. [*For the passage corresponding to vv. 1175–86, see pp. 64–5*]

Nocte autem transacta et mane facto, terram quandam eis affinem conspiciunt, que nubium densitate circumamicta erat. Ad quam vento cogente pervenerunt. Erat autem terra illa procera valde, ita quod altitudo ejus a visibus eorum discerni non potuit. Nec partes suas exteriores magis subsidere aut extolli fecit quam medias, set tota quasi ad unum cacumen extensa undique equaliter alta extiterat, et nigro tota calore affecta. Coram illis omnibus unus so(s)ciorum suorum nunquam rediturus exilit;

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Pur quel chose il ne sourent
Salt en l'uns fors; puis nel ourent.
Tuit unt oïd qu'il lur ad dit,
Mais sul abes des uilz le vit:
'Seignur, de vus or sui preiez,
Pur mes pecchez, bien le creez.'
E li abes le veit traire
A cent malfez chil funt braire.
Turnent d'iloec, ailurs en vunt;
Reguardent sei, quar poür unt.
Del fum li munz est descuvert,
Enfern veient tut aüvert.
Enfers jetet fu e flammes,
Perches ardanz e les lammes,
Peiz e sufre desque as nües,
Puis sis receit, quar sunt sües.

Vv. 1215–1498. JUDAS.

Puis les meinet Brandans par mer,
Des signacles les fait armer.

1199 *B* Pur co se il; *E* mais il nes s.; *D* nel surent. 1200 *B* S. li uns; *D* luinz, *E* li .j.; fors *not in BD*; *D* unc p. nel eurent. 1201 *BE* Tut; unt] *D* out; *D* que lur. 1202 *B* sul labes, *E* li abes. 1203 *BD* Segnurs; *A* or de uus sui, *BE* de uus sui ore (*E* or); *BDE* preez. 1204 *A* meis, *E* nos; *A* pcchez; *D* ueez. 1205 *BDE* uit; *DE* detraire. 1206 *AE* chi le; *D* mult b. 1207 *B* a. sen uunt, *E* e aillors v. 1208 *E* Regardant. 1209 *D* Del funz est li m.; *ABDE* descuverz. 1210 *E* E enfers fu; *DE* tuz; *ABDE* auuerz. 1211 *BD* Enfern; *A* fus, *B* e feu; *BD* flambes. 1212 *D* od les laines, *E* e molt grant lames. 1213 *B* sulphre, *E* sosfre; *E* de ci as. 1214 sis *not in A*, *E* les; *D* els sunt, *E* el s. 1215 *E* Si les; *D* brendan. 1216 *E* segnacles. 1217 *E* E v.; *DE* boce. 1218 *A* Ci; *BE* come; *E* roce. 1219 E *not in D*;

et audientibus illis, abbate tamen (non) vidente, dixit: 'Pro peccatis meis, fratres, rogatus et raptus a vobis discedo.' Deinde abbas centum vidit demones illum trahentes plorantem et ululantem. Ideoque ex se ipsis pavescentes illinc discesserunt. Et ad tergum pre timore respicientes, montem paulisper a nubibus expoliatum viderunt. Infernusque illis manifestatus est, qui ignes et flammas et trabes obustas (*MS.* -tos), et laminas candentes picemque et sulphur in nubes projecit et deinde, flamme sevientis impetu deficiente, in se ipsum revertentia recepit. Et sic semper igni ve[hem]enti et tamen non consumenti materiam prestitit. Que, quia sulphure comiscetur, ignem dampnandis alitura est eternum. A quo Ipse nos eripiat, qui regnat in secula seculorum. Amen.

222[b] Servi Domini, solo ejus amore moti (*MS.* mori), quanto magis erumpnis

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Veient en mer une boche,
Si cum ço fust une roche;
E roche fut verablement,
Mais nel quïent creablement.
Dunc dist l'abes: 'Ne demurum;
Sachum que seit, si i curum.'
Vindrent ila, si truverent
Iço que poi espeirerent:
Sur la roche u sunt venud
Trovent seant un homme nud.
Mult ert pelfiz e detirez,
Delacherez e descirez;
D'un drap lïed sun vis aveit,
A un piler si se teneit.
Fort se teneit a la pere,
Que nel rusast l'unde arere;
Undes de mer ferent le fort,
Pur quei n'ad fin la süe mort.
L'une le fert, pur poi ne funt;
L'altre detriers jetet l'amunt;

A fust; *D* ueirablement, *E* visablement. 1220 nel] *A* ne; *B* quident, *D* quiderent, *E* sorent; *D* ueirement. 1221 *E* Dont. 1222 *D* que est; *A* iccurum; *E* Vers ceste roche retornons. 1223 *B* la si i, *D* il la si i, *E* iluec e si. 1224 *D* Co; *B* pois, *E* molt poi; *BE* espererent, *D* i suscherent. 1225 *D* Pur, *E* Desor. 1226 *D* Trouerent; *B* seier; un *not in A*; *E* hon; *B* tut nu. 1227 *DE* fu; *A* periz, *D* pensif, *E* pelfes. 1228 *E* Deslaceres; *D* cestirez. 1229 *BD* sun uis lied (*D* -ez); *E* loie. 1230 si *not in BE*; *D* seeit, *E* sostenoit. 1231 *D* Forment; la] *E* cele. 1232 *A* rosast, *D* ruast, *E* reusast; *A* le unde. 1233 *A* firent; le *not in A*; *E* le fierent. 1235 *A* Le une, *D* Dune; pur] *E* a; ne] *B* nel; *A* fent. 1236 *A* Le altre; *BD* detries; l' *not in D*, *B* le.

---

affliguntur, tanto digniores fiunt ad mirabilia ejus exploranda. Et quia ejus presidio eis prospera in itinere contigerant, in omnibus accidentibus (*MS.* audientibus) audatiores sunt et tutiores.

Ideoque in processu eorum quiddam videntes ad modum scopuli paulisper a ponto erecti, revera tamen quid esset ignorantes, audacter et tute, (ab) abbate exortante, accesserunt. Erat autem homo quidam scopulo herens, qui nudus et incomptus, et figura miseranda dilaceratus, vultum suum velamine cujusdam panni amictum habebat, et a scopulo sustentabatur. U(u)ndarum autem fluctuantium creberrimis ictibus percuciebatur. Unda quidem veniens eum in altum sustulit, et fere manus suas a saxo privavit. Set di[s]cedens vallem quandam post se fecit, in qua (*MS.* quo) vi manuum (aut magna) deficiente, et corporis sui pondere cogente, quasi

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Peril devant, peril desus,
Peril detriers, peril dejus;
Turmente grant ad a destre,
Nel ad menur a senestre.
Quant l'unde ad fait les empeintes,
Mult lassement fait ses pleintes:
'Hai! pius Jesu, si jo osase,
Mercit de mei! jo criasse.
Hai! Jesu, reis de majestét,
Faldrat ma morz n'ivern ne estét?
Jesu, chi moz tut le trone,
Ja est ta mercit itant bone;
Jesu, tant es misericors;
Ert nul' hure que seie fors?
Jesu, li nez de Marie,
Ne sai si jo mercit crie.
Ne puis, ne n'os, quar tant forfis
Que jugemenz de mei est pris.'
Quant le oit Brandans issi plaindre,
Unches dolur nen out graindre;

1237 *DE* deius. 1238 *D* detries, *E* derier; *DE* desus. 1239 *ABE* Turment; *E* a grant a la senestre; a] *D* en. 1240 a] *D* puint en; *E* Ne la pas m. a la destre. 1241 l'unde *not in B*; *DE* faite ses enp. 1242 *E* conplaintes; *D* Cil fait m. l. ses plentes. 1243–4 *not in A*. 1243 Hai] *D* A deu; *B* piu ihesu; jo *not in D*; *E* iosaise. 1244 jo] *D* a tei, *E* io te; *E* criaise. 1245 *A* A reis ihū; *D* Ahi; reis *not in DE*; *D* maiestez, *E* maiste. 1246 *BDE* mort; *A* niuerz, *D* ne iuer, *E* iver; *B* nen este, *D* nestez, *E* neste. 1247 chi] *D* que; *E* Ha jhē qui; *BDE* muez. 1248 *A* J est (est *upon erasure*), *D* Jas est; *B* tant. 1249 *B* ies. 1250 *BDE* nule; *A* sei. 1251 *E* Jhs̄ qui fu nes. 1252 sai *not in B*, *D* sa; *D* io si; *BDE* merci te. 1253 *E* si nos. 1254 *BD* iugement; *D* est de mei. 1255 *B* lot, *D* loi; *E* br. loi; *B* brand', *D* brendan. 1256 *not in E*; *D* Unc mes. 1257 *and* 1258 *transposed in E*. 1257 *BDE* Lieue; *E* ses freres sajne;

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casurus ruinam minabatur. Sicque superius et inferius, (et) anterius [et] posterius, dextrorsum et sinistrorsum periculum promtum iminebat. Hic autem, cum unda eum repulisset, questus et planctus voce rauca et obtusa emittebat, dicens: 'Ha Jesu pie, si fas esset ad te clamarem. Ha Jesu, rex in majestate, venietne unquam terminus mali mei? Jesu, per quem firmamentum et sidera moventur, Tu propicius eris et misericors, quem ex Maria credo genitum. Eritne unquam dies mihi remedii? Spes et oratio poteruntne prodesse? Possumne sperare, qui talia feci (*MS.* fieri), que nulla possunt [pena satis] puniri? Audeone orare, qui mortem me ipso operante passus sum?'

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Levet sa main, tuz les seignet,
D'apresmer la mult se peinet.
Cum apresmout, la mer ne mot,
Ne venz ne orrez ne la commot.
Dist lui Brandans: 'Di mei, dolenz,
Pur quai suffres icez turmenz.
De part Jesu, qui tu crïes,
Jo te cumant quel mei dïes;
E certement me di qui es,
E le forfait pur quei ci es.'
Pur le plurer Brandans ne pout
Avant parler, mais dunc se tout.
Cil respundit a voiz basse—
Mult ert roie, forment lasse:
'Jo sui Judas, qui serveie
Jesu, que jo traïseie.
Jo sui qui mun seignur vendi,
E pur le doul si me pendi;
Semblant d'amur fis pur baiser,
Descordai quant dui apaiser.

D seignat. 1258 *B* Daprismer la, *E* De luj aproismier; *D* penat. 1259 *E* Quant laproisma; *D* aprismot; *DE* muet. 1260 *D* uent; *B* ne ored, *DE* norez; *DE* cummuet. 1261 *B* Dit; *D* Brendan li dit, *E* Brandans li dist; *D* dolent. 1262 *D* icest, *E* itex; *D* turment. 1263 *E* par; qui] *DE* que; *E* tu ci c. 1264 Jo] *E* Le; *B* que tul me, *D* que le me, *E* que tu me. 1265 *D* Certeinement. que as; *E* E c. par qui i es. 1266 *D* Que si te uei pelfri e las, *E* Tres quant conment par quj i es. 1267 *D* brendan; *E* Voit le plorer adont ne puet. 1268 *E*. A. p. adont se teut. 1269 *A* C. lui respunt, *DE* C. li respundit. 1270 *D* M. esteit roe e, *E* M. enroee e. 1271 *D* que, *E* qui io; *A* seruie. 1272 Jesu] *B* Celui, *D* Jcelui, *E* Jh'u crist; *BDE* qui; *A* traie. 1273 qui] *AD* que. 1274 *BDE* duel. 1275 *D* de amur; pur] *B* de, *DE* par. 1276 *D* que auant dui paiser; *A* aapaiser.

Hoc audiens Brendanus, dolorem in corde suo concepit, quali nunquam antea concitatus erat; et manu erecta, omnes crucis signo munivit, et apropinquavit. Quo (*MS.* qua) appropinquante, ventus statim sedatus est, et mare a motu cessatum (*MS.* -uns) tranquillum fiebat. Dixitque Brendanus: 'Conjuro te per Illum quem invocas, ut dicas mihi cur istis crucieris erumpnis, et quis sis.' Quia fletibus et lacrimis et singultibus insistebat, plura loqui non potuit. Tunc respondens voce humili | et 223[a]
fessa, dixit ei: 'Sum Judas, qui Domino serviebam, quem tradebam. Sum, qui Dominum vendidi, et laqueo me suspendi. Sum, qui ore osculum dedi, mente vero discors factus sum. Sum, qui sumptuum ejus ser-

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Jo sui qui sun aveir guardai,
En larrecin le debardai;
E l'offrande que hom li portout—
Tut' as povres il l'enhortout—
Jo celoue en mes burses:
Pur oc me sunt peines surses;
E quidoue que fust celét
A lui qui fist cel estelét.
As povres Deu bien defendi;
Or sunt riche, e jo mendi.
Jo sui li fels qui Deu haï,
Le simple agnel as lus trahi.
Quant vi que as mains ert Pilate,
Dunc oi chere forment mate.
Quant vi que as mains ert as Judus,
A ceals crüels liverez li pius,
Quant vi que as gabs l'aürouent,
E de spines coronouent,
Quant vi vilment que fud traitez,
Sachez que fui mult dehaitez.
Puis vi que fud menez tüer,
Le dulz costed vi sanc süer.

1277 qui] *D* que. 1278 *AD* larcin; *E* se li emblai; *B* debahardai. 1279 *A* le offrande, *D* loffrendre; *A* quin li, *D* quen li]; *E* E offendi con li portoit. 1280 *D* Tute; *B* il enortout, *D* il lotriout; *E* As p. doner enortoit. 1281 *B* Iel celoe a, *D* Jo c. las en, *E* Jel reloiai ens en. 1282 oc] *D* ico, *E* coi; *E* ces paines. 1283 *D* celee. 1284 qui] *D* que; *D* estelee. 1285 *E* desfendi. 1286 *D* sunt poures, *E* sont il r.; *B* Ore s. riches e io sui m. 1287 *BE* fel; *E* que; *D* deus. 1288 *A* Li; *E* uendi. 1289 *D* quas, *E* ques; *E* ert de p. 1290 *D* Dunches, *E* Adont; forment] *E* lasse e. 1291 que as] *A* as, *BD* quas, *E* ques; as] *D* a; *A* uidus, *E* iuis. 1292 *A* As c., *BE* A ces, *D* A sez; *BDE* liurez; li p.] *E* caitis. 1293 *DE* a gas; *A* laurouent, *B* laorent, *D* le urouent. 1294 *A* spinis; *A* lę corouneint, *DE* le c. 1295 *A* vilement; *D* quil; *E* vi que v. fu; *D* tra...z. 1296 *BE* que m. fui, *D* quen fu m.; *D* esmaez, *E* deshaities. 1297 *D* quil fut. 1298 *D* Ses dous costez. 1300 de] *E* par. 1301 *D* E les; tost *not in B*, *D* tuz;

vator fui, set latenter in malis consumpsi. Sum, qui oblationes ei oblatas servavi, quas cum pauperibus erogandas destinavit, ego miser in marsupiis meis celabam. Ideoque jure penas possideo. . . . Illi modo divites sunt, et ego miserrimus inter creaturas. Sum, qui iniquitates meas ab illo abscondi posse putavi qui futura presentialiter intuetur, et qui quolibet loco (*MS.* loquo) totaliter est contentus. Sum, qui Dominum meum odio habui, et qui agnum mitem lupis uorandum tradidi. Qui, cum pius in manus perfide gentis Judaice commissus erat, modo vilissimo tractabatur, et spinis coronatus ad crucifigendum ductus est, dehinc ex latere

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Quant vi qu'en cruz esteit penduz,
E fud a mort de mei venduz,
Les deners tost offri trente;
Cil ne voldrent cuilir rente.
Repentance nen oi sage,
Ainz me tuai par ma rage;
E quant confés ne me rendi,
Dampnez en sui de di en di.
Tu ne veiz rien de ma peine
Que enz en enfern jo demaine;
Cist est repos de mun peril,
Que al samadi prenc al seril.
Dïemaine trestut le jurn
Desque al vespre ai tel sujurn,
E del Noël la quinzeine
Ici deport ma grant peine,
E as festes la Marie
Mes granz peines n'ai dunc mie;
Pasches e a Pentecoste
Fors tant cum veiz n'ai plus custe;
A feste altre en trestut l'an
N'ai entrebat de mun ahan.

E Les d. rendi trestot .xxx. 1302 *D* Mes il, *E* Mais cil; ne] *DE* nen; *B* uolstrent, *D* uoldrunt. 1303 *A* Renp.; *D* io no, *E* nen oi pas. 1304 *B* me pendi; *D* Kar uers deu oi malueis curage, *E* Por ce mavint itel damage. 1305 *A* confesse. 1306 *BD* Dampned; *A* D. sui; *E* fuj. 1307 rien] *B* nient, *E* ci riens; *D* ma grant p. 1308 *B* Quenz; *E* Que io ens en e.; en *not in AD.* 1309 *BD* Cil; *E* Cel li r. 1310 *A* Quel al, *B* Qual; *E* al sabat prang. 1311 *A* Dimaine, *D* Dimeine; *E* Al diemence tot. 1312 *B* Desqual, *D* Desque al, *E* De ci al; *B* itel. 1313 *B* E de, *D* E tut del; *E* quarantaine 1314 *A* deportet, *D* demain io; *E* Cest li depors de ma g. p. 1315 *D* a la feste; la] *BD* seinte, *E* de la. 1316 *DE* De mes; *D* grant; *A* ni ai, *BDE* nai io; dunc *not in DE.* 1317 *B* As pasches, *DE* A p.; e] *E* ne; *D* al p. 1318 *BD* ueez, *E* ves; *A* ni ai; *E* plus de c. 1319 *BE* altre feste; en *not in BD.* 1320 *E* entrelais; *B* haan.

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ejus lancea perforato sanguis emanavit, animadvertens ego me venditore hoc factum fuisse, triginta argenteos capere nolentibus obtuli; et quia non confessus sum, set seviens me ipsum occidi, penis crucior miserandis. Hic autem penas non patior; set requiem hic habeo laboris, que a sero sabbatis inchoans, die tota dominica durat. In nativitate Domini similiter quindecim diebus, et in Pascha, et in Pentecosten, et in diebus festis sancte Dei genetricis Marie, hic requiesco; set sero diei dominice ad tormenta miseranda discedo.'

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Dïemaine al aserir
D'ici m'en voi pur asperir.'
Dunc dist Brandans: 'Ore me di,
Itel repos quant as ici,
En quels endreiz te demeines
Es turmentes e es peines?
E es peines quel liu as tu?
D'ici quant moz, u en vas tu?'
Respunt Judas: 'Pres est li lius
As diables u est li fius;
N'i ad guaires fors sul un poi:
Tant en sui luign que ci nes oi.
Dous enfers ad ci dejuste;
De suffrir les est grant custe.
Mult pres d'ici sunt dui enfern
Qui ne cessent esteit ne ivern.
Li plus legiers est horribles,
A ceals qu'i sunt mult penibles;
Ço quident cil qui la peinent
Que altre vers eals mal ne meinent.

1321 *A* serir, *B* asserril; *D* Demeine al seir dici, *E* Quant vient al diemence al soir. 1322 *BE* De ci. uois; *B* par esperil, *E* par estovoir; *D* Me rauirunt mi enemi. 1323 *E* Dont; *D* brendan; *AE* or me, *B* ore le me, *D* or le me. 1324 *B* Icel, *D* Tel; quant] *BE* cum. 1325 *and* 1326 *transposed in B.* 1325 *A* quel endreit. deimeines; *E* Por quels endrois dont te d. 1326 Es] *A* En, *D* As; es] *BD* as; *DE* granz p. 1327 es] *A* en es, *BD* as; quel] *A* que; *B* tu as. 1328 *BD* De ci; *E* Quant de ci; *DE* muez; *B* cument tu uas, *E* que deviens tu. 1330 *A* A diables as dia; li] *D* mis; *A* fuis, *E* fus. 1331 *A* guairs. po. 1332 *D* pres, *E* loins; *D* que de ci les oi; ci] *E* io. 1333 *D* en i ad ci iuste; *E* a ici. 1334 est] *B* ad, *D* en i ad, *E* est molt. 1335 *BE* de ci; sunt] *B* ad. 1336 *AD* Que; *B* cesse; *B* nen este, *D* nestez, *E* neste; *B* nen iuern, *DE* niuern. 1337 *D* ligier; *B* est mult, *E* est trop. 1338 *D* ces; *B* ki i, *E* qui la; mult] *D* tant. 1339 *E* quident bien cil.

Tunc dixit Brendanus: 'Cum hec sit requies, dic, queso, quid pro pena tibi reputetur. Hinc discedens, quo vadis? Quis est locus tormentorum tuorum?' Respondens Judas dixit: 'Demonum habitatio affinis est; nec major est intercapedo, quam (*MS.* quanti) que sufficiat, ut a me non audiantur. Sunt autem ibi duo inferni; eorumque tormenta fine sunt caritura. Quorum(que) qui minus est horrendus, suos ita punit, ut nullam penam sue putent comparabilem. Non est autem, me solo excepto, qui utriusque illorum tormenta possit dijudicare. Quilibet enim uno illorum
223[b] contentus est; set ego solus miser utriusque patior tormenta. | Unus illorum in monte situs est, et alius in valle; quos quidem mare ingens

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Fors mei ne set uns suls de nus
Li quels des dous seit plus penus;
N'est nuls plus ait que l'un des dous,
Mais jo chaitis ai amedous.
L'uns est en munt e l'altre en val,
E sis depart la mer de sal;
Les dous enfers, mer les depart,
Mais merveille est que tute n'art.
Cil del munt est plus penibles,
E cil del val plus horribles;
Cil pres del air calz e sullenz,
Cil pres de mer freiz e pullenz.
Ovoec la nuit un jurn sui sus,
Puis altretant demoir enjus;
Al un jurn munt, l'altre descent,
N'est altre fin de mun turment;
Ne change enfern pur aleger,
Mais pur les mals plus agreger.
Par le lundi e nuit e jurn
En la roe sui en tresturn,

1340 *A* mal uers eals. 1341 *BD* un sul, *E* .i. seul. 1342 Li *not in A*; des] *D* dels; seit] *DE* est. 1343 *D* Nest lun; *E* Nus nest qui a; *B* fors un; des] *A* de, *D* dels. 1344 *E* E io; *BD* chaitif; *E* les ai; *BD* ambes dous, *E* ans d. 1345 *D* Li uns; en] *BE* a, *D* al; e *not in DE*; *E* lautres; *BD* al ual, *E* aval. 1346 *BDE* de mer le sal. 1347 *E* Ices .ij. e. mers d. 1348 *A* merueil; est *not in D*; *A* tuit ne, *D* tut nen; *E* M. grant m. ai quele nart. 1349 *DE* Jcil; *E* damont. 1350 *E* daual; *ADE* est plus. 1351 *B* chalt; *D* est chalt suillent. 1352 *A* del m.; *D* freit e puillent. 1353 *E* Avoec; *D* sius. 1354 *BE* demur; *D* redemore ius; *E* ca jus. 1355 *A* Al lun; *AD* munte; *B* al altre. 1357 *BE* chang, *D* chanz. 1358 les] *E* mes. 1359 le *not in AE*; *D* les lundis; *BE* la n.; *E* e le ior. 1360 *A* ro; *D* En la rusee sui al tristur, *E* Suj en la r. sans retor.

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separat; set mirum est illud totum igne non cremari. Ille qui in monte est, pena est trucior, set qui in valle, horribilior. Qui in monte est, calidus est et sudorificus, in aera extensus; et qui in valle, frigidus est et fetidus, in mare demissus. Die tota cum nocte sursum moror; et postea die sequenti jusa (*corr.* jusum ?) descendo. Sicque alternatim ascendens et descendens, novis penis torquendus transmigro, non ad malorum detrimentum set augmentum.

Die lune cum nocte comitante in inferno superiori in rota quadam sum positus, et venti agitatione raptus, orbiculariter circumvolo, propria vestigia ventorum (*MS.* uelorum) sequens. Die Martis sequente ad infernum

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E jo chaitis, encroëz enz,
Turni tant tost cum fait li venz;
Venz la cunduit par tut cel air,
Totdis m'en voi, totdis repair.
Puis el marsdi en sui galiz,
Cum cil qui est tot acaliz;
Ultre la mer vol enz el val
Al altre enfern u tant ad mal.
Iloces sui tost ferlïez,
De diables mult escrïez;
El lit sui mis sur les broches,
Sur mei mettent plums e roches;
Iloces sui si espeez
Que tant percét mun cors veez.
Al mecredi sus sui rüez,
U li perilz mei est müez:
Pose del jurn buil en la peiz,
U sui si teinz cum ore veiz;
Puis sui ostét e mis en rost,
Entre dous fus lïed al post.
Li post de fer fichét i est;
Se pur mei nun, pur el n'i est;

1361 *DE* chaitif; *A* encroenz, *D* encroiz; *B* entre dedenz. 1362 *D* Tormi, *E* Torne; *E* tantost; *B* cume li. 1363 *B* Uent la, *D* Suuent, *E* Vent le. 1364 *BD* men uois, *E* reuois; *A* tot di r. 1365 *A* el demain, *E* le mardi; en] *A* el; *D* Al iur de marsdi sui g. 1366 *B* Cume; *A* tuz *expunctuated beneath* tot; E tos; *B* eschaliz; *D* Quant li cuirs mes tut achaliz. 1367 *A* en le, *D* enz al. 1368 *BDE* En laltre; ad] *D* ai. 1369 tost] *DE* tut; *BE* ferm liez (*E* lijes). 1370 *BE* Des; *B* m. acriez, *D* m. trauaillez, *E* tos escrijes. 1371 *D* Al; *E* i suj. 1372 *E* E sor; *D* iettent. 1373 si *not in B*. 1374 Que] *BE* Cume; *D* perciez; *AB* mun c. tant p., *E* mon c. ici. 1375 *B* mecresdi, *D* merquedis, *E* merkerdi; *BE* sui sus, *D* sui si; *E* leues. 1376 mei] *ABE* mi, *D* me. 1377 *AD* Puis del; *D* builli en p. 1378 *A* fui ci. 1379 *DE* ostez; en] *A* al. 1380 *BD* feus; *D* liez, *E* loies. 1381 *D* Le; *B* Li p. de post de f.; *B* fiechez, *DE* fichez; i] *D* ni. 1382 *BD* Si. 1383 *D* roche cum dis enz; *AB* cume. 1384 *A* fous; *BE* geust, *D* gut; fols] *D* feus; *E* G. el fu a f. s. 1385 la] *A* li; *B* esprent, *D* ses prent. 1386

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inferiorem, mare transvolans, migro; ibidemque statim ferro ligatus sum, et demonibus conclamantibus, in grabato quodam positus sum super stimulos, plumbumque et saxa (*MS.* sara) superponuntur, ibique verutus sum, sicut nunc in corpore meo perforato apparet. Die Mercurii sursum ascendo ad penam renovandam, quia spacio diei magno in pice bullio, et colore tetro intingor, ut nunc apparet in cute. Dehinc inter duos ignes coquendus ad postem ligatus sum in fetore, qui solus ad mortem jure posset sufficere. Postis vero iste non ob aliud, nisi propter me solum,

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Tant est ruges cum si dis anz
En fu goüst as fols sufflanz;
E pur la peiz li fus s'i prent
Pur enforcer le men turment;
E dunc resui en peiz rüez,
Pur plus ardeir sui enlüez.
Nen est marbres nuls itant durs
Ne fust remis, se fust mis surs;
Mais jo sui fait a cest' ire,
Que mis cors ne poit defire.
Itel peine, que que m'anuit,
Ai tut un jurn e une nuit.
Puis al jusdi sui mis en val,
E pur suffrir contrarie mal
Dunches sui mis en un freid leu,
Mult tenebrus e forment ceu;
Tant i ai freid que mei est tart
Qu'el fu seie qui si fort art;
E dunc m'est vis n'est turmente
Que del freid dunt plus me sente;
E de chescun si m'est avis
Ne seit si fort quant enz sui mis.

BE esforcier, *D* aforcier; *D* li mien. 1387 *E* dont; *A* sui; en] *E* el. 1388 sui] *A* lui; *E* i suj getes. 1389 *B* Nest; *E* Jl nest nus m.; *D* Nen est piere nule si d. 1390 *B* remes; se] *AB* ne; mis] *B* mais; *E* r. e. ars tos purs; *D* Que ne fundist en cele arsure. 1391 sui] *D* sul; *E* fais; *A* acce a icest, *D* ai icest; *E* de tel matire. 1392 mis] *A* nuls, *E* mes las; *BE* puet; *A* dire desire, *E* desfrire; *D* Kar li miens cuers nen puet fire. 1393 *B* que quen. 1394 *BD* tute iurn e tute n. 1395–6 *not in D.* 1395 *A* su; *BE* el ual. 1396 *B* cuntraire e, *E* a traire. 1397 *AB* Dunc; *D* enz en freit, *E* en tel destroit; leu *not in DE.* 1398 *E* e molt estroit; *D* ciut. 1399 i *not in D*; *E* Tant par est f.; *D* que il, *E* quil; *A* mei est a t., *BE* mest a t., *D* mest t. 1400 *E* Que fuisse el fu; qui] *DE* que; si] *A* tant. 1401 *E* Adont; *D* auis; *E* que nest. 1402 *D* Que est del f., *E* Que del grant f.; dunt *not in B*, *A* que; me] *B* ne men. 1403 si] *D* co; *A* uis. 1404 *B* sui enz, *E* i suj.

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ibi est; qui quidem candet non secus quam si decem annis follibus sufflantibus in igne accenderetur (*MS.* asc-). Dehinc ad augmentum tormenti mei pix qua circumlinior igne accenditur. Post hec ad picem redeo. Non est marmor adeo durus qui huic pene posset resistere, quin statim adnichilaretur; set ego miser, quicquid patiar, adnichilari non possum. Die Jovis rursum descendo, et in loco frigidissimo et tenebroso sum positus, ita quod pro frigore nimio calorem pati mallem diei precedentis. Sic vero cujuslibet pene supplicium, dum presens est, omnibus

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Al vendresdi revenc amunt,
U tantes morz cuntre mei sunt.
Dunc me scorcent trestut le cors,
Que de la pel n'at puint defors;
En la suie ovoec le sel
Puis me fulent od l'ardant pel;
Puis me revent hastivement
Tuz nuvels quirs a cel turment.
Dis feiz le jurn bien me scorcent,
El sel entrer puis m'esforcent;
E puis me funt tut cald beivre
Le plum remis od le queivre.
Al samedi jus me rüent,
U li altre mals me müent;
E puis sui mis en gaiole—
En tut enfern n'at si fole,
En tut enfern n'at si orde—
En li descen, e sanz corde.
Iloeces gis—n'i ai luur—
En tenebres e en puur.
Puurs i vent itant grande
Ne guart quant mes quers espande;

1405 *D* As uendredis, *E* Al uenredi; *B* reuieng, *E* reuieg. 1406 *D* tanz morz, *E* totes m. 1407 *E* Dont; *D* scorgent. 1408 at] *D* ai; *A* puig. 1409 *E* E puis ens mis auoec; le] *B* la. 1411 me *not in A*. 1412 Tuz] *BD* Tut, *E* Lues; *BDE* nuuel quir. 1413 le jurn] *E* issi; bien] *D* tut, *E* le cors; *D* scorgent. 1414 *E* En s. apres entrer; *A* me forcent; *D* En la salse puis me tolent. 1415 *D* a force, *E* trestot caut; *A* beuire. 1416 *D* od tut, *E* auoec; *A* quire, *D* cuiure, *E* coiure. 1417 jus] *E* aval. 1418 *E* li malfe; *B* mal, *E* mes max; me] *B* ne. 1419 *E* Apres suj; *D* sui io m.; en] *DE* en la. 1420 *E* tote; *BDE* nen ad; si] *E* tant. 1421 *BD* nen ad; *E* Ne si orible ne si o. 1422 *B* descend senz; *D* Iluec me ruent tuz s. c., *E* La ens me getent il s. c. 1423 *D* Iluec; *B* men gis; ai] *D* ad. 1424 *B* teniebres. 1425 *B* E puur, *D* Puur; *D* me uient, *E* i est; *B* tant, *D* qui tant, *E* e itant. 1426 *B* Nesguart; *E* Ne gart leure; quant *not in E*, *D* que; *B* mis, *D* li miens; *BDE*

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aliis mihi gravius esse videtur. Die Veneris rursum ascendo, mortuis infinitis obvius. Tunc quidem excoriatus sum, nulla parte pellis mee remanente. Postea cum palis ardentibus in sale detrusus sum; ibique in illo supplicio nova pelle statim indutus sum. Et sic decies in die excoriatus, et tociens in sale nova pelle indutus, plumbum calidum cum cupro
224[a] bibere cogor (*MS.* cggor). | [D]ie sabbati ad infernum inferiorem descendo, ibique in carcerem absque corde adjumento demissus sum. Inmundiorem autem infernus non habet. Ibique jacens in tenebris et fetore, vitam meam fere consumo. Plumbum et cuprum que potavi meo obstant vomitui.

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Ne puis vomir pur le queivre
Que cil la me firent beivre;
Puis enfle fort, e li quirs tent;
Anguisus sui, pur poi ne fent.
Tels calz, tels freiz e tels ulurs
Suffret Judas, e tels dolurs.
Si cum fud er al samedi,
Vinc ci entre nune e midi;
Hui mei repos a cest sedeir.
Eneveies avrai mal seir:
Mil deiables senés vendrunt;
Ne avrai repos quant mei tendrunt.
Mais si tu es de tel saveir,
Anuit me fai repos aveir.
Si tu es de tel merite,
Anuit me fai estre quite.
Bien sai que tu sainz es e pius,
Quant sanz reguarz vens a tels lius.'
Plurout Brandans a larges plurs
D'iço que cist ad tanz dolurs;
Comandet lui que lui dïet
Que li dras deit dum se lïet,

nespande. 1427 *B* E ne, *E* Jo ne; *A* uomer, *E* waumir; *A* quiuere, *B* quiure, *D* cuiure, *E* coiure. 1428 la] *E* malfe. 1429 *D* tient. 1430 pur] *DE* a. 1431 *D* Tel chalt tel freit e tel dolur; *E* odors. 1432 *D* tel dolur. 1433 *B* cume. 1434 *A* Veinc, *E* Ving; ci *not in E*, *B* ici; *E* miedi. 1435 Hui] *B* Ore, *D* Or, *E* Ci; *BDE* me. 1436 *A* Uneueis, *BD* Eneueis, *E* Aneuois; *B* auerai io, *D* aurai io, *E* i arai. 1437 *D* senez, *E* senpres. 1438 *BDE* Naurai. me. 1439 *B* ies ditel; *E* pooir. 1440 *E* Fai me r. anuit. 1441 *DE* E se; *D* ies. 1442 *E* A. mais me; *D* faites. 1443 *B* fai; tu *not in B*; *E* tu es s. e p. 1444 *BD* reguart, *E* repos; a] *BDE* en; *B* itel, *DE* tel. 1445 *B* Plurat, *E* Plore; *D* brendan. 1446 *BDE* De co; *E* cis; *D* tant, *E* tes. 1447 *B* C. len, *D* Il li demande; *BD* quil li, *E* que il li. 1448 *D* Que deit le drap; *D* dunt il, *E* que il.

Ideoque ex inflatione intrinsecus genita cor meum fere findere cogitur. Sicque calore et frigore, putredine et dolore crucior miserandus. Set, ut de more, soleo er[u]i infra nonam et meridiem; huc veniens requiem sumpturus sum laboris usque ad noctem. Tunc autem a mille demonibus retentus ad tormenta redibo. Set, si potens es, hac nocte, queso, me immunem fac esse laboris. Potentem quidem te credo, qui ad hec loca tutus ab omni accedis periculo.'

Brendanus, maxillis lacrimis rigatis, querere cepit quid pannus, quo vultus ejus velabatur, quidque petra, qua subportabatur, portenderent

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E la pere u il se tint,
Demandet dunt e de qui vint.
Cil lui respunt: 'En ma vie
Fis poi bien e mult folie.
Li bien e mal or me perent
Quel enz el quer plus chier m'erent.
Del almoine que jo guardai
A un nud fed drap acatai;
Pur cel ai cest dun me lie
Par la buche, que ne nie;
Quant l'unde vent el vis devant,
Alques par cest ai de guarant;
Mais en enfern ne me valt rien,
Quant de propre ne fud mun bien.
A un' aigue fis un muncel,
E puis desus un fort puncel,
U mult home periseient,
Mais puis bien i guariseient;
Pur oec ai ci refrigerie
De si grande ma miserie.'
Cum apresmout vers le primseir,
Dunc vit Brandans que cil dist veir:

1449 *E* E de la. tient. 1450 *D* de quei; *E* dont est e dont vient. 1451 *D* E il; *BDE* li; *E* respondi. 1452 *D* petit b., *E* poi de b. 1453 *A* Li biens e mals; *BDE* e li mal; *B* ore; me *not in D*; *A* pent. 1454 *BE* Que; *E* chieres; *D* Qui en mun cuer felun erent. 1455 *BDE* almosne; *D* qui. 1456 nud fed] *B* fed, *D* puure; *E* Vn poure drap en ac. 1457 cel] *B* ico, *DE* co; *E* cest drap; *D* io me. 1458 *E* Devant ma b.; *D* ne me ui; *A* neie. 1459 *A* en le, *BD* al. 1461 me *not in B*. 1462 *B* de mun p.; *DE* Q. ne fut de mun propre bien (*D* mien). 1463 *D* ewe; *E* poncel. 1464 *D* E dedesus; *E* pomel. 1465 *D* mulz humes, *E* molt domes; *DE* i p. 1466 *D* tresbien, *E* molt bien. 1467 *B* oc, *DE* co; *D* ci tant de repos. 1468 *A* manuserie; *D* De mes granz peines sui ci fors, *E* De ma tres grande m. 1469 *E* Quant; *A* apremout, *D* aprismout, *E* aproismoit; *A* premseir. 1470 *E* Dont; *D* brendan. cist. 1471 *A* Vit, *D* Dunc uit, *E* E voit; i *not in ADE*.

Qui respondens dixit: 'Bona que in vita mea gessi, que quidem pauca fuerant, et mala, que quidem multa, prout feci nunc apparent. Ex elemosina quam custodiebam, pannum cuidam nudo emeram; ideoque vultus meus co[n]tra undarum impulsiones hoc munitur velamine. Set quia ex censu proprio emptum non fuerat, nullum in inferno mihi confert solatium. Preterea ultra aquam quandam, qua multi perierant, pontem quendam struxi, quo multi postea evaserunt. Ideoque hoc saxo subportatus, miserie mee hic habeo refrigerium.'

Die vesperascente, Brendanus demonum mille cum tormentis et peri-

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Veit i venir deiables mil
Od turmentes e grant peril;
E venent dreit a cel dolent;
Salt l'uns avant, al croc le prent.
Brandans lur dist: 'Laisez l'ici
Desque al matin que seit lunsdi.'
Cil li dïent e calengent
Ne lairunt pas que nel prengent.
Dunc dist Brandans: 'Jol vus comant,
E de Jesu faz mun guarant.'
Cil le laisent, e a force;
N'i unt nïent al estorce.
Brandans estait iloec la nuit;
N'i ad malfez qui mult n'annuit.
Deiables sunt del altre part;
Ainz que seit jurz mult lur est tart;
A grant greine, a voiz truble,
Dïent que avrat peine duble.
Respunt l'abes: 'Ne avrat turment
Plus que ad oüd par jugement.'
E puis qu'il fud cler ajurnét,
Od tut Judas s'en sunt turnét.

1472 grant] *DE* od. 1473 *not in DE.* 1474 *E* Vns saut; *B* lun, *D* uns. *After* 1474 *D adds* Li abes crie iol te defent, *E adds* E apres saillent plus de cent. 1475 *D* Brendan; *BE* dit; *BE* le ci, *D* le ici. 1476 *BD* Desqual; *E* Dusca demain; *AB* lusdi. 1477 *D* E il; *E* C. li respondent quil c. 1478 *B* Nel; *BD* larrunt; *BD* quil, *E* que il; *B* prenchent, *E* pregnent. 1479 *E* Dont; *B* dit; *BD* labes; *A* io, *BE* iel. 1480 *E* fai. 1481 *D* leisserent; *E* Cil li laissierent a grant f. 1482 *D* Kar ni. par e.; *E* Ni ont pooir ains les estorce. 1483 *D* Brendan; *B* estut, *D* estat, *E* estoit. 1484 *E* Ni ot; *BE* malfed; *B* que mult, *E* que il. 1485 *B* Deable, *E* Dyable. 1486 que *not in D*, *BE* quil; *BD* iur; mult *not in E*; *E* est il. 1487 *B* groine, *D* crieme; *E* A molt g. groig; *DE* e a. 1488 *B* quil auerad, *E* quil avra. 1489 *D* labe; *B* nauerad, *DE* naurat. 1490 Plus] *E* Puis; *B* quad, *E* ca. 1491 *E* E quant il. 1492 *E* A tot; s' *not in E*; *D* sun.

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culis vidit apropinquare. Q[u]orum recto itinere ad Judam accedentium unus prosiliens in misellum uncum injecit. Dixit autem Brendanus: 'Dimitatur hic in crastinum diem lune.' Illi autem protervientes illum affirmant non remansurum. Tunc dixit Brendanus: 'Precipio vos ex parte Jesu Christi, ut absque impedimento vestro mecum hac nocte moretur.' Tunc illi, eo relicto, inviti abierunt, et a Brendano tota nocte morante non multum remoti, penam Jude duplandam promitebant, voce demissa et susurrante murmurantes. Quibus dixit abbas: 'Aliud supplicium non | habebit, quam quod recto judicio habuerit.' Et mane facto, 224[b]

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Brandans s'en vait d'iloec avant.
Bien set, de Deu ad bon guarant;
E li muine bien sevent tuit
Que segur sunt el Deu cunduit.
Mercïent Deu de lur veies
E de tutes lur agreies.

Vv. 1499–1510. A Monk mysteriously disappears.

Cum se numbrent li cumpaignun,
En lur cunte failent al un,
E ne sevent qu'est devenuz,
Ne en quel leu est detenuz;
Des dous sevent cum unt errét,
Mais de cest terz sunt enserrét.
L'abes lur dist, qui tut le sout:
'Deus en ad fait ço que li plout.
D'iço n'aiez nule dute,
Ainz tenez bien vostre rute.
Sachez qu'il ad sun jugement,
U de repos u de turment.'

Vv. 1511–1612. Paul the Hermit.

Si cum il vunt, veient ester
Un munt mult halt tut sul en mer.

1493 *D* Brendan. 1494 *D* siet. 1495 *D* seuen; *E* s. bien. 1496 *BDE* seur; el] *AD* al. 1497 *E* E m. 1498 *D* trestutes l. agrees; *E* E de lor mals e de lor ioies. 1499 *E* Quant se noment. 1501 *BE* deuenud. 1502 *BE* detenud. 1503–17 *not in E.* 1503 unt] *B* sunt; *D* errez. 1504 *B* del t., *D* dicel t.; *A* terce; *D* enserrez. 1505 *B* dit; tut] *D* bien. 1506 li] *B* lui. 1508 *B* Mais, *D* Anceis. 1510 repos] *D* peril. 1511 *B* cume; *D* Si c. il ueient en mer e. 1512 mult *not in D*; tut *not in B*. 1513 *D* i uient mes a la. 1514 *D* Ruiste; *A* ęst ert, *D* fut. 1515 *B* dit; *D* estraime men. 1516 *B* mueued; *D* un. 1517 *A* Puieit. 1518 *AD* trouet v n. 1519 *D* rochei, *E* rochier. 1520 *A* bodme, *B* bosne

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diem multum moratam ducentes, Juda comitante discesserunt. Felix turma virtute Christi roborata discedit, et Deum ex successibus qui eis contigerant, laudare non desinit.

Numeratis demum sociis, unum in numero deesse comperti sunt. Cujus absentiam ammirantes, duos amisisse recordantur; set quo istum tercium amiserunt, ignorant. Abbas, cui vera patebant, dixit: 'Voluntas Domini de eo impleta est, de eo ne cogitetis; premium pro merito possidet.'

Procedentibus illis, montem quendam super mare erectum viderunt, ad quem statim accesserunt; set propter altitudinem terre exitus eis erat

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Tost i venent, mais la rive
Roiste lur est e escive.
L'abes lur dist: 'Istrai m'en fors.
Ne movet uns fors sul mun cors.'
Puiet le munt e lunges vait
Ainz que trovét nule rien ait.
Par un rochét sa veie tint,
Une bodne puis i survint.
Eisit uns hom tost de cel liu,
Religius semblout e piu.
Cil apelet Brandan avant—
Quar par Deu fud sun nun savant—
Puis le baiset; ses cumpaignuns
Dist qu'amenget: ne failet uns.
Vait i Brandans, fait les venir,
Funt al rochét la nef tenir.
Cil les ad tuz numez par sei:
'Venez avant e baisez mei.'
Cil li firent. Puis les menet
A sun estre, lur enseignet.
Cil reposent cum lur ad dit.
Merveillent lui e sun habit:
N'ad vestement fors de sun peil,
Dum est cuvert si cum de veil;

or bodne (d *corrected to* s, *or vice versa*): i] *A* il; *D* En un bel liu puis si, *E* Une abeie i. 1521 *AB* Eist; *E* Uns hom issi; tost *not in B*; *BD* dicel. 1522 *D* semblent. 1523 avant] *B* par nun. 1524 *not in B*; *E* sachant. 1525 *E* Il le baisse; *D* baisat; *B* b. cume cumpainun; *E* e ses; *A* cumpaignus. 1526-40 *not in B*. 1526 *D* Dit qual mangier nen; *E* quil amaigne ni f. 1527 *D* brendan. 1528 *E* Al rochier fait; *D* rochei; la] *A* le, *E* sa; *A* tener. 1529 les *not in A*; *E* les maine tos apres soi. 1531 *D* E cil; li] *DE* le; *D* meinet, *E* en maine. 1532 *D* E tut lur estre; *E* si lor. 1533 reposent] *D* respunt; cum] *E* quant. 1534 *E* M. soi de s. h. 1536 *D* Tut, *E* Dont; *E* couers; si cum] *DE* cume.

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dificilis. Quibus abbas dixit: 'Sinite me solum ire; nullus vestrum mecum exeat.' Et montem ascendens, diu ambulavit. Deinde per scopulum quendam iter carpens, casulam quandam invenit, ex qua homo quidam exivit, qui religiosus ei et pius videbatur. Hic abbatem nomine proprio, quod Deo doctore prescivit, nuncupavit, et osculum junxit, rogavitque ut socios suos adduceret. Brendanus regreditur, et nave ad cautem firmata, cuncti venerunt. Quibus singulatim nominatis oscula singula tradidit, et postea esse suum eis manifestavit. Illi autem eum et habitum ejus mirantes, in loco quo precepit eis requiescebant. Vestimento nullo indue-

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Reguard aveit angelïel,
E tut le cors celestïel ;
N'est si blance neifs ne clere
Cume li peilz d'icest frere.
Dist lui Brandans : 'Beal pere chers,
Di mei qui es.' Cil : 'Volunters.
Jo ai nun Pols li hermites.
De tuz dolurs sui ci quites.
Ci ai estét grant e lunc tens,
E ça m'en vinc par Deu asens.
El secle fui hermite en bois :
Cele vie pris en mun cois.
Secund le sens, que aveie poi,
Deu serveie si cume soi;
Il le cuilit par sa buntét,
Qu'a plus que n'est le m'at cuntét.
La me mandat, ci venisse
U ma glorie attendisse.
Cument i vinc? En nef entrai
Tute preste cum la truvai;
Deus me cunduist tost e süef;
Quant arivai, ralat la nef.

1539 *D* Nen est ; *D* neif clere, *E* n. ne si c. 1540 *D* Cum esteit li peil de cel f., *E* Con li poil est de cel .ã. f. 1541 *E* Dit; *BDE* li ; *D* brendan; *E* biaus. 1542 *BDE* uolentiers. 1543 *E* ai a non ; *BDE* pol ; *D* si fui hermite. 1544 dolurs] *D* trauailz, *E* pechies ; *B* ci sui, *D* ici sui, *E* sui icj ; *D* quite. 1545–6 *not in B.* 1545 *D* estez ; *D* ia mult lugn t., *E* molt a l. t. 1546 *E* ving. 1547 *D* Al s. 1548 *B* pris io ; en] *BE* a ; *A* cors. 1549–52 *not in B.* 1549 *DE* Sulunc ; *A* que auer, *DE* kaueie. 1550 *D* De ; *A* seruçie ; cume] *DE* cum io. 1551 *A* Ible c. ; *D* buntez. 1552 Qu'a] *DE* Que ; *E* quen est ; le] *A* la ; *D* cuntez. 1553 ci] *AE* que ci, *D* ci me ; *B* De la me m. deus que ci u. 1554–70 *missing in E.* 1554 *D* Le derain iur i at. 1555–60 *not in B.* 1556 *D* Trestute preste la t.

batur, set pilos ad instar nivis candidos, quibus undique obsitus erat, pro veste habuit. Vultus ejus quasi angelicus erat, et corpus ejus quasi celeste.

Quesivit autem ab eo Brendanus quis esset. Cui ipse respondit: 'Paulus vocor nomine, et sum heremita, qui Deo doctore huc veniens, ab omni imunis dolore diu hic mansi. Ego quidem secularis existens, vitam heremite in nemore habitans aliis preëlegi, et pro posse meo et sensu Domino libens serviebam. Ibique mandavit mihi Dominus ut huc venirem et gloriam meam hic expectarem. Tunc quidem navem ingressus

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Nunante anz ad qu'ai ci estét,
Beal tens i ad, tuzdis estét;
Ici atent le juïse,
De Deu en ai cumandise;
Trestut i sui en carn e os,
Sanz mal que ai sui en repos.
Dunc a primes al jugement
Le spirit del cors frat seivrement;
Od les justes resuscitrai
Pur la vie que segut ai.
Un sergant oi trent' anz pleiners,
De mei servir ert suveners:
Uns lutres fud, qui m'aportout
Suvent peisun dun il me pout,
Tuzdis tres jurs la semaine;
Unckes nule ne fud vaine
Que treis peisuns ne me portast,
Dun aveie mult pleiner past.
Al col pendud, marin werec
Plein un sacel portout tut sec,
Dun mes peisuns pouse quire.
Par qui ço fud, bien ert sire.

1557 *D* Deu; *AD* cunduit; *D* e tost. 1559 *D* estez. 1560 *D* Bel t. i ai cunuersez. 1561 *D* atendrai. 1562 *D* ai la c. 1563-4 *placed after* 1554 *in D*. 1563-6 *not in B*. 1563 i *not in D*; *AD* e en os. 1564 que ai] *A* quar. 1565-6 *D* E icel iur deseurat Lalme del cors departirat. 1567 *B* resusciterai, *D* susciterai. 1568 segut] *B* suffert, *D* souz. 1569 *A* Uns; *BD* pleniers. 1570 ert *not in AB*. 1571 *B* Co fud uns l., *D* Un lutre f.; *B* me ap. 1572 Suvent *not in D*; *E* dont me peuoit. 1573 *BD* Tut; *ABE* en la, *D* de la. 1574 *D* nen fut nule, *E* ne fu negune. 1575 *A* mäportast, *BDE* maportast. 1576 mult *not in ABE*; *BDE* plenier; *E* repast. 1577-80 *not in B*. 1577 *A* A c.; *D* penduz; *E* warec. 1579 *D* mun peisun; *D* puise, *E* peusse. 1580 *D* tresbien; ert *not in D*, *E* estoit.

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quam promptam inveni, Deo ductore hic applicui; dehinc et navis recto itinere regressa est. Nonaginta annis jam | transactis post adventum 225[a]
meum, nullam temporis hic vidi distemperantiam. Dei mei voluntate diem judicii hic expecto, ad quem absque ulla infirmitate in carne mea et ossibus duraturus, anime mee et corporis separatione tunc primum facta, cum justis resuscitabor. Annis triginta luter quidam piscibus me pavit; quia unaquaque ebdomada tribus diebus tres pisces mihi ad victum tulit, et sacculum similiter alga sicca plenum collo ejus suspensum portabat, unde piscis meus coqueretur, Deum probans in sanctis suis mirabilem.

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Es primers anz que vinc ici
Tuz les trent' anz fui poüd si;
Des peisuns fui poüd si bien
Que n'oi mester de beivre rien;
N'ennuiout puint nostre Seignur
De tel cunreid, ne de greignur.
Puis les trent' anz ne revint cil;
Nel fist surpeis, ne ne m'out vil,
Mais Deus ne volt que plus de fors
Venist cunreid pur sul mun cors.
Ici me fist la funtaine,
De tuz cunreiz qui est pleine;
Ço li est vis, qui rien en beit,
De tuz cunreiz que saüls seit.
De aigue ai vescut anz seisante,
Trent' a peisun, sunt nonante;
E el mund fui anz cinquante:
Mis ethez est cent quarante.
Frere Brandan, or tei ai dit
Cument ici ai mun delit.
Mais tu iras en paraïs;
Pres ad set anz que tu l'as quis.

1581 *not in D*; *E* El premerain an; *B* premiers; *E* uing; *BE* ci. 1582 *not in E*; *B* ci. *After* 1582a *D adds* Par le comandement de iesu. 1583–90 *not in B*. 1583 *E* peus; *D* De p. fut tant peuz b. 1584 Que *not in A*; beivre] *DE* nule. 1585 *A* Nenniuout, *D* Nennoiat, *E* Nanuia. 1588 *D* Ne f. surpis ne mout uil. 1589 *E* M. ne volt d. 1590 *E* Eust c. dedens mon c. 1591 *D* Ci; *BD* fist deus; *E* ici auons; *DE* une f. 1592 *A* cunreid; qui est] *B* tute, *D* qui est si; *E* Qui a merueilles par est saine. 1593 *B* riens. 1594 *A* cunreid; *D* saul. 1595 *D* De awe, *E* Daighe; *E* ai io; *D* uesqui. 1596 *A* Trentę, *BDE* Trente; a] *B* de; *BE* co sunt, *D* or s. 1597 *A* En le m.; el] *D* al, *E* ens el. 1598 *B* eded; *ABDE* cent e q. 1599 *E* brandans; *B* ore; *A* te ai, *BD* le tai, *E* tai io. 1600 *B* C. ai ci. 1602 *D*

Tali modo annis triginta primis absque al[io] cibi alterius aut potus adjumento pastus eram; set postmodum amplius non revenit. Non quia me indignum in despectu habuerit; set Deus victum meum foris venire non voluit; et ideo fontem quendam hic mihi fecit, ex quo si quis gustaverit, velut ex dapibus splendidis optime saturatum se sentiet. Ex hac quidem aqua annis sexaginta vixi, qui triginta precedentibus additi nonaginta constituunt. Secularis quidem antehac annis fui quinquaginta, quibus istis nonaginta additis centum et quadraginta anni etatis mee adimplentur. Brendane frater, ecce narravi tibi quis sim, queque in vita mea gesserim. Hinc modo discedens ibis ad paradisum, quam septem

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Arere fras anceis return
Al bon hoste, u ous sujurn ;
Il te menrat, e tu le siu,
En paraïs u sunt li piu.
D'icest' aigue port'en od tei,
Dum guarisses de faim e sei.
Entre en ta nef, ne demurer ;
Ne deit sun vent hom sururer.'
Dunet cungét, e cil le prent ;
De ses bienfaiz graces l'en rent.

Vv. 1613–1640. The End of the Seventh Year.

Or returnent vers lur hoste,
Si unt niule mult enposte.
Siglent lunges ainz qu'i veingent,
Ja seit ço que dreit curs teingent,
E al jusdi de la ceine
La i venent a grant peine ;
Iloec estunt cum soleient,
Desque de la muver deient.

Bien ad. 1603–10 *not in B.* 1603 *D* feras enz un turn, *E* iras a ton retor. 1604 *E* A ton oste ; *A* uus, *DE* eus. 1605 *D* merrat. lensiu. 1606 *A* pui. 1607 *E* De ceste ; *D* awe ; *A* portez od. 1608 e] *DE* de. 1610 *A* sun nen hom, *E* om souent ; *E* sororer ; *D* Ne d. lunges suriurner. 1611 *B* D. li c. 1612 l'en] *D* li. 1613 *B* Ore ; *A* turnent, *D* sen turnent, *E* se ret. ; *D* uer. 1614 *DE* E trouent ; *A* mule, *D* niuule, *E* nujle. 1615–24 *not in B.* 1615 qu'i] *A* que, *D* quil, *E* quil i ; *D* uiengent, *E* viegnent. 1616 *D* ico ; *E* que il ; *D* tiengent, *E* tiegnent. 1617 *D* Al iur de iosdi, *E* Tot droit al ioesdi. 1618 *D* La ariuerent, *E* La vienent il ; *E* a molt g. 1619 *D* si cum, *E* con il. 1620 *A* D. la que, *D* Jesque diluec, *E* De ci que de la ; *D* deueient.

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annis jam fere evolutis quesivisti. Set ad hospitem tuum te adhuc redire oportet, qui multa bona tibi fecit. Ille ductor tuus erit, et tu libens eum sequere in paradisum, que mansio est piorum. Ex hac aqua tecum porta, que famem et sitim possit expellere. Ventus adest prosper ; sine mora navem ingredere.' Brendanus discedit, data sibi licentia ; et pro benefactis suis gratias egit.

Vento et mari navis committitur, et ad hospitem illorum iter dirigunt. Nebula eos densa a solis aspectu recondidit ; et tamen via recta gradientes, quamvis labore magno, die (*MS.* diei) cene advenerunt, ibique, prout solent, usque ad sabbatum morantes, tunc ad Gasgonium pervenerunt.

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Le samadi al peisun vunt;
Cum altres anz la feste i funt,
E bien sevent qu'or ad set anz
Que li peisuns est lur servanz;
Deu en loënt, n'i unt perte,
Par la vertud de Deu certe.
E l'endemain d'iloec movent
A itel vent cum il trovent;
Vers les oiseals tut dreit en vunt,
La u dous meis sujurnerunt;
Iloec estunt a grant deduit,
E atendent le bon cunduit
Del bon hoste, qui frat od eals
L'eire qui est tant bons e beals.
Cil aprestet tuz lur busuinz,
Quar bien saveit que l'eire est luinz;
E bien set tut que lur estot,
Pur ços guarnist de quanque poet.
Entrent en mer, l'ostes ovoec;
Ne revendrunt ja mais iloec.

Vv. 1641–1808. PARADISE.

Tendent lur curs vers orïent;
Del esguarer n'i funt nïent:

1622 *D* C. suleient; *A* ainz; la] *D* lur; i *not in E*. 1623 *DE* quore. 1624 *D* Kar li peissun lur est s. 1625 *A* loient, *E* loerent; *D* perdu. 1626 *A* Pur; *E* deu le c.; *D* Graces en unt a deu rendu. 1627–8 *not in B*. 1627 *D* E al demain diluec se m., *E* E el d. matin se m. 1628 *E* il i t. 1630 *D* meins suriurnerunt. 1631–48 *not in B*. 1631 *E* Illueques sont. 1632 *D* Grant ioie meinent entrels tuit. 1633 *D* fut, *E* fra. 1634 *D* qui tant fut bon, *E* qui tant est bons. 1635 *D* aprest, *E* aprestent; *D* tuit lur buisuign; *E* tot. 1636 *E* seuent; *D* Il saueit que. luign. 1637 tut] *E* cil; *DE* estuet. 1638 ços] *A* co, *D* ces, *E* ce; *E* al miex quil p. 1639 *E* Entrant; *D* lur oste; *E* auoec. 1642 n'i] *D* ne. 1643 *E* ens qui les conduit. 1644 *not in E*. 1645 *A* enclin, *D* enterin; *E* A grant cors siglent s. d. 1646 *D* Seisante; *E* iors; en] *D* e la, *E* en la. 1648

Super quem pro more festum paschale celebraverunt, judicantes hunc annum esse septimum postquam Gasconius ita eis famulabatur. Post hec Deo gratias agentes, ad aves (*MS.* naves) tendunt, et duos menses morati sunt, hospitem suum expectantes, qui ad paradisum cum illis iturus erat. Ille quidem adquisitor sedulus erat eorum que eis oportuna
225[b] fuerunt; et bene sciens paradisum remotam | esse, viatica ad sufficientiam secum sumpsit. Hospes et so(s)cii navem ingressi, discedunt illuc nunquam redituri.

Hospite comite tristicia omnis absens erat; et leti ad partes te[n]dunt

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Tel i at enz en qui cunduit
Vunt a goie e a deduit.
A curs entrin, sanz defalte,
Quarante dis en mer halte
Eisi curent que ne lur pert
Fors mer e cel qui sur eals ert;
E par l'otreid del rei divin
Or aprisment vers le calin
Qui tut aclot le paraïs
Dunt Adam fud poëstelïs.
Nües grandes tenerge funt,
Que li sun eir return n'i unt.
Li granz calins tant aorbet,
Qui i entret, tuz asorbet,
Si de Deu n'at la veüe
Qui poust passer cele nue.
Dunc dist l'ostes: 'Ne vus targez,
Mais le sigle de vent chargez.'
Cum aprisment, part la nue
Al espace d'une rue;
Cil se metent enz el calin,
E parmi unt un grant chemin.

Fors] *E* Que; qui] *E* que. 1649 *D* par letrez de r.; del] *E* al; *DE* deuin. 1650 *BE* Ore; *B* apresment, *E* aprocent; *D* chalim. 1652 *E* adans; *B* en fud: *ABD* poestis. 1653–8 *not in B*. 1653 *E* grans; *D* tenercles, *E* tenebres; *D* sunt. 1654 li] *A* le; *D* Qui entur le pareis uunt, *E* Que li souef airs recut ont. 1655 tant] *D* mult les, *E* tant i. 1656 *E* Cels que i entrent: *D* Kar qui enz est tuit en a. 1657 *D* Si deu esclarcist la ueue, *E* Se il de deu nen ont laive. 1658 *D* Que puissent p. la n., *E* Ne puent p. cele n. 1659 *E* Dont; l'ostes *not in A*, *D* loste, *E* li ostes; ne vus] A ne i, *BE* ne, *D* ni; *B* target. 1660 le] *A* la; *B* deuant, *D* del uent; *B* chargiet. 1661 *E* Quant; *B* sapresment, *D* aprismouent, *E* aproisment; *B* par, *D* a, *E* depart. 1662 *D* Truuerent lespace, *E* A lasalete. 1663 *D* enz al chalim. 1664 unt] *B* uunt; un *not in A*.

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orientales. Sicque quadraginta diebus vento prospero agitati sunt, ita quod nichil nisi pontus et ether eorum subjaceret aspectui. Tunc autem gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi ad calliginem illam accedunt, que ambitu suo paradisum circumcingit. Nubes dense obscuritatem generabant, ne successoribus Ade in eam pateret ingressus. Caligo quidem adeo magna erat, quod si quis in ea esset, se lumine privatum judicaret. Dixit autem hospes eis: 'Pandite velum, ut vento impleatur.' Appropinqua[n]tibus autem illis ad calliginem, nubes dirimuntur, et spacium quoddam fit ad modum vici. Per quod ingressi, nubibus ex utraque parte condensatis,

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Mult se fïent en lur hoste
Pur la nue qu'unt encoste;
Grant est forment, e serree,
De ambes parz est amassee.
Treis jurz curent tut a plein curs
Par le chemin qui lur est surs;
El quart issent de cel calin;
Forment sunt led li pelerin.
De la nue eisut s'en sunt,
E paraïs bien choisit unt.
Tut en primers uns murs lur pert,
Desque as nües qui halcez ert;
N'i out chernel ne aleür
Ne bretesche ne nule tur.
Nuls d'els ne set en feid veire
Quel il seit faiz de materie,
Mais blancs esteit sur tutes nefs:
Faitres en fut li suverains reis.
Tuz ert entrins, sanz antaile—
Unc al faire n'out travaile—

1665–8 *not in B.* 1665 *D* M. par se; *E* lor bon oste. 1666 *A* que qunt, *D* qui est, *E* qui ert. 1667 *D* Mult est espesse e s., *E* Forment est grande e enserree. 1668 *D* Dambes, *E* Danbes .ij. 1669 *D* iur; *A* dreit, *DE* plain. 1670 qui] *AD* que. 1671 *D* Li quarte, *E* Al quart; *D* eissent; *B* dicel dicel; *D* chalim. 1672 *D* lez. 1673 la] *E* cele; *D* eissus se s. 1674 *D* choisiz, *E* veu. 1675 *D* Tuit; *B* al premier, *D* al premur, *E* a premier; *BDE* un mur. 1676 *B* Desquas, *E* Duscas; *B* ki bien halt e., *D* que blanches e., *E* issi haus e. 1677 *B* kernel nul al mur; *E* carnel. 1678 *A* brestache, *E* bertece. 1679 *D* Nul; *B* de els; *B* seit en ueire feit, *D* puet de fi ueer, *E* sot con fais il ere. 1680 *A* maiterie; *B* De quel m. il fait seit, *D* Cum il fut fait par quel sauer, *E* Dont il s. f. de quel matere. 1681 *D* blanc. tute; *BDE* neis. 1682 *A* Fatters, *DE* Meistres; en *not in AD*; li *not in D*; *D* suuerain, *E* sourains. 1683 *B* Tut; *DE* enterins ert; *BDE* entaille. 1684 *DE* Unches; *B* ni out. 1685 *ADE*

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quasi in via quadam tuti et (*MS.* ex) hospite comite procedunt. Per viam illam currentes tres dies consumunt, et die quarto exeuntes, leticia magna impleti sunt.

Terram enim illam viderunt quam toto mentis affectu videre cupierunt, et quam sudore et labore ineffabili diu quesierunt. In ejus extremitate murus quidam eis apparuit, qui in nubibus erectus apprime altus erat, cujus materiam non noverunt peregrini. Candor ejus nivem superans hunc ab illo artifice factum fuisse testabatur qui cuncta ex nichilo formavit.

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Mais les gemmes funt granz luurs,
Dum purplantez esteit li murs.
As gutes d'or grisolites
Mult i aveit d'isselites;
Li murs flammet, tut abrase,
De topaze, grisopase,
De jargunce, calcedoine,
De smaragde e sardoine;
Jaspes od les amestistes
Forment luisent par les listes;
Li jacinctes clers i est il
Od le cristal e le beril;
L'un al altre dunet clartét.
Chis asist fud mult enartét.
Luur grande s'entreportent
Des colurs chi si resortent.
Li munt sunt halt, de marbre dur,
U la mer bat mult luign del mur;
E desure le munt marbrin
La muntaine est, tute d'or fin;

grant; *D* clartez. 1686 *B* purplanted; *D* D. li m. e. purplantez. 1687 *D* En lor seent les, *E* A g. dor e; *DE* crisolites. 1688 *B* out; *B* de par eslites, *DE* pieres eslites. 1689 *B* flamez, *DE* flambet; *B* e esbrase, *D* tut abrasez, *E* tos e enbrase. 1690 *B* tupace, *DE* tupaces; *D* i ad asez, *E* de creopase. 1691 *B* iagunce, *D* iacunces, *E* iagonces; *B* calcedonie, *D* de calcedoines, *E* de calsidoines. 1692 *E* Desmeraldes; *B* smaragdes, *D* maratides; *DE* e de sardoines; *B* sardonie. 1693 *and* 1694 *transposed in D.* 1693 *D* Les iaspes; *BDE* ametistes; *E* Jaspes i ot e am. 1694 *D* Mult resplendent, *E* Molt resplendoient. 1695 *B* Le iagunce; *D* iacinte, *E* iacincles; *B* cler. 1696 e] *AB* e od, *E* ot; *A* biril. 1697 *E* dona; *D* clartez. 1698 *E* molt fu; *D* Al mur qui est bien artez. 1699 *E* molt g. 1700 *E* De lor color; si] *B* se; *D* Del cors qui en r. 1701 *E* Li mur. 1702 U] *D* E; mult *expunctuated in A.* 1703 *A* desur, *D* de defors. 1704 *A* Li m.

Planus absque omni sculptura erat, set gemmis preciosis undique fulgebat. Crisoliti in gut[t]is aureis siti nitorem maximam generabant. Topasiis et grisophrasiis (*MS.* -ariis), jagunciis et calcedoniis, smaragdinibus et sardoniis, jaspidibus et amatistis, oniclis et cristallis, berillis cum aliis lapidibus preciosis quam plurimis murus undique proportionaliter radiabat, ac si arte magna et industria lapides in illo locati essent. Murus iste paradysum ambiens super montem quendam altum fundatus est, qui in

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E puis desus estait li murs,
De paraïs qui clot les flurs.
Tels est li murs, si surplantez,
Qui doust estre de nus hantez.
Tendent tut dreit vers la porte,
Mais l'entree mult ert forte:
Draguns i at qui la guardent;
Si cume fus trestut ardent.
Dreit al entrer pent uns glavies—
Qui cel ne creint nen est savies—
La mure aval, le helt amunt;
N'est merveille si poür unt.
En aines pent, e turnïet;
Sul del vedeir esturdïet;
Fer ne roche ne adamant
Ne pot guarir a sun trenchant.
Puis unt veüd un juvencel
Qui veint cuntre eals, mult forment bel;
E cil se fait Deu messages,
Dist que vengent a rivage.
Il arivent; cil les receit,
Tuz les numet par lur nun dreit;

1705 *A* d. esteit, *DE* esteit d. 1706 *E* qui tant est durs. 1707 *E* Tos li m. est; *BD* purplantez (*D* -atez). 1708 *E* Questre d.; *DE* deust; *D* plantez. 1709 *E* Jl t. 1710 *A* lentre; *DE* lur est molt (*D* morte) f.; *A* fort. 1711 la] *E* bien les. 1712 *D* cum; *BD* feu; *B* trestuit, *D* qui tut, *E* qui trestot. 1713 *D* en lentree, *E* a lentree; *DE* un glaiue. 1714 cel] *B* celui, *E* ce; *A* creiẹnt, *BDE* crient; *BDE* nest mie; *DE* saiue. 1715–18 *not in B.* 1715 *A* Lainur, *D* La puinte; *A* helte. 1716 *A* Ne me m. 1717–18 *not in D.* 1717 e *not in A*; *E* Es aisnes pent e si tornoie. 1718 *E* Con rais de soleil qui flamboie. 1719 *E* Fers; ne roche] *D* nacier; *D* aamant, *E* aimant. 1720 *BDE* puet. 1721 *D* ueuz. 1722 *A* veient. *B* uint, *D* uient; *D* cuntrels; mult *not in A*; *D* m. par fut b.; *E* Quencontre eus vint durement bel. 1723–4 *not in D.* 1723 *E* se fist le deu. 1724

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suprema parte sui aureus est, et ad mare descendens marmoreus, ad quem mare a muro longe remotum undarum suarum ictibus reverberat.

Porta quedam ingens ingressum prestabat; ad quam pervenientes ingressum difficillimum invenerunt (*MS.* -nirent). Dracones enim sevissimi et ignis ardore micantes eam custodiebant. Preterea lancea quedam in introitu pependit, que mortem ingredientibus minabatur. Cuspis ejus terram prospiciebat, et finis ejus celum; sub qua ingredi oportebat.
226[a] Nullum | genus metalli aut etiam adamas aciei cuspidis resistere potuit. Set affine eis erat Dei adjutorium. Quoniam ecce quidam formosus

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Puis dulcement les ad baisez,
E les draguns tuz apaisez:
Fait les gesir cuntre terre
Mult humlement e sanz guerre;
E le glaive fait retenir
A un angele qu'il fait venir,
E l'entree est uverte.
Tuit entrent en glorie certe.
Avant en vait cil juvenceals,
Par paraïs vait ovoec eals.
De beals bois e de rivere
Veient terre mult plenere;
Gardins est la praierie,
Qui tuzdis est beal flurie.
Li flur süef mult i flairent,
Cum la u li piu repairent,
D'arbres, de flurs delicius,
De fruiz, d'udurs mult precius.
De runceie ne de cardunt
Ne de orthie n'i ad fusun;
D'arbre n'erbe n'i ad mie
Ki süaté ne rechrie.

B Dit que uiengent al r., *E* Dist quil sen viegnent al r. 1725 *B* Il i ar. 1726 *DE* nums. 1727 *E* les a d. b. 1729 *D* Il les f. gisir; *E* encontre. 1730 *DE* e tut sen (*E* sans); *A* gurre. 1731 le] *D* la. 1732 qu'il] *D* qui. 1733 *E* lor est; *D* Dunc fut lentree tut ouerte. 1734 *D* Tut e., *E* Dont entrerent. 1735 *ABE* Qvant, *D* .uant; *B* ua; cil] *BDE* li. 1736 vait *not in B*; *E* avoec. 1737 *D* bel; *E* beax arbres; *D* riuer. 1738 *E* E voient; *D* Trouent la t. m. plenier. 1739 *A* Grandins, *D* Les g., *E* Bels g.; est] *BDE* e; la] *E* grant. 1740 *D* Que; *BD* tut dis; *E* iors; beal] *BD* bele e, *E* verde e. 1741–52 *not in B*. 1741 *D* E les flurs, *E* Les flors; *E* s. e molt bien f. 1742 *E* Conme. 1743 *D* delitius, *E* molt delitous. 1744 *D* De odurs de f.; *A* fruit. 1745–6 *not in D*. 1745 *E* runee. chardon. 1746 *E* dortie. 1747 *DE* ne derbe. 1748 *D* Qui a s., *E* Que souatume; *DE* recrie.

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juvenis valde et Dei famulus, qui illos ad litus jussit accedere, quos applicantes recepit, et singulos nominibus propriis nominatos osculatus est; et draconibus mitigatis et ad terram cubantibus, et lancea ab angelo quodam retenta, portas paradisi leti ingrediuntur.

Per fines paradisi, juvene comitante, gradientes, terram nemoribus et aquis fecundam conspiciunt, pomariis simul et pratis que incessanter florent. Flores quidem miro modo et dulci fragrant, sicut justorum interest habitationis. Arbores pulcre, et flores deliciosi, et fructus preciosi, et odores placabiles, amenitate[m] maximam (*MS.* -mum) generabant.

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Flurs e arbres tuzdis chargent,
Ne pur saisun unc ne targent;
Esteit süef tuzdis i est,
Li fruiz de arbres e de flurs prest,
Bois repleniz de veneisun,
E tut li flum de bon peisun.
Li flum i sunt qui curent lait.
Cele plentét par tut en vait.
La ruseie süet le mel
Par le ruseit qui vient del cel.
Si munt i at, cil est tut d'or;
Si grant pere, i at tensor.
Sanz fin i luist li clers soleil,
Ne venz n'orez n'i mot un peil;
N'i vient nule nue del air
Qui del soleil tolget l'esclair.
Chi ci estrat, mal n'i avrat,
Ne dunt mals vent ja nel savrat,
Ne chalz, ne freiz, ne dehaite,
Ne faim, ne seit, ne suffraite;

1749 *D* Des f. les a. tut dis; *E* i ch. 1750 *D* E de flurir; unc ne] *D* puint ne se, *E* pas ne se. 1751 *and* 1752 *transposed in D.* 1751 *DE* Estez; *D* tut dis, *E* tos iors. 1752 *E* darbres; *D* Le flur des a. i est p. 1753 *E* raplenis. 1754 *B* tuit. 1755-60 *not in B.* 1755 *D* Le; *A* i surent ci curent; *D* sunt bel e parfunt; *E* qui rendent. 1756 *D* Qui sespandent par tut le munt. 1757 *D* La rose est tute de miel, *E* La rosee souent de m. 1758 *D* Pur la duzur qui, *E* J chiet asses qui. 1759 *A* Ci; munt] *D* mult, *E* piere; cil] *D* il; *E* si samble dor; *A* est de or. 1760 *A* Si grande p. a t., *D* De pieres i ad grant tresor, *E* La gravele vaut un tresor. 1761 *B* Sen; *BD* le cler; *E* solaus. 1762 *BD* uent; *B* nored; *BD* ne muet; *E* En nuluj nest issi paraus. 1763-4 *not in B.* 1763 nue] *E* raie. 1764 del] *E* al; *DE* toillet; *A* le clair. 1765 mal] *B* il; *E* Que iluec est ia mal naura. 1766 Ne] *B* Nis; *A* de mals venz, *E* que mal est; *BD* mal; nel] *D* nen; *B* sauerad. 1767 *and* 1768 *transposed in E.* 1767 *BD* chalt ne freit; *E* ne le

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Arbores et flores in qua parte zodiaci sol contineatur non resp[ic]iunt, set semper aptissime fetus suos producunt. Estas mitis semper presens copiam fructuum promptam prestat. Nemora bestiis, et flumina pi[s]cibus sunt referta. Fluvii lactei ibi fluebant, et ros de celo subtiliter stillans mel dulcissimum erat. Montes aurum purissimum erant, et arena gemme preciosissime. Solis nitor incessanter ibi fulgebat; nec et pilus vento [vel] aura movebatur. Nulla nubium condensatio ibi fuerat que solis adimeret claritatem. Hujus loci habitatores calorem, frigus, nec tristiciam, famem, sitim, nec penuriam, nec ulla adversa patientur. Bonorum

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De tuz ses bons avrat plentét.
Ço que plus est sa voluntét,
Cel ne perdrat, suurs en est;
Tuzdis l'avrat e truvrat prest.
Bien vait Brandans cele goie.
L'urel semblet forment poie
Qu'il i estait a ço vedeir;
Lunges voldrat iloec sedeir.
Mult bien avant l'ad cil menét,
De multes riens l'ad asenét;
Bien diviset, e si li dit
De quel avrat chascuns delit.
Vait cil avant, e cist aprés,
Sur un halt munt cume ciprés;
D'ici veient avisiuns
Dum ne sevent divisiuns.
Angeles veient, e sis oient
Pur lur venir cum s'esgoient;
Oient lur grant melodie,
Mais nel poient suffrir mie:

deshaite. 1768 *E* De famine ne de soffraite. 1769 *B* auerad. 1770 *D* que uuldrunt a u.; *BDE* uolente. 1771-2 *not in B.* 1771 Cel] *D* Co, *E* Cil; *DE* seurs. 1772 *E* troeue; *D* Co que uuldrat prest. 1773 *BDE* ueit; *D* brendan, *E* brandan; *E* icele. 1774 *A* Lur le, *B* Lure li, *D* Li, *E* Leure li; *B* sembla. 1775-90 *not in B.* 1775 *D* Quil esteit, *E* Que li estoit. 1776 *D* Loges; *E* volroit. 1777 bien] *E* loing; *D* menez. 1778 *E* molt de r.; *D* lunt asenez. 1779 *A* diuisit, *DE* li deuise; *E* se li. 1780 quel] *E* coi; *DE* ch. aurat. 1781 cist] *DE* cil. 1782 *D* Desqua un munt qui lur est pres, *E* Desor un h. m. de c. 1783-4 *not in E.* 1783 *D* Diluec. 1784 *D* Des feelz deu les mansiuns. 1785 *D* i ueient, *E* oirent; *E* ses uoient. 1786 Pur] *E* De; cum] *DE* forment. 1787 *E* Dient; lur] *D* iluec; *E* grande. 1788 nel] *E* nes; *D* poent, *E* pooient; *D* sufrer.

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omnium copiam habebunt; set, quod magis est, voluntas eorum in omnibus adimplebitur.

Brendanus spacium more presentis breve judicabat (*MS.* indicabat), quia in deliciis illis spectandis curam sedulam adibebat. Quem quidem juvenis alias duxit, et multa sibi monstravit; et multa docens, et varia distinguens, illos sequentes super montem quendam altum duxit. Super quem positi, innumerabilia viderunt, que mente concipere non potuerunt. Videruntque angelos, et audierunt qualiter propter eorum adventum plaudebant. Set natura humana et conplexio et caro imbecillis armoniam

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Lur nature ne poet prendre
Si grant glorie, ne entendre.
Cil lur ad dit: 'Returnum nus,
Avant d'ici ne menrai vus;
Ne vus leist pas aler avant,
Quar poi estes a ço savant.
Brandans, tu veis cest paraïs
Que tu a Deu mult requeïs.
De la glorie cent milie tant
Que n'as veüd, ad ça avant.
A ore plus n'i aprendras,
Devant içe que revendras.
O or venis si carnalment
Tost revendras spiritalment.
Or t'en reva; si revendras,
Le juïse ci atendras.
De cez peres en fai porter
A enseignes de conforter.'
Puis que out ço dit, il en alat,
A enseignes peres portat.

1789 *D* poient, *E* poent. 1790 *DE* Isi; glorie] *E* ioie. 1791 *BE* E cil; lur *not in E*; *A* dist; *D* alum nus. 1792 *DE* de ci; *B* merai, *D* merrai. 1793 vus] *B* nus; *A* list, *B* laist, *D* estuet, *E* lais; pas *not in BD*. 1794 *B* Que; a] *E* de; *E* sachant. 1795 *B* Brandan, *D* Brendan; *E* B. vois ci. 1796 a] *A* as; mult] *BE* tant; *A* requeis *or* requais, *BDE* requesis. 1797 *A* mil t., *B* mil itant, *D* milie tanz, *E* mile tans. 1798 *D* ueuz; ad ça] *D* ca, *E* verras. 1799 *D* Ore, *E* Ne ore. 1800 *A* icoe. 1801 O or] *BD* Or i, *E* Or; si *not in B*, *AE* ci; *BE* charnelment, *D* charlnelment. 1802 *B* Encore i uendras; *E* Retorneras spiritelment. 1803 *B* ten ua, *E* en iras; si] *A* ci, *E* tu. 1804 *B* La ueue, *E* Ton juise. 1805 en *not in D*. 1806 *D* As; de] *BE* pur. 1807 *DE* quot; *A* dist, *B* fait; *B* si sen a., *DE* il en ad pris. 1808 *A* E. de parais portat, *B* A e. des pieres portad, *D* E as e. de pareis, *E* A e. de paradis. 1809 *B* Brandan, *D* Brendan; de] *D* a; *B* c. en

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et melodiam illorum nullo modo sustinere potuerunt. Dixitque juvenis illis: 'Redeamus; non licet vobis procedere, quoniam parum ad hoc estis scientes. Ecce, Brendane, paradisum nunc vides, quam videre a Domino
226b sepissime post|ulasti. Set centies (*MS.* sen-) milies gloria hic prope major est quam vidisti. Nec ad tempus plura videbis; carnaliter enim nunc venisti, set sp[irit]ualiter cito venies, et judicium hic expectabis. Ad memoriam et signum paradisi ex his lapidibus tecum porta.' Et lapidibus secum sumptis, et licentia a caris sanctis impetrata paradisy, Brendanus cum sociis ad navem redit; quos juvenis commitatus est, et navem ingressos sancte crucis signaculo munivit. Velum statim erigitur, et vento

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Vv. 1809–1840. Brendan's Return and Death.

Brandans de Deu cungét ad pris
E as chers sainz de paraïs.
Li juvenceals les en cunduit,
Desqu'en la nef sunt entrét tuit,
Puis ad sur eals seignacle fait.
Mult tost unt sus lur sigle trait.
Iloec remist lur hostes pius,
Quar paraïs fud sis dreiz fius.
E cil s'en vunt haitïement,
Nen unt d'orez retenement;
En treis meis sunt en Irlande
Par la vertud de Deu grande.
Ja nuvele vait par païs
Que venuz est de paraïs.
Ne sunt haitét sul si parent,
Ainz sunt trestuz comunement.
Sur tuz sunt lied si cher frere
De ço qu'or unt lur dulz pere.

prist, *E* a c. pris. 1811 *D* Li buen cels les c. 1812 *E* Dusca. si entrent. 1813 ad] *BD* quad, *E* cot; *B* fait sur els le s.; *BDE* signacle. *After* 1813 *B adds* Sen sunt turned en lur tabernacle. 1814 *E* ont lor s. sus t. *After* 1814 *B adds* E li bons huem od les suens sen uait. 1815 *BE* remest; *BD* oste. 1816 Quar] *E* En; *E* ses d. lieus. 1817 *A* haitement. 1818 *B* dored; *E* Norent iluec r. 1819 *D* meins; *D* sunt tresquen, *E* vindrent en. 1819 *D* uertuz; *B* deu la g., *D* la deu g., *E* deu le g. 1820 Ja] *BDE* La; *B* par le, *D* uers le, *E* el. 1821 *B* uenud. 1823 *E* Nen; *BD* haitiez; si] *AB* li. 1824 *B* trestuit, *E* trestot; *D* Mes le puple cummunealment. 1825 *E* en sont; si] *A* li; *A* chere, *E* saint; *D* Desur trestuz sunt liez li f. 1826 *D* Desque or; *E* Que reuenus est lor; *B* Dico que ore unt lur p.

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prospero sinus suos pandebat. Relictoque hospite suo in paradiso, que mansio propria ejus erat, leti vento nunquam impediente tribus mensibus ad Hiberniam perven[e]runt. Ecce quam magna gratia Dei cursus, qui prius vix septem annis perfectus est, nunc tribus mensibus totus adimpletur. Fama vulgaris per partes terrarum statim difunditur, que adventu[m] Brendani a paradiso nuntiavit. Ex quo non solum parentes ejus letati sunt, set et omnes communiter ad quos fama pervenit, et precipue fratres ejus, qui patrem suum et pastorem recuperaverunt. Quibus ipse omnia, prout sibi contigerant, explanavit, prospera simul et adversa. Set ipse nulla pro adversis reputabat, quoniam Dei auxilium impro[m]tu

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Suvent lur dit cum unt errét,
U furent bien, u enserrét;
E si lur dist cum prest truvat
Quanque busuign a Deu ruvat;
E l'un e l'el, trestut lur dist,
Cum il truvat ço que il quist.
Li plusur d'els ensaintirent
Par la vertud qu'en lui virent.
Tant cum Brandans el secle fud,
A mulz valut par Deu vertud.
Quant vint al tens que il finat,
Ralat u Deus lui destinat.
El regne Deu, u alat il,
Par lui en vunt plusur que mil.

Explicit Vita Sancti Brandani.

1827 *A* dist; unt] *E* ot; *D* errez. 1828 bien] *E* lie; u *not in AD*; *D* aserrez. 1829 *B* Si, *D* Nis si; *BE* dit; prest] *E* tot. 1830 Quanque] *D* Q. out, *E* Ce cal. 1831 *D* E un el. 1832 *B* quil lur, *D* quil; *E* Ce que a deu roua e quist. 1833 *AD* plusurs, *E* pluisor; d'els *not in B*, *D* de cels; *E* sen esioirent. 1834 *D* uertuz; qu'en lui] *B* que il, *D* quil; *E* Quant la sainte de luj oirent. 1835 *B* cume; *D* brendan, *E* entrels; el] *D* al. 1836 *D* Ad mult ualuz, *E* Lor a valut; *D* uertuz. 1837 *D* al iur, *E* li tans; *BD* quil. 1838 *D* deu; *BDE* li. 1839 *D* Al; *E* la rala il. 1840 *B* Prengum la ueie que prist icil. Amen, *D* P. lui uunt plusurs mil. Amen. Explicit &c. *not in BDE*. *After* 1840 *a later hand has added in B* Ne sunt haitiez sul li parent Ainz sunt. *After* 1840 *E adds* Li rois del ciel doinst paradis A nos e a tos nos amis Dites amen que dex lotroit Si faites bien e tos tans droit Dex vos fera le grant pardon Si con il fist .ā. lazaron Explicit de .ā. brandain.

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semper erat. Dixitque eis qualiter ea que quesierat, et etiam plura quam quesierat, invenit. Exemplo quidem ejus multi eorum honestate morum justiores fiebant. Sicque quamdiu vixit auditores corrigere nunquam cessavit; et postquam fatis concessit, ad paradisum spiritualiter regressus est. Cujus gaudia in intercessione Brendani possidere mereamur; per Eundem, qui cum Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto vivit et fegnat, Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

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NOTES

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NOTES

1–18. A discussion of the prologue will be found in ch. ii of the Introduction.

6. The reading of A, though supported by C and adopted by Bartsch, has been rejected because it destroys the medial break (cf. ch. iii, § 3) and because *qui ert* elsewhere (vv. 40, 42) count as two syllables.

13. **Brendan.** Lat. *Brendanus*. The etymological form with *e* was used by the scribe of A only here and in v. 39; in D the *e* form alone is used. Elsewhere the scribes have replaced *en* by *an*, owing to the identity of these two nasal vowels in their pronunciation. The termination is normally written *-an*, adhering to the Latin form; the popular development *-ain* occurs only in E 164 and 1840, and as *-ein* in B 164, yet the rimes in vv. 164, 203 and 659 indicate that the poet used this form as well as *-an* (vv. 481, 825). In v. 203 C has *Brandran*, with assimilatory repetition of the *r* (cf. *Tristran* for *Tristan*), but this is an isolated form. The spellings of A have invariably been adopted in this edition. Various etymological explanations of the name have been put forward; see especially H. Zimmer, in *Ztschr. f. deutsches Alterthum*, xxxiii (1889), p. 143, note; C. Wahlund, *Brendans Meerfahrt*, p. lvii, note 2; M. Foerster, in *German.-Roman. Monatsschrift*, xi (1923), p. 90.

17. **voile.** Tanquerey, *L'Évolution du verbe en anglo-français*, p. 282, quotes examples of *voile* as an indicative form from later Anglo-Norman texts; but at this early date it can only be subjunctive. The subjunctive is here used in conditional sense without a conjunction; cf.

> E se il dit ou un ou el
> Ou n'i vuelle venir por toi,
> Di je li mant qu'il vienge a moi.
> (Beroul, *Tristan*, vv. 508 ff.)

Normally, when used in this manner, it follows a clause in which the conditional sense is expressed by *se* 'if' + indicative (cf. Foulet, *Petite Syntaxe de l'Ancien Français*, § 348); here the first clause is relative, but implies a condition. *Cil qui poet* = 'He who can', i. e. 'If a man can'; *e ne voile* = 'and if he will not.'

18. **s'en.** The scribe of A frequently omitted the sign for *n* above a vowel; cf. *euain* for *en vain* 90, *ne* for *n'en* 302, 330, 743, *que* for *qu'en* 352, *le* for *l'en* 1100. Cf. Appendix II, § 38 b and c.

19 ff. St. Brendan is believed to have been born in Kerry, probably in 484, and to have died in 576. The extant information (often obscure and

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contradictory) regarding his life is conveniently summarized by Wahlund, *Brendans Meerfahrt*, pp. ix ff.

24–6. The quotation does not correspond closely to any biblical passage; but the idea is of frequent occurrence in the Gospels, e. g. *Matt.* vi. 19–21, xix. 21, *Luke* ix. 24–5.

28. **iceals veirs** 'those [which are] true [honours]'. The demonstrative directly determines an adjective. Nyrop (*Gram. hist.*, v, § 271) is therefore wrong in stating that this construction is confined to the modern journalistic style. Sneyders de Vogel (*Syntaxe hist.*, § 105) quotes a similar example from Brantôme.

41. **rustes.** The use of this adjective in a moral sense is unusual; Godefroy quotes *ruiste pechié criminal* from the *Roman des Sept Sages*. On the forms of the word see H. Berger, *Die Lehnwörter in der franz. Sprache ältester Zeit*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 233.

42. **justes.** Used in the theological sense of 'righteous in the sight of God'; cf. Berger, *op. cit.*, p. 157; J. Trénel, *L'ancien Testament et la langue française du moyen âge*, Paris, 1904, p. 173; *New Eng. Dict.*, s.v. *just* adj.

43. **faiseit** depends on *prist en purpens* 39. The reasons for rejecting the conditional, used in AB, have been stated in ch. iv, § 1. The conditional would give satisfactory sense:—'Brendan resolved that he would not cease to pray God.' But the imperfect, used by CDEL, is equally satisfactory:—'Brendan bethought himself that he was incessantly praying God.'

48. **prïer prent.** Cf. 307 *Del herberger pregnent oser*. E. Burghardt, *Über den Einfluss des Englischen auf das Anglonormannische* (*Studien zur englischen Philologie*, xxiv), Halle, 1906, p. 30, placed the construction *prendre* + infinitive on an equal footing with *prendre a* + infinitive. The latter construction was used by the author of the *Brendan* in vv. 284 (*Prent a parler*), 503 and 598. In *prent avaler* 872 the preposition has become amalgamated with the following vowel by crasis or synizesis (cf. ch. iii, § 4 c); cf. Gaimar, *Estorie des Engleis*, 362 *L'unt pris mult bel aresuner* (corr. *a araisnier*?). By analogy the construction without preposition can have been extended to *prent prïer* 'he begins to pray' and similar instances; cf. Fantosme 1073 *Dunc prist le cunte Robert forment sei esmaier*, and other examples quoted by Burghardt. The compound *enprendre* is used in a similar manner without preposition in v. 662 of the present poem. Yet can *pregnent oser* in v. 307 mean 'they begin to dare'? In such an instance the inchoative sense is by no means obvious; *prendre* + infinitive appear to be used as a mere circumlocution for the finite verb, i. e. *prent prïer* = 'he prays' and *pregnent oser* = 'they venture'. Cf. colloquial English *take and* + infinitive (Wright, *Eng. Dial. Dict.*, s.v. *take* II. 4). According to Stimming (*Boeve*, note to v. 148) and Burghardt (pp. 23 and 30) the Anglo-Norman partiality for *prendre* (and *comencer*) + *a* + infinitive was due to the analogy of Mid. Eng. *begin*, *gin*; yet the same

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construction is common in continental texts, and it is improbable that the syntax of so early a text as the *Brendan* had been influenced by English.

55. **voldret.** On this interesting relic of the Latin pluperfect indicative, see ch. viii, § 3, xxxviii. BDE have substituted the conditional, but a historic tense is clearly required by the context.

68. **escuil.** A verbal substantive from *sei escu(e)illier* 'to rush forward, dash'; cf. Godefroy. *Prendre escuil* may here be interpreted figuratively as 'to have the audacity, presume'.

72. **Voldrat.** OF frequently has the future of *voleir* where the present would now be used; cf. E. Weber, *Ueber den Gebrauch von devoir, laissier, pooir, etc. im Altfranzösischen*, Diss. Berlin, 1879, pp. 24 f., and Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, i², p. 258. The wish is present, but what is wished is future. Similar examples occur in vv. 80, 144, 875 and 1776.

75. **Barins.** Lat. *Barintus*. The form *Barrus* in L is probably due to a misreading of the French form. The etymology of the name is discussed by H. Zimmer, in *Ztschr. f. deutsches Alterthum*, xxxiii (1889), p. 312, and C. Wahlund, *Brendans Meerfahrt*, p. lvii; see also Wahlund's note on p. 231. According to A. C. L. Brown, in *Revue Celtique*, xxii (1901), pp. 339 ff., Barintus was an Irish sea-god, transformed into a Christian saint.

80. **voldrat.** Burghardt, *op. cit.*, p. 70, mentioned this as a possible example of the use (so common in Anglo-Norman texts) of *voleir* + infinitive in place of the future; i.e. *voldrat aveir = avrat*. Similarly (p. 53) he regarded *volt guarnir* 299 and *voleient agreger* 698 as circumlocutions for the past tenses. But in all these instances *voleir* retains its full volitional force.

85. **Mernoc.** The MSS. of the *Navigatio* have either *Mernoc* or *Mernocatus*, the former being the Irish form of the name, the latter a misreading of *Mernoc atque*; the author of the *Brendan* followed the original reading. Wahlund has notes on the name, *op. cit.*, pp. lvii and 231.

frerre. Gröber's objection (in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, iii, p. 134) to *frerre del liu* (= *frater loci*) seems to be unjustified. It is true that N (§ 2) describes Mernoc as *procurator pauperum Christi*; but the poet was not concerned with his monastic office, and described him merely as 'brother of the place where Barintus was abbot', i. e. a monk in Barintus' monastery. Cf. Du Cange: *Fratres*, dicti Monachi universim.

90. **e nun en vain.** No MS. offers an entirely satisfactory reading, though A has merely omitted the nasal sign over *e* (for *en*). The reading of B is unintelligible, while the scribes of C and D evidently interpreted the phrase as meaning 'in a ship'. C's form *navain* was accepted by Gröber (in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, iii, p. 134), Hammer (*ibid.*, ix, p. 96) and Calmund (*Prolegomena . . .*, p. 108), the latter suggesting that it was an accusative form corresponding to *nef*, like *Evain* to *Eve* (!). Birkenhoff (*Ueber Metrum und Reim . . .*, p. 43) read *navin* (: *parin* < *patrinum*, cf. A), and Bartsch introduced *nevein* 'nef, navire' (: *parein*). Gode-

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froy, on the other hand, read *evain* with A, interpreting it as a substantive meaning 'boat', but presumably connecting it with *aqua* instead of *navis*. But no other example of *navain*, *navin*, *nevein* or *evain* is known. The correct explanation was first given by G. Paris, in *Romania*, xviii, p. 137; *e nun en vain* emphasizes the success of Mernoc's voyage, and receives its justification in vv. 91–2.

94. **eisle.** No other example of OF *eisler*, corresponding to Prov. *eisclar*, etc., is known. The word is doubtless of onomatopoeic origin; cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, p. 28. Professor Vising has, however, kindly pointed out to me that though Eng. *sizzle* has not been found earlier than the seventeenth century, parallel forms exist in other Germanic languages (Germ. *zische(l)n*, Swed. Norw. *sissla*). The word is widespread in English dialects; cf. Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary*, s.v. *sissle*. The relation between the Germanic and Romance words deserves further investigation.

102. **içe qu'a Brandan dist.** It is possible to omit the preposition, with BE (though in B *Brandans* is wrongly made the subject of the clause), and interpret *Brandan* as dative (cf. v. 514); but this would lead to ambiguity, since proper names were often uninflected in the nominative (cf. ch. viii, § 5, iv).

105. **De meils.** This use of *de* before a comparative seems to be unexplained; cf. Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, ii², pp. 62–4. Imitation of Eng. *the* is out of the question, as the idiom is by no means confined to Anglo-Norman texts.

108. **Tuz les meilurs** 'the very best'. Cf. Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, i², p. 85.

115. **Prierent l'en.** It is not clear whether *l'en* here represents *le en* or *li en*; cf. ch. iii, § 4 a. OF *prier* may be followed by either the accusative or the dative (of the person addressed). The practice of the author of the *Brendan* cannot be ascertained.

120. **Al repentir puis m'en prenge.** Not an instance of *prendre a* 'to begin to', which would not require the article before the infinitive. *Sei prendre a* 'to adhere to, cling to' occurs in v. 478; possibly we have here a weakened use of the same expression, meaning 'to be content with, abide by, suffer'. Vv. 117–20 may be rendered: 'I tell you therefore that I would sooner be certain of you (i.e. receive assurance of your constancy) than take you away from here and then be obliged to repent of having done so.' On the absence of a co-ordinating conjunction in v. 120, see the note to vv. 129–30.

124. **d'els tuz.** No MS. has both *els* and *tuz*. The correction is based on vv. 254 (BE *d'els tuz*, D omits *els*, AC omit *tuz*) and 1193 (ABD *d'els trestuz*, E *d'ax tos*).

127. **en pensed.** Preferred to *enpensed* (past part. of *empenser*), both on metrical grounds (cf. ch. iii, § 3) and because it gives superior sense: not 'what we have planned', but 'what we have in mind'.

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128. **el.** On this neuter form of the personal pronoun, inserted in the text on the authority of A alone, see ch. viii, § 3, ix. The frequent use in the *Brendan* of the corresponding demonstrative pronoun *cel* (vv. 60, 117, etc.) is an additional argument in favour of the authenticity of *el*.

129–30. The asyndeton can be paralleled from vv. 119–20, 151–2, 506–7 and 525–6. Benedeit did not, however, suppress conjunctions so freely as his contemporary Philippe de Thaün (cf. *Bestiaire*, vv. 749, 1338, 1454, etc.); but Philippe was greatly hampered by his metre.

131–2. **Espirit : guit.** The form *guit* is furnished by D alone, but sufficiently supported by A, in which *iuit* may well represent either *wit* or *guit*. In *Espirit* the first *i* is mute. Birkenhoff (*Ueber Metrum und Reim . . .*, p. 44), Brekke (*Étude . . .*, p. 57), Bartsch, Calmund (*Prolegomena . . .*, p. 85) and Tanquerey (*L'Évolution du Verbe . . .*, p. 298) all adopted the rime-words *espirt : virt* furnished by C. But *virer* 'to turn about' is much less satisfactory here than *guier*; and in spite of the readings of B and C, the existence in OF of a form *espirt* (distinct from *espir*, verbal substantive from *espirer*) is doubtful, cf. Berger, *Die Lehnwörter . . .*, pp. 128 ff. G. Paris (in *Romania*, xviii, p. 137) preferred *esprit : wit*.

134. **Sur les treis jurs la semaine.** The temporal use of *sur* is unusual ; but G. Paris' conjecture (in *Romania*, xviii, p. 137) *Les treis jurs de la semaine* is metrically inferior and has no MS. support. BCD have substituted *Sul* 'only'; but this conflicts with the sense of the passage, and corresponds to nothing in either N or L. In order to heighten the effect of their prayers, Brendan and the fourteen chosen monks are to abstain from food entirely on three days a week for a period of forty days.

144. **element.** An uncommon verbal substantive from *aler*. Other examples are given by Tobler-Lommatzsch ; but the translation 'walk, gait' is unsuitable here.

148. **a Deu le volt creire** 'he wishes to entrust it to God', i. e. leave it to God to guide their course and provide for their needs. *Credere alicui alicui* 'to commit or entrust a thing to someone' is a classical construction (cf. Lewis and Short). *Sei creire a* 'to entrust oneself to, trust' occurs in *Mystère d'Adam*, v. 219. There is no need to correct *le* to *se* (Wien, *Das Verhaltnis der Handschriften . . .*, p. 48) or *creire* to *traire* (Birkenhoff, *Ueber Metrum und Reim . . .*, p. 35).

154. **dehait** 'displeasure'. Similarly *dehaitez* 1296, *dehaite* 1767. More often *deshait*, *-tier* were used in this sense, *dehait* usually signifying 'joy' and *dehaitier* 'to receive joyfully'. But the prefixes *de-* and *des-* were in many cases interchangeable; cf. *New Eng. Dict.*, s.v. *de-*; Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. franz. Grammatik*, ii, § 233 ; and ch. viii, § 4, iii.

160. **aler** = *a aler*, cf. ch. iii, § 4 c. OF *entendre* 'to be intent upon' was always followed by a preposition (*a* or *en*).

161. **Alat tant quant terre dure.** Based on N (§ 4) *profectus est in*

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ultimam partem regionis sue. Brendan's home, near Tralee in Co. Kerry, lay in the most westerly part of Ireland. The Dingle Promontory, where he was believed to have embarked, is the most westerly part of Kerry.

163–70. The description of the scene of Brendan's embarkation is based on the *Navigatio* (§4): *in cujusdam summitate montis extendentis u longe in oceanum, in loco qui dicitur 'Sedes Brendani', fixit tentorium suum, ubi erat introitus unius navis*; but the *Navigatio* makes no mention of a stream. The locality intended is Brandon Head, a spur of Mount Brandon, about ten miles north of the small town of Dingle; cf. M. F. Cusack, *A history of the kingdom of Kerry*, London, 1871, pp. 47 and 392–5, and Wahlund, *Brendans Meerfahrt*, pp. 235 f. According to the Ordnance Survey map (1898, 6 inches to the mile) three small streams descend precipitously from Mount Brandon to the sea, one just west and two a little to the east of Brandon Head; but it may well be doubted whether the poet knew this. The idea that the harbour was the mouth of a small stream could have occurred to any one.

164. **le Salt Brandan.** There is a curious discrepancy here between the *Navigatio* and the Anglo-Norman poem. The former (§ 4) designates the scene of embarkation *Sedes Brendani*, having already (§ 2) used *Saltus virtutum Brendani* to denote the site of Brendan's abbey. *Saltus virtutum Brendani* is a translation of Irish *Cluain-ferta Brenainn* (i. e. Clonfert in Co. Galway), Lat. *saltus* here meaning 'wooded district'; cf. Wahlund, *op. cit.*, p. 230. OF *salt, saut* means 'leap, bound', also 'projecting rock' (Godefroy has a few examples with this meaning, but mistranslates by 'détroit, défilé'), but rarely 'wooded country' except in direct imitation of Latin. The poet therefore failed to realize the appropriateness of *saltus* as a site for a monastery, and preferred to use the term for the projecting rock where Brendan constructed his boat. Similar expressions are *Salt Malatous* in *La Bataille Loquifer* (quoted by Godefroy), and *le Saut Tristan* (the Cornish rock from which Tristan leaped in order to evade his captors); in the latter instance the parallel extends to the very wording of the poems, cf. Beroul's *Tristan*, vv. 953–4:

Encor claiment Corneualan
Cele pierre le Saut Tristan.

The alteration indicates that the Brendan story was known to Benedeit from the Latin only. There is no sign whatever that he possessed personal knowledge of the locality.

168. **gort** 'stream'. Wrongly rendered 'gorge, gouffre' by Bartsch. The spot where Brendan embarks is not exactly an inlet of the sea, but 'a haven through which the sea receives a stream'; and the *gort*, which is very small and narrow, descends precipitously from the cliff into the sea (v. 170). Cf. also v. 859, where *amunt le gort* means 'up the stream'. The author of L apparently interpreted *gort* in v. 168 as 'whirlpool', and therefore described how the small haven had been excavated by the vio-

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lence of the sea; but the author of R recognized that it was a stream, translating vv. 167–70:

Portum gurges efficit sinu non inmani
Defluus de rupibus lateris montani.

In v. 859 the writer of rendered *amunt le gort* ambiguously by *in gurgite*. The usual meaning of OF *gort* (cf. Godefroy's examples) is 'a deep place in water, deep waters, abyss'. The word is derived from Lat. *gurges, gurgitem* 'a raging abyss, whirlpool', used by poets in the sense of 'waters, stream' (cf. Lewis and Short). Meyer-Lübke, *R.E.W.*, 3923, combined it incorrectly with Ital. *gorgo*, Prov. *gorc*, which are from *gurgus* (cf. Du Cange, s.v. *gurges*); the correct etymology had already been given by Calmund (*Prolegomena . . .*, p. 88). OF *gort* frequently rimed in *o*; cf. Tobler, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, vi, p. 166; G. Paris, in *Romania*, x, p. 56; and ch. viii, § 2, xxxii.

174–5. **Mairen** 'timber'; **fust sapin** 'pine wood'. Some MSS. of the *Navigatio* describe Brendan's boat as made of osier (*ex vimine*), others as made of timber (*ex silva*; cf. Du Cange *sylva* 'lignum, materia'); the former was doubtless the original reading. The author had in mind a Celtic coracle, made of wicker covered with hides '*sicut mos est in illis partibus*' (N § 4). The Anglo-Norman poet was probably unfamiliar with the coracle; but whether he followed the reading *ex silva*, or introduced timber on his own authority, can hardly be determined.

177. **Uindre** 'to besmear'. A and E have both independently substituted *Juindre* 'to join', a reading followed also by R (39 a: *Coriatur, jungitur ad cautelam ratis*); this gives very fair sense, but disagrees with N (§ 4): *linieruntque foris omnes juncturas pellium ex butiro*. W. Frahm, *Das Meer und die Seefahrt in der altfranz. Literatur*, Göttingen, 1914, p. 53, accepted the reading of A. While butter may have been suitable for making a coracle water-tight, the usual material for caulking the seams of a wooden boat was pitch (cf. *Guigemar* 154, *Renart le Nouvel* 3776); but the poet avoids mentioning what material was used.

soulante 'smooth-running'. For *esculant(e)*, from *ex-colantem*. Bartsch, following a very dubious example in Godefroy, translated *sculer* 'aller par secousses'.

179–80. **estout** and **pout** are preterites, as the context indicates. The substitution of the present indicatives *estuet, puet* in BCE is probably due to the uncommonness of *estout* (usually *estut*) as a preterite form; cf. ch. viii, § 3, xxxvii.

183. **Ne plus que** 'no more than'. Cf. Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, i², p. 4, and iii², p. 92.

185. **enens.** Here and in v. 280 the adverb should be written as one word (Bartsch *en ens*). Just as in Provençal we find the series *ins, dins, dedins* and *enins*, from *intus, de-intus, de* + *de-intus* and *in-intus* respectively (cf. Raynouard and Levy), so in OF we have *ens, dens* (cf. v. 801), *dedens* and *enens*. Godefroy does not register the form *enens*.

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208. **signet** should perhaps be corrected to *seignet*, with BCDE; cf. *seignet*: *peinet* 1257. But the *i* form can be defended as a Latinism; cf. *signe*: *digne* 665. The same hesitation is seen in the word *seignacle* or *signacle*, vv. 1216 and 1813.

210. **a plain** 'smoothly'. To be distinguished from *a plein* 'entirely, completely' in v. 600, though the two phrases cannot always be so readily separated (cf. *Vie de St. Gilles*, ed. Paris and Bos, vv. 881, 936, 1036, and Glossary). The use of *a* + adjective or participle in place of an adverb was frequent in OF; cf. *a soüt* 373, *a celét* 809, *a fort* in *Roland* 2631, etc.

216. **nager** is used consistently in this text for 'to row with oars', as opposed to *sigler* or *curre* 'to sail'. Bartsch's mistranslation 'nager' (i. e. 'to swim') was a mere oversight. The author's consistency in this respect is somewhat surprising, seeing that in his Latin source *navigare* means 'to sail' as well as 'to row'; cf. C. Boser, in *Romania*, xxii, p. 580. While some OF writers distinguished *nagier* from *sigler* in this way (e.g. *Eneas* 274–5, *Troie* 1970), others confused them (e. g. *Orson de Beauvais* 248, 1257, *Renart le Nouvel* 4108); precision in the use of nautical terms no doubt varied with the authors' knowledge of seafaring.

220. **Desque** 'until'. A conjunction of the *jusque—jesque—tresque* group, derived ultimately from *inde-usque* and *intro-usque*; to be distinguished from *des que* 'as soon as' 347, 817.

gurs. Lat. *gurdus* gave the OF adjective *gort* 'inert, stupid'; here, applied to the wind, it means 'sluggish, motionless'. Bartsch inadvertently confused it with the substantive *gort*; cf. A. Mussafia, in *Romania*, xviii, p. 507.

224. **Qui curages unc ne cestet**. Literally, 'whose courage never stumbles'. The errors of A (*Que, cesset*), partly supported by C (*cesset*), have misled many readers, though the inaccuracy of the rime *amonestet*: *cesset* betrays a corruption. Vising (*Étude . . .*, p. 43) and Tanquerey (*L'Évolution du Verbe . . .*, p. 310) preferred the reading of E: *Que Dex les gart d'œvoir tempeste*, which is hypermetric, but can readily be reduced to the proper number of syllables by means of the correction *gart de tempeste*; but E's line cannot logically follow *les amonestet*, and was evidently an unskilful invention of the Picard reviser. Birkenhoff (*Ueber Metrum und Reim . . .*, p. 28) proposed to adopt the rime-words *apresset*: *cesset*, as in vv. 1005–6; but this correction has no MS. support, and greatly strains the meaning of *apresser*. Tanquerey (*op. cit.*, pp. 306 and 310) and Bédier (in *Mélanges F. Lot*, p. 27) regard the verb in v. 224 as present subjunctive, presumably reading *Que* with A. The grounds on which Tanquerey reads *lesset* instead of *cesset* are unknown to me. The reading *cestet* (< *caespitat*) 'stumbles' was nevertheless recommended as long ago as 1883 by Boucherie (in *Rev. d. langues romanes*, xxiii, p. 183), and was accepted by Hammer (in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, ix, p. 86) and Calmund (*Prolegomena . . .*, p. 82).

227. **Quant averes vent, sigles suluno**. An ellipsis, for *sulunc* [*le*

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vent] 'with the wind'. There is no need to regard *sulunc* as used here adverbially.

233. **beitrer** (or *beitier*). On this word see *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxi, p. 400, where it is explained as a nautical term derived from Old Norse *beita* 'to steer'. The earlier readings *bettrer* (de la Rue, Suchier) and *beltrer* (Michel, Godefroy, Tobler-Lommatzsch) are erroneous, while Bartsch's correction *belter* is arbitrary and unnecessary.

239. **Force perdent e viande.** Hysteron proteron. The voyagers' loss of strength is the consequence of their lack of food.

252. **eschipede.** See *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, p. 29, where the earlier interpretations by Godefroy, Bartsch and Mussafia are rejected. The normal meaning of OF *eschiper*, viz. 'to put out to sea', is inapplicable here; while Mussafia's suggestion 'to put to land' requires the support of some other example. The translation 'moored' is based on N (§ 6): *Minime potuerunt invenire portum ubi staret navis.*

264. **faitis** 'well made', though a descriptive adjective (referring to *port* 261), still retains the participial sense of *factus*. Cf. the tenth-century *Passion*, vv. 267–8:

> Dunc lor gurpit soe chamisæ
> Chi sens custuræ fo faitice.

275–6. **clartét : parét.** The justification of this rime, and of the reading adopted in v. 276, will be found in ch. viii, § 2, xxi. Were either *clartét* : *entailliét* or *clartét* : *pareit* to be ascribed to the author, we should have here the earliest example of an important Anglo-Norman development—the reduction of either *ie* or *ei* to *e*; but there is no other evidence that our author made either of these reductions.

276. **entaillét.** The normal meaning of OF *entaillier* is 'to cut into', hence 'carve' or 'engrave' (cf. *antaile* 'sculpture' 1683); it is commonly used of precious stones which are themselves engraved (cf. Studer and Evans, *Anglo-Norman Lapidaries*, pp. 278 ff.). Here the wall cannot be described as 'engraved' with precious stones, but as 'set' (cf. *purplantez* 1686), or 'ornamented with a pattern or design', or simply 'decorated'. No similar instance seems to be recorded.

280. **Entrent enenz.** This reading is given by A alone, but receives support from v. 185 (cf. note). *Entrerent enz*, the reading of BC, is equally satisfactory; but the scribes may well have rejected the rare adverb *enenz* independently.

295. **Portez** 'bring'. The author of this poem frequently used *porter* without prefix, where others would have used *aporter*. Cf. glossary.

299. **volt . . . guarnir.** Cf. note to v. 80.

301. **cunrei.** The word was normally used for preparation, equipment or provision in general; but the author of the *Brendan* was strongly inclined to restrict it to 'provisions' in the narrower sense, i. e. food and drink, or food alone. Cf. glossary.

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305. **se ublient.** The construction *sei oblier de* + infinitive reappears in Middle French ; cf. Commynes iii, 4 *Je me suys oublié . . . de parler du roy Edouard*, and an example quoted by Godefroy from G. Bouchet. In v. 846 we find *sei ublïer de* + substantive.

307. **pregnent oser.** Cf. note to v. 48.

311. **an emblét.** Preposition + adjective or participle, in place of an adverb ; cf. *en vain* 90, *en repost* 318, and note to v. 210. The feminine form *emblee* is more usual, but *en emblé* occurs (for instance) in *Eneas* 1658 and *Roman de la Rose* 12384. Similarly we find *a celé* by the side of *a celee* (cf. Vising, *Étude . . .*, p. 70). Birkenhoff (*Ueber Metrum und Reim . . .*, p. 37) preferred to read *en emble* with E (cf. examples in Godefroy) ; but this makes it necessary to accept E's inferior reading in v. 312.

330. **N'en portes.** Is it permissible, in view of the author's tendency to omit the prefix before *porter* (cf. note to v. 295), to preserve A's reading *Ne portez*, and regard *porter* as equivalent to *en porter*? Similarly in v. 1100, and possibly v. 1808. More probably the scribe inadvertently omitted the *n* of *N'en* 330 and *l'en* 1100 ; cf. note to v. 18.

332. **N'enteins** 'not even'. The variant *N'enteimes* (BD) makes the line hypermetric. Bartsch printed *Nenteins* as one word, but this is a mistake (cf. G. Paris, in *Romania*, xviii, p. 137), examples occurring without the negative particle. There exists also a third form *(n')enteis*. The etymology is a riddle still awaiting solution. Suchier's suggestion, Lat. *intime*, **intimas*, postulates a surprising change of accent and does not account for the meaning. For further examples and suggestions see P. Meyer, in *Romania*, vii, p. 343 ; G. Paris, *Vie de Saint Gilles*, p. xvii, and in *Romania*, xiii, p. 446 ; Tobler, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, viii, p. 299 ; Foerster, notes to *Cligés*, large edition, v. 6603, and *Lancelot*, v. 494 ; id., note on p. 250 of *Adgars Marienlegenden*, ed. Neuhaus ; Doutrepont, *La Clef d'Amors*, note to v. 731 ; A. T. Baker, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, vii, p. 173.

335-7. The punctuation of this passage is based on L. The translation of R is less clear (65 a b) :

> Designatus patulo furtum fur agnovit.
> Furtum coram omnibus devovere novit.

Cunuistre 'to acknowledge, confess' is frequent in OF. We have no guarantee, however, that the translators interpreted the lines in the author's sense, and it is possible that *cument il l'out cunuit* depends on *s'aparceut* : 'he (the monk) perceived . . . how he (the abbot) had discovered it (the theft).' But *cunuit* elsewhere in this text is preterite only, not past participle. In B and E *cunuit* has been connected with the words that follow. The successive enjambments are certainly rather disconcerting.

343. **Cheles.** OF *cheles*, *chieles* are found at all periods by the side of *chaëles*, *chaieles* ; cf. A. Schulze, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, viii, pp. 299 ff.,

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and Tobler-Lommatzsch, under *chäeles*. The form is therefore not evidence of early reduction of hiatus in the *Brendan*.

358. **E sis rovet cel receivre** 'and he asks them to accept it'. The construction of *rover* with an accusative of the person (*sis* = *si les*), as in Latin, is exceptional; but cf. *St. Alexis*, v. 259. BDE have all introduced the normal construction with the dative. It is true that in certain northern French texts we find *les* (< *illis*?) as dative, cf. E. Ebering, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, v, p. 329, and Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, i², p. 89; but the *Brendan* contains no other example of such a use.

371–5. The punctuation is uncertain. It is possible that vv. 373–4 should be connected with v. 375, but the sense links them more naturally with what precedes.

382. **Cum de plus luin lur pout pareir** 'as far off as it could be visible to them', i. e. 'at the extreme range of their sight'. *Cum* + *plus* = 'the most that, as much as' (cf. v. 606); hence *Cum de plus luin* = 'from the farthest that, as far off as'.

390. **par ces landes**. *Ces* is here equivalent to the definite article: 'in the woodlands (generally)'; but the writer of R interpreted it as a demonstrative, meaning 'those across the sea' (i. e. in Ireland):

(73 c) Quales cervas cernimus Celticis in oris.

395. **prest**. In A *pres* may represent *prez*, nom. of *prest*; but the accusative form of this word was commonly used for the nominative, cf. ch. viii, § 5, vii.

410. **guasteus**. Cf. A. Schultz, *Das höfische Leben* . . ., i, Leipzig, 1889, p. 394.

411. **neüle**. This archaic form (< *nec ulla*) is in none of the MSS.; but AB are a syllable short, DE have inserted the impersonal subject *il* contrary to the author's habit (cf. ch. viii, § 5, xii), and another syllable is clearly required in the second half of the line, the medial break coming after *fait*.

421. **L'ivers nen i fait rancune**. The original reading of this line is not quite certain. Calmund (*Prolegomena* . . ., p. 61) proposed *L'ivers nen fait sa rancune*; but *nen* was used only before a vowel, and the adverb *i* (omitted in A) seems necessary. D's expansion of the following line (*nen i* for *n'i*) perhaps reflects the original form of v. 421. The agreement of B with DE is due merely to the fact that different transcribers employed the same device for adding a syllable, replacing *nen* by *n'* + *nule*. The form *raencune* in A appears to be merely an Anglo-Norman misspelling.

430. **costil** 'coast'. No other instance of this meaning is recorded. Cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, p. 28.

439. Cf. *Vie de St. Gilles* 906: *Kar issi veit cil ke Deus meine.*

443. **entrin**. Godefroy interpreted the word in this passage as 'entier,

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complet'; but the meaning 'sincere' (of which he quotes many examples) is more suitable. On the form of the word see ch. iii, § 4 b.

448. The first *la* is an adverb (< *illac*), the second a pronoun (= *charn*).

456. **s'en fuieit.** *Se fuieit* (cf. B) is also a possible reading, and would avoid the pleonastic *en*; cf. E. Ebering, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, v, p. 332. The reasons for rejecting *se luigneit* (A), in spite of its excellent sense and the apparent support of L, will be found in ch. viii, § 3, xxix.

461. **raps.** From O.Eng. *rap* (modern *rope*). This interesting loan-word is discussed in ch. viii, § 2, vi, and § 3, vi.

466. Hammer (in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, ix, p. 75) accepted as authentic the two lines which E inserts between vv. 466 and 467, on the ground that in v. 837 all the MSS. refer back to them. But the fact that the cauldron had been left behind as well as the fire could easily be inferred from v. 466, and is passed over in silence in the *Navigatio* as well as in ABD and the Latin translations. The Picard reviser, knowing the subsequent developments, disclosed an entertaining detail prematurely in a manner quite contrary to that of the author.

470. **U feimes.** It is possible, but dangerous in the absence of any similar contracted form, to read *U nus f(e)imes* with A; cf. ch. viii, § 3, xxxv.

471. **sur les greinurs** 'greater than the greatest'. Other examples of this comparative use of *sur* occur in vv. 704, 1681 and 1825.

474. **asener** 'to make wise, instruct'. Other examples of this use of the verb occur in vv. 508 and 1778, and the verbal substantive *asen* 'instruction' occurs in v. 583. The explanation put forward in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxi, pp. 397 ff., is borne out by the parallel uses of *asenser* and *ensenser*; cf. Suchier, *Reimpredigt*, p. 108, and Tobler-Lommatzsch, s.v. *assenser*.

476. **encrerres** is in B only, but A and D are a syllable short, while E has reconstructed the line. The verb *encroire* was perhaps commoner than Godefroy's paragraph indicates, the prefix being liable to be treated by editors as a separate word.

478. **A sun comant plus vus prendres** 'the more you will adhere to (i.e. obey) his command'. The reading has been adopted on the somewhat unreliable authority of D, the line unfortunately being missing in A. The unusual use of *prendre* may perhaps account for the introduction of *peneres* (producing an inferior rime) in both B and E.

506. **que deit.** On this use of *deveir*, which occurs again in vv. 518 and 1448, see E. Weber, *Ueber den Gebrauch von devoir, laissier, etc.*, p. 6.

521–36. The details of Satan's wisdom, his pre-eminent position, and the circumstances of his fall are not in the *Navigatio*, which says merely (§ 10): *Nos sumus de magna illa ruina antiqui hostis, sed non peccando consensimus; ubi fuimus creati, per lapsum istius cum suis satellitibus contigit*

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nostra ruina. The poet's additions are commonplaces of medieval religious and didactic literature.

531–44. The anonymous author of some satirical verses against the Brendan legend (published by P. Meyer in *Romania*, xxxi, p. 376, and by C. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ii, p. 293) was particularly incensed at this episode, and condemned as entirely heretical the idea that some of Satan's followers could escape perdition:

His fabellas addit plures, non cessando fingere,
Demones salvandos fore, laudes Deo solvere;
Quod est nimis inimicum fidei catholice.
Recta quippe fides habet, quod, ruente principe,
Nullus nisi periturus secum posset ruere;
Iste vero magne parti locum cedit venie.

561. **C'or**. Should be printed *Cor* without apostrophe, if the existence of this conjunction in OF be admitted; cf. W. Zeitlin, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, vii, p. 5, and W. Foerster, *Ille und Galeron*, note to v. 457. *Cor* may be regarded as a form of *quer*, *car*, possibly based on *quer* by the analogy of *buer—bor*, *fuers—fors*, and similar doublets, or contaminated with *or(e)* < *hora*. In O.Prov. *cor* existed by the side of *car*; cf. P. Meyer, in *Romania*, ix, p. 55, and Levy, *Supplement-Wörterbuch*. *Cor* is commonest in hortative use, but the present passage meets Foerster's desire for an example used causally. The existence of OF *cor*, as distinct from *c'or*, *qu'or* = *que or*, is not, however, generally admitted. The editors of *Aucassin et Nicolete*, for instance, continue to print *c'or* iv, 5 (M. Roques, 1925), or to correct it to *car* (W. Suchier, 1921); cf. Herrig's *Archiv*, cxlix, p. 292.

569. **aiguage** or *ewage* 'water-way'. From post-classical Lat. *aquagium* 'aqueduct'; cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxi, p. 395. The word occurs also in Gaimar, *Est. des Engl.* 4734.

578. **jurnals** 'dawn'. Godefroy quotes a second example from the *Roman d'Alexandre*, but used in the singular. The adjective *diurnalis* became used as a substantive, like *diurnum* > *jurn*, *matutinum* > *matin*, *serile* > *seril* (v. 1310), etc., the original substantive (*tempus*, *spatium*, *hora*, *vigilia*, etc.) being discarded owing to an ellipsis; cf. Du Cange, s.v. *matutini*, and *New Eng. Dict.*, s.v. *matin*. The plural is used here as in *matines* and *vespres*.

579. **as refreis**. Translated '*in responsionibus*' in L, but this may be due to *respunt* in v. 580; no example of *refrait* meaning 'liturgical response' has come to my notice. In R the corresponding passage runs (102 b c):

Matutinos concinunt: angeli juvere.
Homines cum angelis voces miscuere.

OF *refrait* originally signified not 'a regularly recurring series of words' (modern *refrain*), but 'a series of notes' to which words need not be

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attached; it was applied to the song of birds, and to the meaningless recurrent series of vowel-sounds or syllables often inserted in songs. Cf. A. Jeanroy, *Les Origines de la Poésie lyrique en France*, pp. 102 ff. In the present context we may regard the word as still essentially a musical term.

583–4. Anacoluthon. In place of a second relative clause in v. 584 (*E par qui dun* etc.) the author introduced an unsubordinated statement. His constructions are sometimes grammatically lax, but not on that account inelegant or obscure.

588. **Desque** 'Until'. The correction is required by the context, and by the parallel line 866, though indicated by D alone. The *Deu fedeil* promises to bring the voyagers ample food to sustain them during their two months' rest; later (vv. 605–8) he brings a much larger supply for their eight months' voyage. The same procedure is followed in the subsequent year (vv. 862 and 890–2).

uitaves Pentecuste 'the Sunday after Whitsun'. The *de* inserted in all the MSS., here and in v. 866, makes the line hypermetric and must be omitted; cf. Hammer, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.* ix, p. 85. The expression *Octave Pentecouste* without preposition occurs also in *Aiol*, v. 8161 (ed. Foerster). Other expressions of this kind (mostly ecclesiastical) are quoted by Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, i², pp. 72 f. On the other hand, in v. 780 we find *As uitaves de Thephaine*, guaranteed by the metre.

589. **travalz.** Burghardt, *Über den Einfluss des Englischen* . . ., p. 83, quoted this passage and v. 829 (*Bained i ad les travailez*) to illustrate the change of meaning which *travail*, *travaillier* were beginning to undergo in Anglo-Norman. *Travalz* can here be explained as 'hardships due to travelling', *travailez* 829 as 'exhausted by their travels'. The tendency to restrict these words to the sense of 'journey' is certainly a characteristic Anglo-Normanism (cf. *New Eng. Dict.*, s.v. *travail*); but the examples in the *Brendan* need not necessarily be interpreted in other than continental senses. The change of meaning is much more clearly indicated in Philippe de Thaün's *Bestiaire*, vv. 627–8:

> E ço saciez senz faille:
> Ki eire si travaille.

595–6. **firent : mistrent.** On this apparently unsatisfactory rime see ch. viii, § 3, xxxiv.

597–602. Literally, 'When the time came for them to set out, they begin to tighten (i. e. make water-tight) their boat; they sew it all over with ox-hides, for those which are on it are becoming completely worn out; they have enough of them, and to spare, so that their boat may be sound.' Suchier's reading *purtusent* 599 A was erroneous; cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, p. 36.

601. **a remüers.** See Tobler, *Li Dis dou Vrai Aniel*, note to v. 377.

602. **baz.** Cf. *bat* 890. Probably from O.Norse *bátr*, cf. ch. viii, § 4,

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ii. W. Frahm (*Das Meer und die Seefahrt . . .*, p. 45) connected it wrongly with *bac*. Cf. Du Cange, s.v. *batus*, *battus*; Meyer-Lübke, *R.E.W.*, 985; Tobler-Lommatzsch, s.v. *bat*.

607. **a pleins uit meis**. Cf. 617 *Uit meis enters*. Strictly speaking, it is impossible to fit in eight full months between the octave of Pentecost and Christmas Day. The earliest possible date for Easter is March 22nd, for Whit-Sunday therefore (50 days later) May 10th; hence the Sunday following Whitsun cannot be earlier than May 17th, leaving seven months and one week before Christmas. The poet interpreted too literally the phrase *post octo menses* in N (§ 10).

612. **tendre lur curs**. The MSS. offer the three alternatives *tendre lur curs* (A), *prendre l. c.* (B) and *tenir l. c.* (DE). All three are correct expressions, occurring elsewhere in the text; but they are not strictly synonymous. *Tendre* has the sense of 'to make one's way in the desired direction', and is used either alone (vv. 233, 1115, 1709) or with *curs* (v. 1641). *Prendre sun curs* (vv. 234, 1116) is 'to take one's course, make one's way', whether in the desired direction or not; in v. 1116 it is definitely involuntary, and opposed to *tendre*. *Tenir*, followed by *veie* (vv. 1066, 1519), *rute* (1508) or *curs* (1616), is 'to pursue a course already begun'. It is clear therefore that in v. 612, where the voyage has not yet begun, and the direction is voluntarily adopted, *tendre* is the proper verb to use.

617–18. The uncommon word *baïs* 'expectant' (< **bat-ivus*, from *batare* 'to gape') appears to have nonplussed the copyists. B, *more suo*, has evaded the difficulty by omitting the lines. D and E have remade the couplet according to their respective capacities, i.e. D clumsily, E intelligently. The scribe of A alone has conscientiously copied his model. The behaviour of each in this instance is very characteristic.

618. **pusset** can hardly be an imperfect subjunctive with analogical *e*, in spite of the historic tense that precedes and the much earlier examples in *St. Eulalia* (*perdesse*[*t*] 17, *awisset* 27). The scribe of A not infrequently reduced *ui* to *u* (cf. Appendix II, § 33), while in v. 602 he himself corrected his spelling *pusset* to *puisset*.

entrer pals. The transitive use of *entrer*, probably a Latinism, was not common in OF (there is an instance in the tenth-century *Passion*, v. 427), though it became a feature of later Anglo-Norman; cf. Burghardt, *Über den Einfluss des Englischen . . .*, p. 80, and *New Eng. Dict.*, s.v. *enter*.

619. **Albeu**. Irish *Ailbe*, Lat. *Albeus* or *Ailbeus*. The extant information concerning him has been studied by the Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum*, Sept. iv, pp. 26 ff., and by the Rev. C. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, i, Oxford, 1910, pp. xxviii ff. and clxxxiii. In the latter work, pp. 46–64, is printed one of the Latin lives of the saint. See also Wahlund, *Brendans Meerfahrt*, pp. 246 f. The Latin lives (cf. ch. xlvi of Plummer's edition) mention merely a three-hour ocean voyage made by

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St. Ailbe; but the author of the *Navigatio* utilized a tradition that he had remained permanently in the *Terra Repromissionis*.

621. **plus ne targe.** It is possible to read *n'i* with A; similarly in v. 847 *n'i targierent* with BD, and in v. 1659 *ne[n] i targes* with AD; but in none of these cases is the adverb necessary, and it has been uniformly dropped in the critical text. Cf. v. 1185, where A has *n'i dutent rien*.

654. **lur grant seif mult la prement.** In Latin we find *reprimere sitim* by the side of *compescere sitim* 'to repress one's thirst, keep it in check', while *premere* is used in similar senses, e.g. *premere vocem, gemitum* (cf. Lewis and Short). Hence it is natural to find in OF the expression *prembre la seif*. *Estreindre* < *stringere*, used in the same connexion, is rather 'to alleviate, mitigate'; e.g. *Roman d'Alexandre*, in Studer-Waters, *Hist. Fr. Reader*, 21, 49 *Pour estraindre sa soif que il a grant eüe* (var. *restraindre*), and Wahlund, *Brendans Meerfahrt*, p. 93, 29 *un pau d iaue . . . de coi je pooie restraindre men soif*.

662. **baiser enprent.** Cf. note to v. 48. The normal construction was *emprendre a* + infin.; cf. Godefroy.

664. **estre** 'place of abode', as in v. 1532. Four different words coalesced in OF *estre*:—(1) the infinitive **essere* > *estre* used as a substantive, cf. v. 413; (2) *exteras* 'outbuildings' > *estres* fem. pl.; (3) medieval Lat. **astracum* (for ὄστρακον) > *aistre, estre* 'hearth, living-room, place of abode', as here, cf. ch. viii, § 2, vii, and J. Ulrich, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, xxii, p. 261; and (4) *atrium* > *aitre* 'forecourt, churchyard, enclosed space', misspelt *estre*. Examples of each will be found in Studer-Waters, *Hist. Fr. Reader*. It is small wonder if both medieval and modern readers have often confused them. The writers of L and R rendered the word correctly in this passage by *mansionem* and *coenobium* (114 d) respectively; in v. 1532 (R 253 c) both mistranslated *estre* 'abode' by *esse* 'condition'.

677. **tistes.** Three different meanings are attributed to OF *tiste, teste*:—(1) a gospel-book or mass-book; presumably borrowed from Lat. *textus, -um* 'tissue of words, text'; cf. Du Cange, *textus* 'liber seu codex Evangeliorum . . .', and Godefroy, *teste*; (2) an ornamented metal plate used as a covering to a gospel-book; presumably identical in origin with the preceding; cf. L. de Laborde, *Glossaire fr. du moyen âge à l'usage de l'archéologue et de l'amateur des arts*, Paris, 1872, p. 515, and the glossary to *L'Escoufle*, ed. Michelant and Meyer; (3) altar-cloths of gold and silver material; borrowed from Lat. *textum* 'what is woven, fabric'; cf. the glossary to *L'Escoufle*. It is not easy to disentangle these senses, especially as the examples mostly admit of more than one interpretation. Godefroy's examples certainly do not all belong to (1), under which they are placed. In the present instance, seeing that the *tistes* are studded with amethysts, (2) is the most likely meaning. The *tistes* or *testes* formed part of the church treasure, and medieval texts frequently mention their

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being carried (as here) in solemn processions, e. g. *Roman de Rou* iii. 5554, *Erec* 6902, *Yvain* 1169, *L'Escoufle* 217.

681–2. On the interpretation of these lines see *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxi, p. 396. The non-agreement of *encassét* with *gemmes* is an unusual licence on the author's part.

688. **haspes.** Borrowed from Mid. Eng. *haspe*, earlier *hæpse*; cf. ch. viii, § 4, ii, and *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, p. 33.

700. **fors li litur** 'except the readers'. On the use of the nom. pl. see ch. viii, § 5, vi. The reading of BE, supported by L, introducing the acc. sing., is equally possible, but not obligatory as Calmund maintained (*Prolegomena . . .*, p. 128); there may well have been successive readers.

712. **cil resirent** 'they sat in their turn'. This excellent reading, though given by A alone, can hardly be rejected. The substitution in the other MSS. of *se refirent*, a reading followed also by L (*sunt refecti*), is probably due to *sunt refait* in v. 707, and may have suggested itself to different scribes independently.

723–37. The details of St. Ailbe's life contained in these lines are not derived from the *Navigatio*. They are of a hackneyed nature, and are probably an expansion due to the poet himself. According to the Latin life published by Plummer (cf. note to v. 619), Ailbe was an illegitimate child, cast out of court by an Irish king, nourished by a she-wolf and then brought up as a foundling; nowhere is he described as wealthy.

734. The reading *Cum(e) a abét obeimes*, with omission of the co-ordinating conjunction (cf. note to vv. 129–30) is also possible; cf. the variant of A. The reading adopted is supported by the very similar lines 533–4. It is not clear whether *obeïr* governs the accusative or the dative in this text.

745. **loreür.** From Late Lat. *laboratorem*; cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, p. 35.

751–2. **men : son.** Probably *mien : soen* in the original; cf. ch. viii, § 2, xl.

757. **devum.** In A only, but supported by L (*horis convenientibus*). The infinitive (*fou receivre*) which should grammatically follow *devum* is dropped by a natural ellipsis.

760. **le plus.** On this use of *le* (< *illo*, for Lat. *eo*), indicating difference of measure or degree, see Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, ii², pp. 55 ff.

767. **dublat.** Cf. note to v. 954.

solt has been explained as a preterite (ch. viii, § 3, xxxvi); cf. *solitus est* in L. It is the normal development of *soluit*, like *volt* < *voluit*, and is found also in the forms *sout, sot, seut*. The existence of a preterite of *soleir* in OF is not, however, admitted by all. The present indicative of this verb was commonly used in OF where a past tense would be expected; cf. E. Weber, *Ueber den Gebrauch von devoir, laissier, . . .*, pp. 2–4. *Soil* and *solt* can be forms of the present indicative in which the *o* has remained undiphthongized owing to analogy or atonic position. Tobler

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therefore (*Vermischte Beiträge*, v, p. 365) regarded such forms everywhere as the present tense; similarly Bartsch-Wiese, *Chrestomathie* (11th ed.) p. 345 (on *sot* 31, 62), Bartsch-Horning, glossary (on *sot* 101, 14), and Jenkins, *La Chanson de Roland*, note to v. 352. But the use of present as past does not necessarily preclude the survival of a real preterite, and the existence of the latter has been maintained by Scheler (cf. Tobler), W. Foerster (*Richars li Biaus*, note to v. 608), G. Ebeling (*Auberee*, note to v. 88), and most recently by E. G. Wahlgren (*Étude sur les actions analogiques réciproques du parfait et du participe passé dans les langues romanes*, Upsala, 1920, p. 172). May not the phonetic confusion between present and preterite have been partly responsible for the use (peculiar to this verb) of present as preterite?

768. **sai**. The reading *soi* (< *saput*) of E is plausible, but is contradicted by L (*scimus*) as well as the other MSS. Moreover, at the time when the food-supply was increased the disciples of St. Ailbe did not anticipate the coming of their guests; cf. v. 765. *Bien sai* is therefore 'I know well [now], I realize'.

773–4. Brendan, filled with admiration for the perfection of their monastic life, is expressing a desire to remain with St. Ailbe's disciples permanently, thus momentarily losing sight of the main purpose of his voyage. This point is made clearer in R (129):

> Hinc se posse subtrahi graviter ferenti
> Sic Brandano senior: 'Frenum pone menti!
> Obstat sors propositum tale proponenti.
> Stultum est resistere Deo disponenti.'

779–80. The meaning of **la semaine** is not clear; it appears to be merely a parallel expression to *As uitaves*. Brendan has arrived at the Isle of Ailbe for Christmas (cf. v. 620), and is to depart on the octave of Epiphany (Jan 13th; cf. v. 769).

781. **mist**, given by A alone, is preferable to *dist* (BDE). *Metre un jurn* 'to appoint a day, fix a date' corresponds to *metre termes* 895. Cf. *Eliduc* 689, Beroul's *Tristan* 3247.

788. **nul**. The use of *nul* without a negative particle might be regarded as an Anglicism due to the scribe of A. Examples do, however, occur occasionally in continental OF texts, e. g. *Erec* 2972, *Yvain* 3468 (cf. the notes in Foerster's large edition). Cf. v. 236, where A's reading *par nul desdeign* has been altered in the other MSS. to *sens n. d.* In the sixteenth century *nul* was often used without *ne* owing to Latin influence; cf. Nyrop, *Gram. hist.*, v, § 439.

791–3. Cf. N (§ 13) *cessavit ventus et cepit mare esse coagulatum pre nimia tranquillitate*. A somewhat obscure allusion, repeated in vv. 899–900, to the mythical *mer betee* mentioned by so many medieval authors. On this subject see especially C. Hofmann, in *Sitzungsberichte der k. bayer. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, Philos.-philol. Classe, 1865, ii, 1, pp. 1 ff.,

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and A. Graf, *Miti, Leggende e Superstizioni del Medio Evo*, i, Turin, 1892, p. 106.

798. Of the four alternative readings, that of B alone furnishes a leonine rime; it is moreover supported by L. The alteration in A is probably an anticipation of v. 800. The line was probably missing in the common ancestor of D and E.

802. **a plus que cens** 'by more than hundreds'. The preposition, which is needed on metrical grounds, indicates the measure employed; cf. Tobler-Lommatzsch, i, col. 17, line 10. Similarly *Roland* 1417 *Moerent paien a millere et a cent* (corr. *cens?*). Here again the correct reading is given by B only. Cf. Calmund, *Prolegomena . . .*, p. 46.

803–4. 'They have need of herbs which are in the boggy ground around the river-bed.' On *umeit* and the interpretation of these lines see *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, p. 42. Birkenhoff's emendation (*Ueber Metrum und Reim . . .*, p. 11) *Mestier lur furent en lur met*, i.e. 'in their distress' is excessively far-fetched. Calmund (*Prolegomena . . .*, p. 46) proposed to correct *umeit* or *umed* to **fiumet* (= *flumen* + *-ittum*). The lines evidently puzzled the scribes as much as modern readers, though the writer of R gathered their meaning correctly (136 a b):

> Circa rivum carpserant in quo sunt piscati
> Herbas salutiferas et saporis grati.

812. **dormant giseient.** The construction with the gerund (AE) has been preferred because it is more unusual. The alternative *dorment e gisent* (BD) is a weaker analytic construction which would naturally commend itself to scribes. The scribe of A also wrote *dorment*, but corrected *e* to *a*.

816. **suduines.** A word of unknown origin, here evidently meaning 'prostrate' or 'drunken'. No other example of it is known. Cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, p. 41.

830. **E nuveals dras apareiles.** An elliptical construction. The dative pronoun must be inferred from *les travailes* in the preceding line. 'He has bathed the exhausted men, and [has] made ready fresh clothes [for them].'

831. **mandét.** Cf. Du Cange, s.v. *mandatum* (9), and *New Eng. Dict.*, s.v. *maundy*.

839. **Li Jacoines.** The name, representing *Jasconius* of the *Navigatio*, has been preserved only by A. It is derived from Irish *iasc* 'fish'; cf. Wahlund, *Brendans Meerfahrt*, pp. 239 ff. To Wahlund's numerous references must be added the elaborate study by J. Runeberg, *Le Conte de l'Ile-Poisson*, in *Mémoires de la Société Néo-philologique à Helsingfors*, iii, 1902, pp. 343 ff.

842. **plus bele.** *Plus* is conjectural, AB being a syllable short and DE having *mult*; but it is indicated by L (*pulcrius*), and suits the context better than *mult*.

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854. **la branche.** On this apparently 'collective' use of the word, resembling that of *la fueille* in *Roman de Renart* ii 517 and elsewhere, see Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, ii², p. 51.

866. **uitaves Pentecoste.** The author of R substituted *festum sancte Trinitatis* (142 b), thus indicating that Trinity Sunday had become established as a feast by the time when he wrote. Cf. ch. vii.

887. **parfunt.** Not an adjective (Vising, *Étude . . .*, p. 97), but an adverb (Brekke, *Étude . . .*, p. 6), hence not a proof of the use of *mer* as masculine. A similar instance occurs in Chardry's *Josaphaz* (ed. Koch), v. 28, where A. Mussafia (in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, iii, p. 597) proposed to read *par funt*.

888. **abootet.** The usual form of the verb is *aboëter*, derived from *boët* 'hole in a wall'; cf. G. Tilander, *Remarques sur le Roman de Renart*, Göteborg, 1923, pp. 84 ff. The double *o* is due perhaps to progressive vowel-assimilation; another example, but with a different prefix, and making a false rime, occurs in the *Bestiaire de Gervaise* (ed. P. Meyer, in *Romania*, i, pp. 420 ff.), v. 1183 *esboote*. The subject of the verb is *chascuns*; the Picard reviser has remade the line.

890. **de cunrei sun bat chargét** 'his boat laden with food'. A striking example of the OF participial complement of manner; cf. Brunot, *Hist. de la langue fr.*, ii, p. 466. A simpler example occurs in v. 1081.

902. **curt.** The reading of A is justified by the sense and the sequence of tenses; but it is not easy to explain why B and E both altered *curt* to *crut* 'increased'.

The cold which 'runs through their veins' seems to be the consequence not of low temperature, but of fear produced by a storm. Such was certainly the interpretation adopted by the writer of L.

904. **Que** 'because, for'. E. Lerch (*Hist. franz. Syntax*, i, Leipzig, 1925, p. 138) has suggested that this use of *que* was introduced into northern French by Provençal influence. Its occurrence in so early a text as the *Brendan* seems to render his view untenable.

est tut' en brande 'is in great peril'. On the interpretation of this phrase see *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxi, p. 401.

906. **adente** is not a present subjunctive (Tanquerey, *L'Évolution du Verbe . . .*, p. 309), but indicative. *Poi en fait* was followed by the indicative in OF; cf. *Meraugis* 2182 *Poi s'en faut que je ne t'oci* (: *ci*).

916. **braiet.** A form *braier* existed in OF by the side of *braire*; cf. ch. viii, § 3, xiv, and Meyer-Lübke, *R. E. W.*, 1263.

917–18. 'Were there no peril save only from his teeth, one thousand and five hundred would flee before him.' Owing to the corruptions in A, these lines have been a stumbling-block to commentators; cf. Birkenhoff, *Ueber Metrum und Reim . . .*, p. 71, and Vising, in *Literaturblatt*, vi (1885), cols. 68 ff. The *ui* in *fuireient* is monosyllabic; cf. *Roland* 2607 *fuirat*, &c.

The excessive precision of the number (altered to one thousand eight hundred in L) is similar to that in *Roland* 1078; cf. Jenkins' note.

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919–20. Is it possible to keep *Sur* with A (cf. v. 134), and translate: 'In addition to the waves that he set up, nothing more was needed to produce a great storm'? The preposition occurs in several unusual senses in this text. But such a use of *sur* would be very ambiguous, for *sur les undes* would inevitably be taken to mean 'on, or over the waves'. It seems safer to adopt *Sul* with BDE, supported by L (*sole*), and admit an anacoluthon; cf. note to vv. 583–4.

932. **deit cuntretenir.** On the use of *deveir* to express impending action, virtually as a circumlocution for the future, see E. Weber, *Ueber den Gebrauch von devoir, laissier, . . .*, pp. 10 f., and Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, iv, p. 9.

933–4. **Ceste** is the first beast, **l'altre** the new arrival. The writer of L wrongly judged both lines to have the same subject. It is not clear how he came to translate *a rage* by *ad modum fragoris arborum*.

954. **tres meitez.** The use of *meitiét* to denote an equal part less than a half forms a counterpart to the use of *doble* as a multiplicative (*treis dobles* = threefold, *cent dobles* = a hundredfold, etc., cf. Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, i², p. 178). Cf. v. 767, where *dubler* signifies 'to augment', not strictly 'to double'. OF *moitié* 'portion' does not seem to have been recorded, but for O.Prov. we find *catre mitatz* recorded by Levy (*Supplement-Wörterbuch*).

957. The syllable missing in A may be made up either by adding *li* (with B) or by substituting *desesperer* (with DE) for *desperer*. Both verbs were common in OF.

957–62. It is possible that these lines were intended to form a brief homily spoken by Brendan, of which vv. 963–4 are the conclusion. The writer of L interpreted them thus.

962. **estorses.** See note to v. 1482. Both D and E have avoided the word.

970. **penez.** Keep *lassez* (A)?

977. **cuntresailis.** Professor Orr, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, p. 201, takes exception to the writing of *cuntresailir* as a compound, preferring to preserve *cuntre* as an adverb. Undoubtedly the adverbial use of *contre* was permissible in OF; cf. *Gormont* 314, *Erec* 384, etc. But verbs of motion inseparably compounded with *contre*, and governing an indirect object, were also used, e. g. in the sentence *Prïez pour moi que li poestez des tenebres ne contrecore a moi* (*Vie Sainte Consorce*, quoted by Godefroy; cf. *contrealer*). In the present instance either interpretation seems admissible.

981–2. **L'abes lur ad tant sermunét, E Deus par tut asez dunét.** The same auxiliary and pronoun (*lur ad*) do for both parts of the sentence, although the subject, verb, and complement are different. Cf. vv. 829–30 and 1727–8.

988. **lur** = *la lur*, with the well-known omission of the accusative pronoun. Similarly in vv. 1531 (*li* = *le li*) and 1532 (*lur* = *le lur*).

992–6. The pronouns *nus* and *vus* have been much confused in this

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passage by the scribes. By following A throughout we obtain at least as good a sequence as by adopting any of the variants.

997. **suspeis** 'estimation'. The form *supeis* of BD (*sopois* E) is equally acceptable. The word is a verbal substantive from *su(s)peser* 'to weigh or lift from beneath', hence 'to estimate the weight of'. Cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, p. 38.

1007–8. 'If it had been the first [of the two], this peril would not [in their estimation] have been smaller [than the other], but would have been greater.' The poet is comparing the respective fearsomeness of the griffin and the sea-serpent.

1017–18. 'On account of the mere impetuosity [of its flight] and the wind that it makes, the ship very nearly capsizes.' *Achant* is a verbal substantive, otherwise unrecorded, from *achanter* 'to place or turn on the side', 'to lurch', hence 'to capsize'; cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxi, p. 393.

1028. **Cil** indicates 'the former', **oist** 'the latter'; *cil* the adversary, *cist* the defender. The MSS. disagree, but B seems to have preserved the correct alternation. In v. 609 (*cil e cil*), on the other hand, there is no question of respective proximity, either actual or moral.

1029. **chalt** is most probably a preterite; cf. Brekke, *Étude . . .*, p. 72. It has frequently been interpreted as a past participle (Birkenhoff, *Ueber Metrum und Reim . . .*, p. 41; Calmund, *Prolegomena . . .*, p. 137; Tanquerey, *L'Évolution du Verbe . . .*, p. 485), and the use of *chaït* for *chaiz* in predicative position would not be abnormal; but the past participle forms were *cheüt* and *chaeit*. The other early example of *chaï* p. part. to which Tanquerey refers (in Gaimar's *Estorie des Engleis*) cannot be traced.

1036. **el pred Nerunt.** The gardens of Nero at Rome, where (according to tradition) the emperor had Christians burned; later the site of the basilica of St. Peter of the Vatican. Frequently mentioned in OF texts as *Noiron Pre* or *Pre Noiron*; cf. E. Langlois, *Table des Noms Propres . . . dans les Chansons de Geste*, Paris, 1904, p. 488.

1038. **saint Perrunt l'apostorle.** Not 'the apostle' (*apóstolus*, OF *apostle*, *-ostre*), but 'the [first] pope' (*apostólicus*, OF *apostoile*, *-oire*). The distinction is well illustrated by the phrase *Comment mesires sains Pieres li beneois apostres fu premierement esleus a estre apostoles de Rome*, quoted from a Lyon MS. by P. Meyer, in *Bull. de la Soc. d. anc. textes fr.*, 1885, p. 43; cf. Wahlund, *Brendans Meerfahrt*, p. 253. On the form with *r* see ch. viii, § 2, lxvii, and G. Paris, in *Romania*, vi, p. 132.

1048. **guerre** 'confusion, medley'. Retaining the original sense of Germ. *wërra*; cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, p. 32. Professor Orr (*ibid.*, p. 201) has objected to this interpretation, but has not made it clear on what grounds. The context indicates plainly that there is no idea of hostility, either on the part of the fishes towards the voyagers, or among the fishes themselves.

1052. **Sachez murir [que] nus estout.** The line seems to have been

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a syllable short in the archetype, and BE have introduced *que* before *nurir*, thus destroying the medial break. The emendation is based on the many instances (e. g. vv. 576, 1134) in which the author has placed a word or phrase in front of the conjunction on which it depends; cf. ch. viii, § 5, xiv. Another possible correction is to insert the impersonal subject *ço* or *il* before *nus*; but cf. ch. viii, § 5, xii.

1059. 'This peril has not yet befallen you,' i. e. 'You have taken fright when there is no danger.' Cf. L.

1071. **saphire** is here adjectival, describing a variety of *jargunce*. The late Professor Studer pointed out that the *jargunce saphire* was probably identical with the *jagunce euage* (*ewage*) of the lapidaries, *saphire* and *jagunce euage* being often described in almost identical terms; cf. Studer and Evans, *Anglo-Norman Lapidaries*, p. 34, vv. 165-6, and p. 42, vv. 353-4; p. 98, iii. 2 and p. 100, x. 5; etc. The writer of R misinterpreted *jargunce* and *saphire* as alternatives, translating the line (183 a) *Tota vel jacinctina vel est saphirina*.

1072. 'Rich would be the possessor of it.' Inaccurately rendered in L.

1087-8. A golden beam embedded in the pillar of jacinth supports the altar and its appurtenances. *Ço* refers to the altar, sacrarium, and pavement described in vv. 1083-6; 'it (the beam) supported all this'. Instead of *ço* it would be possible to read *quil* with D (*l* = the altar) or *quis* indicated by E (*s* = *les* = the three objects mentioned). The misunderstanding which Pfitzner (*Das anglonorm. Gedicht von Brendan . . .*, p. 30) detected in L is probably non-existent; *trabes aureos* may be masc. nom. sing. (masc. for fem. owing to the influence of Fr. *tref*), or more probably *aureos* for *aurea* is a scribe's error.

1096. **Toluns** 'let us be off.' *Sei tolir* (or *toldre*) is infrequent in this sense, but occurs also in v. 823. Becoming a verb of motion, it can dispense with the reflexive pronoun, like (*sei*) *en aler*, (*sei*) *en eisir*, (*sei*) *departir*, etc. The same uses occur in the Oxford *Folie Tristan*, vv. 371, 378, 413, 530.

1099-1100. 'He knows well that he is not being unfaithful to God, since he is carrying it (the chalice) off in order to do him service therewith.' OF possessed a verb *resorter*, by the side of *resortir* (cf. Godefroy), but the relation between the two has not been clearly defined.

1109. **flaistre** 'putrid'. Lat. *flaccidum*. The usual meaning is 'withered', but here it is applied to the smell emitted by decaying objects. Godefroy quotes no similar instance.

1110. **De** is here comparative ('than').

1111. **nerçun**. A derivative of *neir* < *niger* (< **nigricionem* ?), as also are *nertume* in D (< **nigritudinem*) and *noirece* in E. Godefroy gives no other example of *nerçun*, one of *noirtume*, none of *nertume* or *noirece*.

1120. **cachez**. The leonine rime with *saches* indicates that we have here the verb *cachier* < **coacticare* 'to compel' (more usually 'to press together'), distinct from *chacier* < *captiare* 'to hunt, pursue' (cf. v. 1019),

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also 'to drive' (v. 989). *Cacher* is still used in western French dialects in the sense of 'to press, urge'; cf. Gamillscheg, F.E.W. Yet it is possible to introduce the correction *sacez* : *chacez* (cf. ch. viii, § 2, lxxxiv), or to treat *cachez* as a dialectal form of *chaciez*, like *boche* 1217 for *boce*.

1125. **plus veient mal.** Not 'the worse they see', i. e. 'the more obscured is their vision', but 'the more evil they see'. *Mal* is a substantive, not an adverb. The writers of L and R both grasped the meaning; cf. R. 195 a: *Quo vehuntur propius, vident plus lamenti.*

1129. **enruit.** Better than *en ruit* with pleonastic *en*, though the latter is by no means impossible (cf. v. 1612). Probably from V.Lat. **inrugire*, the prefix being added as in *ingemere*, *ingemiscere* and verbs of similar formation. I owe this suggestion to Professor T. A. Jenkins. OF possessed the form *ruire* by the side of *ruir* and *rugir*, like *mugir* and *muire*, *bruir* and *bruire*, *foir* and *fuire*. Vv. 1129–30 render the words of the *Navigatio* (§ 20): *audierunt sonitum follium sufflantium quasi tonitrua.*

1136. **fed.** Here synonymous with *malfed*, as the following line shows; but in v. 1456 it signifies merely 'man, individual'. We find *fe*, *fhe* in a number of other Anglo-Norman and continental French texts, treated as the equivalent of Lat. *homo*. It is presumably cognate with *malfed* (< *male-fatum*), but without the pejorative prefix, and not necessarily having the pejorative sense. See D. Behrens, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, xiv, p. 365; G. Paris, in *Romania*, xx, p. 324; E. Walberg, *Vie de St. Thomas*, note to v. 3145.

1156. **galeste** 'missile hurled from a sling', i. e. a stone or leaden ball (cf. L *plumbum balia contortum*). Probably derived from *galir* 'to hurl'. Cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, p. 31, where, however, it is incorrectly stated that no other example is recorded. The word is found also in Philippe de Thaün's *Alphabetical Lapidary*, v. 420; cf. P. Meyer, in *Romania*, xxxviii, p. 535; Studer and Evans, *Anglo-Norman Lapidaries*, p. 217.

1157–9. 'The higher it rises, the more it blazes, and it gathers strength as it proceeds; it first splits up [into two or more fragments], then combines again into one mass.' Cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxi, p. 396.

1162. An unusually picturesque simile, based on the author's own observation of the country life of his day. Cf. Beroul's *Tristan*, vv. 3035 f.:

> En une lande, a une part,
> Ourent ars li vilain essart.

1179. **Ainxe**, as read (doubtfully) by Michel, is probably correct. In A, the only MS. which has preserved the word, the *x* has its characteristic tail; cf. *feix* (corrected to *feiz*) in v. 7. The obscurity of the writing and the absence of an accent over the *i* led Suchier to read *Antre*, which also gives good sense (*Entre . . . et . . .*, 'both . . . and . . .').

1195–6. The author describes the island as a cone, sloping evenly from bottom to top. The writer of L, on the other hand, apparently regarded it as a plateau. The writer of R (203) evaded the description.

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1197. **est** is in D only. Perhaps the reading of AB, with its bold anacoluthon, should be attributed to the author.

1203. **preiez** 'snatched away'. For *preez* < *praedatus*, with *i* intercalated by the scribe. Cf. N (§ 21) *Predor a vobis*, and R (205 d) *Predam factam miseram*. The writer of L, hesitating between *preiez* 'prayed' and *pre(i)ez* 'snatched away', solved the difficulty by translating both words (*rogatus et raptus*).

1209–10. **descuvert: aüvert.** All the MSS. have *-erz*. The reasons for the correction are stated in ch. viii, § 5, viii.

1211–14. In the *Navigatio* (§ 22) the voyagers are afterwards informed by Judas of the reason for this volcanic activity, viz. the rejoicing of hell at the engulfing of an impious soul: '*ibi fui quando deglutivit fratrem vestrum; et ideo letabatur infernus et emisit ingentes flammas, et sic facit semper quando animas impiorum devorat.*'

1211. **fu.** Perhaps the plural *fus* (A) should be retained; cf. L *ignes*.

1224. **espeirerent** 'they expected'. Cf. *esperance* in *Roland* 1411.

1227. **pelfis** 'plucked bare'. E has *pelfés*. Both *pelf(r)ir* and *pelf(r)er* were current forms; cf. Godefroy. The usual OF meaning was 'to pillage', cf. *pelfre* 'plunder' in Gaimar, etc.; but 'to pluck' may have been the primitive sense (cf. Meyer-Lübke, *R. E. W.*, 3173). The stem became extensively used in English; cf. *New Eng. Dict.*, s.v. *pelf, pilfer*.

1232. **rusast.** The OF verb *ruser* 'to cast or drive backwards' was certainly distinct in origin, if not in meaning, from *reüser* < **refusare* or *recusare*; it occurs in texts such as the *Brendan* and the *Roman de Rou*, which do not otherwise elide *e* before a vowel. G. Paris (*Vie de St. Gilles*, p. xxiii) regarded it as an early contraction of *reüser*, like *neïs* > *nis* and *mrïsme* > *misme*; but *neïs* and *meïsme* are uncontracted in the *Brendan*. M. Regula, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, xliv, p. 654, has suggested as its source V.Lat. **rū(r)sare*, based on *rursus, rursum*, like *superare*, **ultrare*, **abantiare*, all similarly formed on adverbs. This explanation seems entirely acceptable, unless we prefer the form **rūsare*, based on preclassical *rūsum* (cf. Lewis and Short). The spelling with *o* in A may safely be attributed to the copyist; Godefroy quotes another example of *roser* from the Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft, but there also *u* and *o* are confused (cf. *jorez* for *jurez* in the text of Langtoft six lines earlier). *Ruser* 'to cast back' or 'to draw back' (cf. *Rou* iii, 8075) and *reüser* 'to repulse' or 'to retire' naturally became confused. There is no need to regard *ruser*, as suggested by Regula, as specifically a hunting term. The relation between Eng. *rush* and the OF verbs deserves further investigation.

1246. **n'ivern ne estét.** The first conjunction (Lat. *nec*) should perhaps be omitted, as in E. In v. 1336 (*n'*)*esteit ne ivern* (following a negation) A dispenses with the *n'*, while the other MSS. introduce it.

1252. **orle** is present subjunctive with analogical *e*; cf. ch. viii, § 3, xxvi. The subjunctive is here used in an indirect question introduced by *si* 'whether'; cf. Sneyders de Vogel, *Syntaxe hist.*, § 222.

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1271–1306. Judas's account of his misdeeds is not derived from the *Navigatio*, which has merely (§ 22) '*Ego sum infelicissimus ille Judas, negotiator pessimus*'. The poet has added what details he could glean from the gospel story, especially *John* xii. 4–6, and *Matt.* xxvii. 3–5.

1274. **me pendi.** The poet follows the account given by St. Matthew, not that of *Acts* i. 18.

1275. **pur baiser.** Either *pur* (A) or *par* (DE) will make sense, and the former may signify either 'in order to' or 'even to the point of'. For *pur* in the latter sense, cf. *Roland* 514, 3617.

1276. **Descordai** 'I set at variance'. There is an antithesis with *apaiser*. L mistranslates by *mente vero discors factus sum* 'I became divided in mind'.

1278. **debardai** 'I squandered'. Cf. L *in malis consumpsi*. R has (217 c d):

> Cujus ferens loculos darem ut egenis,
> Meis magis institi lucris, immo penis.

No other OF example of this word has been recorded. Godefroy suggested that *debarder* might be a form of *desbareter* 'to overthrow in battle', hence 'to plunder'; but his single example of *desbareter* 'to plunder' is most probably mistranslated. The verbs *desbarder*, *déb-*, found from the sixteenth century onwards, meaning (1) 'to remove the bard from a horse', (2) 'to transport on a *bard* or hand-barrow (OF *beart*, *baart*, *baiart*)', hence 'to remove rubbish', 'to unload a ship' (cf. Cotgrave, Littré, *Dict. Général*, Gamillscheg) can have no connexion with the OF verb. In modern Swiss dialects, however, we find a verb *débarda* 'dissiper ses biens, gaspiller' (W. von Wartburg, *Franz. etym. Wörterbuch*, i, p. 265), agreeing so remarkably with the meaning required for *debarder* in the present passage that it is difficult not to regard the two as identical. According to information kindly sent by Professor J. Jeanjaquet, the verb *débarda* and its derivatives are now dying out, but have been more widely used; they are unconnected with Mod. Fr. *débarder*, which is hardly known in Switzerland, and have all the appearance of belonging to the indigenous vocabulary. That the word should formerly have extended as far as England is interesting, but not necessarily surprising. The etymology has yet to be determined. Wartburg derives the Swiss word from **barrum* 'mud'; but it is difficult to trace any connexion of meaning. Connexion with *bard* 'hand-barrow' (Gamillscheg, *F. E. W.*) is ruled out by the OF forms.

1279. **que hom.** Perhaps *qu'en* with D (cf. A *quin*). The form *en* < *homo* is already in the *Roland* (2868) and the *Reimpredigt* (ed. Suchier, 52a, 123c). But no other example of *en* occurs in this text.

1280. An ellipsis: *il l'enhortout* [*duner* or *porter*].

1286. **Or sunt riche.** There is no need to introduce either *Ore* or *riches* from B (Brekke, *Étude* . . ., p. 16). The poet never allows elision

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between the fourth and fifth syllables, and avoids carrying a feminine syllable over the medial break.

1291. **que** could be omitted, introducing parataxis, as in A; similarly (against all the MSS.) in vv. 1289 and 1293. But in v. 1295 the *que* is essential.

1297. **fud menes tüer.** The infinitive expressing purpose (replacing the Latin supine) is here made to depend exceptionally on a passive verb.

1304. **tuai.** The reading of A is supported by L (*occidi*). The reading *pendi* of B is taken from v. 1274. The line appears to have been missing in the common ancestor of D and E.

par ma rage 'in my madness'. Cf. *a rage* 'furiously' 934. Birkenhoff (*Ueber Metrum und Reim . . .*, p. 31) and Calmund (*Prolegomena . . .*, p. 98) read *par marage*; cf. Godefroy *marage* 'affliction', 'courroux, fureur' (one example for each meaning). But the existence of a substantive *marage* is very doubtful; the example from *Les Quatre Fils Aymon*, rendered by 'courroux', appears as *manage* in the critical edition by F. Castets, v. 751. In B *ma* and *rage* are clearly separated.

1305–6. Judas's damnation is thus not due to his treachery, for there is no crime too heinous to be obliterated by true repentance, but to his dying as a suicide without confession. Cf. W. Creizenach, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, ii, p. 181; Wahlund, *Brendans Meerfahrt*, pp. 254 f.; Greban, *Mistere de la Passion*, vv. 21726 ff.

1309–22. The legend of Judas's periodical respite from torment has been dealt with by A. Graf, *A proposito della 'Visio Pauli'*, in *Giornale storico*, xi, pp. 344 ff.; id., *Il riposo dei dannati*, in *Miti, Leggende e Superstizioni del Medio Evo*, i, Turin, 1892, pp. 239 ff.; and P. Baum, *Judas' Sunday Rest*, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xviii, pp. 168 ff. See also Wahlund, *Brendans Meerfahrt*, pp. 255 f.

1310. **seril.** Cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, p. 37, and the note to v. 578.

1318. **custe** 'hardship, torment'. Similarly in v. 1334. OF *coster* (< *constare*) and its derivatives, referring normally to financial cost, were applied also to physical cost, i. e. hardship, pain, suffering. Cf. *Gormont* 406 *Mult li costa a sus sachier*, and Marie de France's *Espurgatoire* 128–9 *Li greignur turment, sans dutance, Sunt plus parfunt e plus custus.*

1319. **feste altre.** The abnormal order is required by the author's metrical principles. *Altre feste* (BE) would entail eliding fem. *e* at the medial break.

1320. **entrebat** 'intermission'. A verbal substantive from *entrebatre*, perhaps in the sense of 'to strike between', hence 'to interrupt'. Godefroy gives no other example.

1322. **asperir**, or *esperir* 'to undergo [torment]'. From Lat. *experiri* 'to undergo, experience'. Cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, p. 30.

1331–2. 'It is but a short distance away. I am just so far off from it that I do not hear them [*sc.* the devils] here.'

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1333. **Dous enfers.** One of these hells is the Smoke-capped Mountain, the island last seen by the voyagers; cf. N (§ 22) '*ardeo sicut massa plumbi liquefacta in olla die ac nocte, in medio montis quem vidistis: ibi est Leviatan cum suis satellitibus, ibi fui quando deglutivit fratem vestrum.*'

1336. **estelt ne ivern.** Cf. note to v. 1246.

1342. **des dous** probably formed a leonine rime with *ambesdous* in the original; hence we cannot read *d'els dous* with D, as in v. 1024.

1346. **la mer de sal.** The reading *de mer le sal*, common to BDE, has been rejected after much hesitation. The metonymy 'the salt of the sea' for 'the salt sea' seems more likely to be due to the author than to scribes, and may well have been imitated from some Latin text. Yet would the author have introduced needlessly such a serious infraction of the declension-rules? *La mer de sal* corresponds to *la mer salse* (*Roland* 372), *la mer salee* (*Vie de St. Gilles* 1038), etc.; cf. Frahm, *Das Meer und die Seefahrt . . .*, p. 9. On the form *sal* (: *val*) see ch. viii, § 2, iv.

1359 ff. Judas's account of his weekly round of torments is not derived from the *Navigatio*; but it is unnecessary to point to any particular source for ideas which were familiar to every one in the Middle Ages. The lurid scenes are still more elaborately described in the various versions of St. Patrick's Purgatory, e. g. in the version by Marie de France (ed. T. A. Jenkins, Chicago, 1903), and in the Anglo-Norman poem published by Vising (Göteborg, 1916), where many enlightening parallels may be found.

1359–64. The wheel within which tormented souls were revolved is described in greater detail in St. Patrick's Purgatory; cf. Vising's version, vv. 383 ff.

1366. **acalis.** From **ad-callītus*, p. part. of **ad-callīsco*, an inchoative form of *calleo*, *-ēre* 'to be hardened'. Cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxi, p. 392.

1373. **espees** 'pierced with spits', not 'pierced with a sword'. Cf. L *verutus*. The word is based on *espeit* or *espiet*, not on *espee*. It was misinterpreted by Godefroy and Calmund (*Prolegomena . . .*, p. 81), as well as by Vising in *Le Purgatoire de Saint Patrice* (v. 365). Cf. G. Paris, in *Romania*, xix, p. 330.

1376. **mei.** The reading *m'i* of AB should perhaps be retained, though the text offers no other example of pleonastic *i*. In E *mi* may be a Picard tonic accusative form. Cf. ch. viii, § 5, xi.

1390. **surs.** An otherwise unrecorded form of *super* (adv. and prep.) with adverbial *s*. Vv. 1389–90 may be rendered: 'there is no marble so hard that it would not be melted, were it placed thereon'.

1391–2. Perhaps: 'I am made for (or adapted to) this wrath (i. e. the torments of hell), for my body is unable to perish.' Or is *a iceste ire* used adverbially, like *a ire* 'wrathfully' in *Roland* 1920?

1398. **oeu** 'dark'. Lat. *caecum* 'blind'. The extension of sense from 'unable to see' to 'not permitting sight' is analogous to that of many

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French present participles (cf. Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, i², pp. 36 ff.). The same use is found in Marie de France's *Espurgatoire*, v. 134:

Altresi est d'enfer li lius:
Desuz terre, parfunz e cius,
Si cume chartre tenebruse . . .

1399. **mei est tart.** Could also be *m'est a tart*, cf. variants and v. 1143; but the expression occurs without preposition in v. 1486. On the use of the tonic pronoun see ch. viii, § 5, xi.

1401–2. 'And then meseems there is no torment that I feel more keenly than [the torment] of the cold.' *Sei sentir de* + substantive is the correct OF construction; cf. *Eneas* 1824, *Berte as grans piés* 2125, and later examples quoted in Godefroy's *Supplément*. It is therefore not possible to maintain the reading of A; *dunt* was probably missing in the common ancestor of A and B.

1410. **od l'ardant pel** 'with burning stakes'. Cf. L *cum palis ardentibus*, and R (237 b–d):

Instant tota demones pelle me nudare,
Sale cum fuligine carnem confricare
Et ignitis sudibus totum conculcare.

Pfitzner (*Das anglon. Gedicht von Brendan . . .*, p. 19) was puzzled by the agreement of both translators in substituting plural for singular; the reason is that the definite article is here used generically (cf. Nyrop, *Gram. hist.*, v, § 134). As the rime with *sel* < *salem* indicates, *pel* in this line represents *palum* 'stake', not *pellem* 'skin'. Misled by the context, Vising (*Étude . . .*, p. 68) formerly interpreted the word as *pellem*, but was corrected by Birkenhoff (*Ueber Metrum und Reim . . .*, p. 37) and Brekke (*Étude . . .*, p. 41). Another use for *ardanz pels* is described in *Le Purgatoire de Saint Patrice*, ed. Vising, vv. 264 and 291.

1418. 'Where the other [demons] change my torments', i. e. 'subject me to different torments'. *Mals* is the object.

1420. **fole** 'terrible'. No such meaning is registered in Godefroy; but Fr. *fou* is used for 'excessive, outrageous' in various connexions (cf. Littré).

1422. **e sanz corde** 'without a rope', i. e. he is hurled headlong.

1426. **Ne guart quant mes quers espande** 'I need not look for the moment when my heart will burst', i. e. he is obliged to be in continual apprehension of its bursting. This is an interesting variant of the well-known idiom *ne garder l'eure que . . .*, the meaning and history of which are the subject of a rapidly-growing literature. Among the more recent contributions to the discussion are the articles by E. Walberg, in *Filologiska föreningen i Lund* (*Språklige uppsatser* iv), 1915; P. A. Geijer, in *Studier i modern Språkvetenskap*, vi, pp. 81 ff.; A. Jeanroy, in *Romania*, xliv, pp. 586 ff.; L. Clédat, in *Romania*, xlv, pp. 261 f.; and O. Schultz-Gora, in Herrig's *Archiv*, cxxxix, pp. 116 ff. There is little doubt that the reading of A and B is that of the author; D has substituted *que* for

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quant, while E has introduced the more usual expression *ne gart l'eure*. The introduction of *ne* in the subordinate clause in BDE is probably due to the analogy of verbs of fearing; cf. Walberg, *op. cit.*, p. 8; and Schultz-Gora, *op. cit.*, pp. 117 f.

1436. **Eneveies** 'very soon, shortly'. No MS. gives this form; but A is a syllable short, the addition of *jo* in BD destroys the medial break, and the *i* added in E does not suit the context. An additional syllable is clearly required in the first half of the line. *Eneveies* corresponds to the form *enevoies*, *an-*, used in Beroul's *Tristan*, vv. 656 and 3051. The fact that *eneveis* was the commoner form would account for the alteration of *eneveies* in the MSS. Owing to the uncertainty which exists as to the origin of the word, it is difficult to say which is the more primitive form. Suchier's proposal (in *Œuvres poétiques de Beaumanoir*, glossary, s.v. *anevois*) to derive the word from *et non vides*, though defended by O. Schultz-Gora (in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, xxxvii, pp. 723 ff.) and accepted by Meyer-Lübke (*R. E. W.*, 9319), is difficult to justify in the absence of any example of **enevoiz*. See also A. Schulze, *Der altfranz. direkte Fragesatz*, Leipzig, 1888, pp. 47 f., and G. Paris, *L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, Paris, 1897, p. xxxvii. *In hac vice*, proposed by G. G. Nicholson (*Recherches étymologiques romanes*, Paris, 1921, p. 50), should also give **enevoiz*. The solution may possibly be found in *in hac via* > **eneveie* + adverbial *s*; cf. *eneire*(*s*) 'straightway' < *in* + *iter*, *eneslepas*, etc. Many adverbs originally local in sense have become temporal, e.g. OF. *lués* and *totesvoies* (cf. *tute veie* 'always', v. 749), Eng. *always* and *straightway*. The reduction of *enevoies* to *enevois* corresponds to that of *totesvoies* to *toutefois*. *Uneveis* in A was explained by Schultz-Gora as an Anglo-Norman form due to assimilation (pretonic *e* > *o*, *u*); but it is not clear what phonetic process could be involved, and the other instances to which he referred (Stimming, *Boeve*, p. 177) are not truly parallel. *Uneveis* is probably a mere error of the scribe, who may have had in mind *una vice*.

1445. **larges plurs**. Probably an imitation of Lat. *largos fletus* (*Aeneid*, ii 271, vi 699, etc.). Cf. Brunot, *Hist. de la langue fr.*, ii, p. 229.

1456. **A un nud fed** 'for a naked man'. Cf. note to v. 1136. The legend of Judas's gift of his cloak to a leper at Joppa has here lost its precision; cf. N (§ 22) *Istum pannum dedi cuidam leproso*.

1457–8. According to the *Navigatio* the cloth was suspended between two iron forks, which Judas had formerly presented to the priests of the Temple as a stand for the cooking-pots (*ad cacabos sustinendos*). A gift of tongs was the more usual version.

1462. **Quant de propre ne fud mun bien** 'Since it was not bought with my own money'. The separation of *propre* from the noun (*bien*) to which it belongs might be regarded merely as a licence peculiar to the author (cf. ch. viii, § 5, xiv). Yet the same liberty was widespread in the case of *meïsme*, a word used in the same senses. Thus in the oldest French

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lapidary (Studer and Evans, *Anglo-Norman Lapidaries*, pp. 28 ff.) we find *En meïsme ceste manere* (v. 409) and *Evax un livre li escrist K'il meïsme de sa main fist* (vv. 23–4); cf. Nyrop, *Gram. hist.*, v, § 414, and the examples quoted by Godefroy. With *propre* the usage is rarer, but a relic of it perhaps appears in Greban's *Mistere de la Passion* 15127 *c'est propre celluy Cristus* (the glossary describes *propre* in this line as an adverb). Another word having similar uses is *demeine*; in the *Chançun de Rainoart* (*La Chançun de Willame*, ed. Tyler, v. 2030) *demeine de sa main* appears to signify 'with his own hand', but unfortunately the text is very corrupt. The practice of placing the adjective before the article, demonstrative, or possessive, doubtless originated with *meïsme*, which assumed the same position as V. Lat. *ipse* (cf. Philippe de Thaün's *Bestiaire*, variants to vv. 1064 and 1087); from *meïsme* it spread to words of kindred meaning such as *propre* and *demeine*.

1463–8. The *Navigatio* (§ 22) informs us more explicitly that the rock to which Judas clung was the actual stone which he had once placed across a ditch for the public safety: *Petram in qua sedeo, illam misi in fossam in publica via sub pedes transeuntium*; thus making clearer the moral of the episode, namely that even the smallest act of charity, though performed by the greatest sinner, will be correspondingly rewarded hereafter.

1468. **si grande ma miserie.** Though not based on any phrase in the Latin source, this corresponds to Lat. *tanta mea miseria*. Cf. *Li Dialoge Gregoire lo Pape*, ed. Foerster, p. 143, line 18, where *vencuz de si grande sa force* is a translation of *tanta hac ejus fortitudine victus*. An extension of this Latinism is seen in *Le Siege d'Orleans* 9932 *De si lointain son domicille*.

1476. **Desque al matin que seit lunsdi.** Two constructions are linked together: *desque al matin* and *(des)que seit lunsdi*.

1482. **N'i unt nient al estorce.** Literally, 'They have no power over him in the snatching away', i. e. 'Their efforts to snatch him away are futile'. For *aveir a* in the sense of 'to have a claim to, have power over', see Tobler-Lommatzsch, i, cols. 757 f.

estorce 'act of snatching away'. A verbal substantive from *estorcier* < **extortiare* 'to twist away', based on *tortum* past part. of *torquere*. Whether a substantive **extortia* (Calmund, *Prolegomena . . .*, p. 88) existed in V. Lat. is doubtful. The verb and the substantive are both uncommon. In the *Chanson des Saisnes* (ed. Menzel and Stengel), v. 7734, *estorce* (written *estorse*) signifies the 'twisting away' or 'recovery' of a weapon after a blow has been dealt. Later it signifies the 'blow' itself; cf. *Pathelin*, v. 1545. The cognate word *estorse* 'rescue, escape', from **extorsa*, the neut pl. of another past part. of *ex-torquere*, occurs in v. 962. In the later Middle Ages, when *c* had become reduced to *s* in pronunciation, the two words were confused; cf. Godefroy's examples.

1487. **greine** 'expression of discontent'. Literally, 'showing of teeth'.

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A verbal substantive from *greignier*; cf. Beroul's *Tristan* 3362 *Se li felon de rien greignoient A la dame de loiauté* (i. e. expressed dissatisfaction concerning her loyalty), and examples of *graigne* 'hostility' in Godefroy. The reading *groine* 'growling' of B, supported by E and perhaps L, would also give satisfactory sense.

1498. **agreies** 'equipment'. From O. Norse *greiða* 'to make ready, prepare, equip'; cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxi, p. 394. To read *agrees* 'pleasures, satisfactions (?)' with D, interpreting the word as a verbal substantive from *agreer* (based on Lat. *gratum*), would introduce a rime *ei* : *ẽ* to which there is no reliable parallel in this text.

1504. **enserrét** 'perplexed'. In v. 1828 it means 'distressed'. For these metaphorical uses of the word, cf. *Thebes* 4962, *Troie* 27659, *Miracle d'Amis et d'Amille* 1852.

1514. **Roiste** 'steep'. Distinct from *ru(i)ste* 41, 1062; cf. W. Foerster, *Li Chevaliers as Deus Espees*, note to v. 11692. The etymology is unknown.

1518. **Ains que trovét nule rien ait.** The peculiar word-order, with anticipation of the past participle, has misled both medieval and modern readers. The scribes of A and D interpreted *trovet* as present indicative and added *u*, and their reading was accepted by Suchier (*Reimpredigt*, p. xxxix) and G. Rydberg (*Zur Geschichte des franz. ə*, i, Upsala, 1896, p. 147). But the poet nowhere elides atonic *-et* (cf. ch. viii, § 2, lxxvii), and tolerates no kind of elision at the medial break.

1520. **bodne.** Gallic **botina*. Normally 'a boundary stone', here a large smooth stone or rock, corresponding to *nuda petra . . . in modum silicis* in N (§ 23). By not explaining that the life-giving fountain (v. 1591) springs from this actual rock, the poet has obscured the latter's importance in the narrative. The form *bodme* in A is difficult to justify, and may be regarded as a slip by the scribe.

1525–6. The enjambment is bold, but *ses cumpaignuns* is necessarily the object of *amenget*. Brekke's erroneous reading (*Étude . . .*, p. 56) *Puis le baise e ses cumpaignuns* was corrected by Calmund (*Prolegomena . . .*, p. 58).

1531–2. 'They did [it] to him (i. e. They kissed him). Then he leads them to his dwelling; he shows [it] to them. Cf. notes to vv. 664 and 988.

1549. 'In accordance with the little intelligence that I possessed'. *Poi* adj. (< *paucum*) was mistaken by the scribe of A for a verb (*poi* < *potui*).

1552. **a plus que n'est le m'at cuntét** 'he has counted it [*sc.* my service] to me at more than it is worth', i. e. 'he has given me more credit for my service than I deserve'. For the construction *conter a* 'to count at, reckon as', cf. Crestien's *Lancelot* 4390 *Ce deüst ele amor conter* (*amor* = *a amor*, by synizesis).

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1557. **cunduist.** Both MSS. have *cunduit*; but cf. ch. viii, § 3, para. xxxiv.

1564. **Sanz mal que ai.** The reading of D alone gives sense. A subjunctive might be expected; but in OF the indicative is used when the result has been attained, cf. A. Haase, *Franz. Syntax des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Oppeln, 1888, § 82, and Sneyders de Vogel, *Syntaxe hist.*, § 248.

1575. **me portast.** See note to v. 295.

1576. **mult pleiner past.** *Mult* is in D alone, AB being a syllable short. *Repast*, offered by E, is plausible, and could equally signify 'food' in OF; but *past* has already been used in v. 995.

1577. **marin werec.** *Werec* or *warec* was borrowed from Old Norse **wreki*; cf. *New Eng. Dict.*, s. v. *wreck*. From the general sense of 'that which is cast ashore' it acquired in both French and English the meanings (1) 'sea-weed, wrack', Mod. Fr. 'varec(h)', (2) 'wreckage'. Here it is presumably used in the former sense, cf. L *alga sicca*; yet R renders it by *ligna* (258 c) and *arida sarmenta* (259 b).

1584. **beivre**, given by A alone, is essential. The fish brought by the otter served as drink as well as food; cf. N (§ 23) *terciam partem piscis manducavi omni die et ex gratia Dei nulla inerat michi sitis* (so Schröder's text, pp. 33 f.; the wording varies), L *cibi . . . aut potus*, and R (259 c d):

> Sola trium piscium largitas optenta
> Pastus atque poculi dedit supplementa.

1588. **Nel fist surpeis ne ne m'out vil** 'It was not too much trouble for him (i. e. the otter), nor did he despise me.' *Surpeis* is a verbal substantive from *surpeser* 'to weigh too heavily', here used figuratively; cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, p. 40. Prof. Orr's objections to this explanation and his correction *sur peis* (*ibid.*, p. 201) are not convincing. The enclisis *ne li* > *nel* does occur in OF; cf. ch. iii, § 4 d. Phrases such as *sor mon* (*ton*, *son*, etc.) *pois* and *sor le pois de*, meaning 'against one's will, reluctantly', are undoubtedly frequent in OF (cf. Godefroy); but *sor pois*, unaccompanied by an article or possessive pronoun, would be ambiguous and is unrecorded. Moreover, if we translate by 'He did not do it reluctantly', 'it' can only refer to the bringing of fish; whereas what is required is some reason why the otter should have *ceased* to bring the fish, cf. *ne ne m'out vil*. The otter cannot therefore be the subject of both verbs; *fist* is impersonal. The corresponding line in R (260 b) is: *Non est pulsa tedio, mihi non invidit.*

1598. **cent quarante.** The *e* which follows *cent* in all the MSS., though supported by L, has been omitted on metrical grounds. The insertion of the conjunction in OF compound numerals of this type, though usual, was by no means compulsory; cf. the instances quoted by Hammer, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, ix, p. 83, from Philippe de Thaün, Wace, etc. The form of OF numerals was often obscured by the habit of using Roman figures in the MSS. To read *ethez*, *eez*, as one syllable (Birkenhoff, *Ueber Metrum und*

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Reim . . ., p. 70) is certainly unwarranted. The words of the *Navigatio*, which the poet had before him as he wrote, are (§ 23) *Omnes anni vite mee sunt centum quadraginta.*

1610. **sururer** 'to overstay'. From **super-horare* 'to pass beyond the hour'; cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, p. 39. The reading *sujurer* 'to stay', suggested by Hammer (in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, ix, p. 102), is invalidated by the fact that the author retained final *n* in *sujurn* (cf. ch. viii, § 2, para. lxx). The correction *sun vent*, first suggested by Prof. Studer, is confirmed by the mention of *ventus* in both L and R (264 d *Ite, moras pellite, date vela vento*).

1614. **Si unt niule mult enposte** 'They have very dirty (i. e. dark, dense) clouds', 'The sky is heavily overcast'. Cf. L *Nebula . . . densa* and R 266 c *Eunt. Obstat nubilum: itur minus lete.* The sense of the adjective *enposte* is fixed by the combination *ort et empost*, quoted from Gautier de Coincy by Tobler, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, ix, p. 417. To read *en poste* as two words, meaning 'favourably, opportunely' (cf. *a poste* in Godefroy), is prohibited by the context (cf. v. 1615).

1616. **dreit curs teingent.** The *Navigatio* (§ 23), on the contrary, states: *navis autem huc atque illuc ferebatur.*

1652. **fud poëstels.** The form *poëstels* (< **potestat-ivus*) is in E only. The other MSS. have *poëstis* (< **potest-ivus*), also a recognized OF form (cf. Hammer, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, ix, p. 83); but AD are a syllable short, while B adds *en* before *fud*. Hammer and Calmund (*Prolegomena . . .*, p. 61) preferred the reading of B; but the pleonastic *en* after *dunt* is forced and inartistic. It is probable that here, as in vv. 411 (*nule* for *neüle*) and 1436 (*eneveis* for *eneveies*), the archetype had replaced the original form by a shorter one. *Poëstels* may be ascribed to the author with all the more confidence, seeing that it makes a leonine rime.

1655–6. 'The great fog blinds one so much, that whoever enters it loses his sight completely.' On *asorber* < *exorbare*, used here intransitively (like O.Prov. *eisorbar*), see *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxi, p. 399.

1659. **Ne vus targes.** *Vus* is in no MS.; but all the MSS. clearly lack a syllable in the second hemistich, and *targer* has been used reflexively in vv. 135 and 889. Cf. Calmund, *Prolegomena . . .*, p. 46, and the note to v. 621.

1675 ff. The description of the wall surrounding Paradise is based on the *Revelation* of St. John, xxi. 12–20; but the poet is alone responsible for a number of details, viz. the absence of battlements, galleries, and towers (1677–8), its whiteness (1681), and the absence of any sculpture (1683–4). Whereas in *Rev.* xxi. 18 the wall is described as of jasper, the poet professes ignorance as to the material (1679–80).

1687–96. The precious stones which in *Rev.* xxi. 19–20, form the twelve foundations of the wall of the holy city are jasper, sapphire, chalcedony, emerald, sardonyx, sardius, chrysolite, beryl, topaz, chrysoprase, jacinth, and amethyst. Of these only sapphire and sardius are missing in the

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poem, being replaced by *cristal* (cf. *Rev.* xxi. 11) and *ja(r)gunce* (cf. note to v. 1695). It may be noted that *saphire* has already been mentioned in v. 1071 (as a variety of *jargunce*), and *sardine* (i.e. sardius) in v. 685. The writer of L has omitted chrysolite and jacinth, but added onyx (*oniclis*). On the additions made in R see ch. vii. Descriptions of all these stones and the virtues attributed to them will be found in the lapidaries of the period, for instance the *Apocalyptic Lapidary* of Philippe de Thaün (ed. Studer and Evans, *Anglo-Norman Lapidaries*, pp. 260 ff.).

1687. **As gutes d'or grisolites** 'gold-spotted chrysolites'. Cf. Hrabanus Maurus, *De Universo* (in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, cxi, col. 468, line 4): *Chrysolithus lapis, quasi aurum, fulget, scintillas habens ardentes*, and Marbode, *Liber de Gemmis* (*ibid.*, clxii, col. 1747, cap. xi): *Auro Chrysolithus micat, et scintillat ut ignis.* The oldest French version of Marbode's Lapidary, vv. 297–300 (Studer and Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 39, cf. note on p. 302) translates incorrectly:

> Enz a un grain d'or el milou;
> Si estencele cume fou.

It is not clear whether the author of the *Brendan* regarded each chrysolite as containing one or several 'golden drops'. The writer of L went quite astray, describing the chrysolites as 'set in golden drops'.

1688. **isselites.** Not a feminine substantive, meaning 'a sort of imaginary precious stone' (Godefroy), but a participle (< **ex-selectas* or **ex-electas*) agreeing with *grisolites* and meaning 'choice, exquisite'. Cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, p. 34. No other example of the word is recorded. Vv. 1687–8 should therefore be rendered 'There were many choice gold-spotted chrysolites thereon.'

1695. **jacinotes.** There is no authority in the lapidaries for the distinction which the poet apparently makes between *jacincte* and *ja(r)gunce*. Both represent Lat. *hyacinthus*. Probably the existence of the two forms of the word led him to suppose that they were different stones.

1697. **L'un.** Possibly *L'un[e]*, referring to *gemmes* 1685; but cf. *l'un* nom. sg. in vv. 510 and 872 (all MSS.).

1701–6. The wall enclosing Paradise is established on a mountain of gold, which is itself based on hills of marble raised high above the sea.

1709–20. The description of the gate of Paradise, guarded by fiery dragons and a suspended sword, is an addition by the poet. The idea of the gate itself, into which admission can be secured only with the aid of an angel, is probably derived from *Rev.* xxi. 12. Dragons are frequently mentioned in the Apocalypse, though not there represented as guardians of gates. The revolving *glavie* corresponds to the sword in *Genesis* iii. 24.

1713. **glavies.** Probably 'sword' here, in view of its biblical source and the mention of *helt* 1715. *Trenchant* 1720 is inconclusive, as even a spear could have a cutting edge (cf. *St. Leger* 228, *Gormont* 404); so also is *la mure* 1715, which could refer to the edge of a sword as well as the point of a lance (cf. A. Sternberg, *Die Angriffswaffen im altfranz. Epos*,

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Marburg, 1886, pp. 3f.). The more usual meaning of OF *glaive* was 'spear' (cf. Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire du Mobilier . . .*, v, Paris, 1874, p. 474, and Sternberg, *op. cit.*, p. 25); hence the rendering *lancea* in L. The writer of R (291 c d) translated correctly:

Flammeus versatilis ensis ante fores
Pendulus in aere cumulat terrores.

1717. **En aines.** Cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxi, p. 395, and xxii, pp. 199 ff.

1727–8. Cf. note to vv. 981–2.

1735. **Avant.** ABE have a large initial *Q* instead of *A*, while the initial has been left blank in D. Presumably this error was already in the archetype; the copyist or illuminator, seeing . *uant* awaiting an initial letter, completed it erroneously as *Quant.* In v. 1067 a similar error was made by the copyist of A alone.

1739–44. 'The meadow, which is perpetually fair with flowers, is a garden. The flowers smell very sweet there, as beseems the abode of the pious, [an abode] delightful with trees and flowers, very precious with fruits and scents.' It is hardly possible to make *delicius* and *precius* refer to *li flur* 1741 (*li flur delicius de flurs*!). They may perhaps be connected with *la u* 1742, interpreted as 'the place where'. Another possibility is to make them apply to the substantives in vv. 1743 and 1744 respectively, *flurs* and *fruis* being masculine, though *arbres* is feminine and *udurs* doubtful (cf. Calmund, *Prolegomena . . .*, p. 73); if this view is adopted, 1743–4 must be treated as a description of *la u* 'the place where'. It is tempting to interpret *flur* in v. 1741 (also in vv. 96 and 1706) as 'field', i. e. *li flur* = 'the Elysian Fields', and to connect it with Germ. *flur* 'field'; but this meaning appears to be rather late, and to be confined to High German (cf. Kluge, *Etymol. Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*).

1748. **süaté.** Lat. *suavitatem.* Not mentioned in the dictionaries of Godefroy and Meyer-Lübke.

reohrie. Lat. *recreat* 'creates anew', hence 'gives off (sweetness)'. The alteration of pretonic *e* to *i* before a vowel is seen in OF *crier* < *creare*, *criator*, *criature* (v. 515 BD), all borrowed from Latin, but in Anglo-Norman is not confined to loan-words (cf. Studer, *Mystère d'Adam*, p. xxxvi). Here it has spread by analogy into tonic position. Godefroy quoted this instance from E (*Supplément*, s.v. *recreer*), but his translation 'ranimer, réjouir par quelque chose d'agréable' is unsuitable.

1749. **chargent** 'become loaded, produce fruit'. A similar intransitive use of *chargier* occurs in *Meraugis* 496 *Il vet charjant d'amors* and 499 *Or l'aime, or charge mieus et mieus.*

1752. An ellipsis. In order to complete the sense, it is necessary to repeat *tus dis i est* from the preceding line. Similarly *i sunt* must be understood in v. 1753, and *i sunt replenis* in v. 1754.

1755–8. The poet's description (not based on the *Navigatio*) of the Land of Promise consists for the most part of hackneyed features; cf.

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A. Graf, *Miti, leggende e superstizioni del Medio Evo*, i, Turin, 1892, pp. 16 ff. The rivers of milk and the herbage exuding honey are a reminiscence of the promised land (the 'land flowing with milk and honey') of the Old Testament.

1757–8. 'The reeds exude honey on account of the dew which descends from heaven.' *Ruseie* (Germ. *raus* + *-eta*) and *ruseit* (Lat. **ros-atum*) are both unique examples; cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, pp. 36 f.

1760. The three MSS. all differ, but the reading of D indicates clearly the correction to be made to that of A, viz. correct *grande* to *grant* and add *i*. Vv. 1759 and 1760 then become closely parallel. The precious stones are referred to again in vv. 1805–8. The correction proposed by Calmund (*Prolegomena . . .*, p. 46) *Si granz pieres a nul tresor* introduces a serious infraction of the declension-rules.

1766. **Ne dunt mals vent** 'Nor whence evil comes'. The reading *Nis* (= *Neïs*) of B is attractive, but the poet did not use such contracted forms.

1774. **urel** = *ure li* (< *hora illi*). This enclisis may seem inadmissible in an OF text, but no other reading will explain all the variants; cf. ch. iii, § 4 d. All the scribes appear to have taken exception to the archaism.

1779. **diviset.** From V.Lat. **divisare*, originally 'to divide up', hence 'to explain or describe in detail'. Similarly *divisiuns* 1784. Godefroy quotes an example of *faire la devision* 'to describe in detail'.

1789. **prendre** 'to comprehend'. Possibly an instance of the omission of a prefix (a common Anglo-Norman feature; cf. *prendre* = *entreprendre* in *Le Purgatoire de Saint Patrice*, ed. Vising, v. 164); but more probably it is a Latinism, as Lat. *prehendere* occurs with this sense (cf. Lewis and Short).

1797–8. **cent millie tant Que n'as veüd.** *Tant* was commonly used in OF, in the singular or plural (e. g. *cent tant* or *cent tanz*) to express comparisons of inequality. When so used, it required the same construction (*que . . . ne . . .*) as *plus*; cf. F. Perle, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, ii, p. 14, and Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, i², pp. 179 f.

1805. **fai porter.** As the context and the translations of L (*tecum porta*) and R (307 c *Hos asporta lapides*) indicate, this is an instance of the use of *faire* + infinitive as a circumlocution for the finite verb; cf. Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, i², pp. 20 ff. The poem contains no other example of this idiom.

1819. **En treis meis sunt en Irlande.** It had taken the voyagers seven years to reach the Land of Promise; three months suffice for their return journey. The surprise expressed by the writer of L is not unnatural; but the improbability is attenuated by the underlying motive of the story. The voyagers' achievement of their quest had been purposely delayed, either (according to the *Navigatio*) in order that God might reveal his secrets to them, or (according to the poem) in order that they might be purified by toil, hardship, and peril. Cf. pp. ciii f.

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1837-8. Brendan's death is mentioned in the vaguest possible terms. Evidently the poet possessed no information regarding him except what he derived from the *Navigatio*.

1840. **plusur** here retains its original force as a comparative. This use is rare in OF, but occurs also in the *Roman de Rou*, ii, 3927 *Franceis furent plusur que cil de Normendie*. Another instance may perhaps be recognized in the variant of A to v. 1172 of the present poem. O.Prov. *pluzor* is found with the sense of 'greater, longer' in the *Chanson de la Croisade*; cf. P. Meyer's glossary.

In the concluding sentence of L the words *Patre et* should perhaps be bracketed; but the mistake is one which may go back to the translator.

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APPENDIX I

THE EXPANSION OF THE FEMININE LINES IN THE MSS.

THE tendency of copyists and revisers to add a syllable to the feminine lines of this poem, in order to make them of normal length, has been pointed out in ch. iii, § 2. The following analysis of the methods of expansion employed in each MS. is printed, not only in justification of the critical treatment of the MSS., but also as a well-authenticated example of the remodelling of an OF poem. It is probable that other texts besides the *Brendan* underwent this process.

A offers but few instances of expansion. True, a number of the feminine lines appear at first glance to contain nine syllables, but this is largely due to the misleading habits of the Anglo-Norman scribe. Following a practice prevalent in England, he frequently wrote out in full monosyllables ending in a vowel, even though they underwent elision before another vowel (cf. Appendix II, § 6 e); thus we find *a le ordre* for *a l'ordre* (or *al ordre*) in v. 34, *li abes* for *l'abes* 223, *de arbre* 274, *se ublient* 305, *que out* 445, *realat* for *ralat* 956, and similar examples in vv. 291, 496, 497, 533, 671, 678, 679, 853, 990, 1047, 1115, 1118, 1232, 1255, 1289, 1293, 1340, 1488, 1668. The first *e* in *angele(s)* 100, 521, the post-tonic *i* in *victorie* 1031, *refrigerie* 1467, *glavies* 1713, etc., and the intercalated *e* in *truverai* 586, *averez* 587, *muveras* 779, *quivere* 1427, &c. have no syllabic value. Seeing that late Anglo-Norman scribes commonly added an inorganic *e* after a final consonant (cf. Appendix II, § 6 f), there is no need to regard the *e* in *quarte* 328, *cume* 800, *chere* 1825 as forming a syllable. The second *i* in *passibile* 791, if not due to Latin influence, can only be a scribe's error. Doubtful instances of expansion occur in v. 470, where *feimes* may have been either trisyllabic or dissyllabic in the original (cf. ch. viii, § 3, xxxv); in vv. 560 (*en le cant*) and 1206 (*chi le funt*), where the scribe merely wrote out in full two words amalgamated by enclisis (cf. *a le ordre* 34); and in v. 1169, where a masculine has been substituted for a feminine rime. Genuine instances are the following:—

(*a*) Addition of a monosyllable:—*de* 588, 866, *e* 292, 465, 585 (a mere slip?), 1598, *en* (prep.) 1573, *est* 1350, *i* 327, 553, 1316, 1318, *les* (art.) 687, (pron.) 695, *mult* 792, *que* 1553; in v. 515 *de* has been added, but another syllable inadvertently dropped. The extra syllables in vv. 83, 1391 (*acce*) and 1666 are merely scribe's errors left uncorrected.

(*b*) Substitution of a longer form of the word:—*voelt*] *voleit* 148, *vois*] *voices* (a later Anglo-Norman form) 559, *deport*] *deportet* 1314, *cest'*] *icest'* 1391.

(*c*) Definite alteration:—*curs*] *succurs* 615, *od*] *portet* 1031.

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Thus A has 23 instances of expansion, or at most 27, if we include doubtful instances, out of 596 feminine lines; i.e. 4·7 per cent., a negligible proportion. Noting that the same MS. contains 23 feminine lines with a syllable too few (vv. 76, 254, 353, 397, 421, 446, 569?, 572, 596, 688, 799, 806, 894, 957, 1040, 1042, 1046, 1160, 1164, 1239, 1272, 1613, 1710), we may conclude that the scribe's occasional addition or omission of a syllable is purely accidental. In a few instances the additions made in A coincide with those of other MSS.:—vv. 292 (ABDE), 585 (AD), 695 (AD), 792 (AE), 1350 (ADE), 1553 (ABE), 1573 (ABE), 1598 (ABDE); the significance of these coincidences is discussed in ch. iv, §§ 4 and 5.

B exhibits greater neglect of metrical rules than A; in fact, when the scribe composed an original feminine line for insertion in the poem (v. 1813 a), he gave it ten syllables and coupled it with one of nine syllables. Owing to the difficulty of determining whether atonic *e* in this MS. is intended to have syllabic value, many of the feminine lines may be classed as having either eight or nine syllables. Elision of *e* or *i*, under the same conditions as in A, is probable in 22 instances. When *cum* is replaced by *cume* or *come* (237, 484, 733, 800, 1040, 1218), *or* by *ore* (838, 840, 1453), *huem* by *home* (243), *midi* by *miedi* (847), *frez* by *jerez* (553, 883), it is hardly possible to decide whether or not the scribe intended to add a syllable. Hiatus has apparently been introduced in *qui iloc* for *qu'iloc* 53, *ki en* for *ki'n* 1072, *jo osase* 1243, and *ki i* 1338. Words amalgamated by enclisis have been separated in vv. 1190 (*la les* for *las*) and 1774 (*l'ure li* for *l'urel*). The following are undoubted instances of expansion:—

(*a*) Addition of a monosyllable:—conjunctions, *e* 259, 292, 495, 605, 907, 944, 1028, 1211, 1427, 1598, 1740, *que* 1553; prepositions, *a* 1032, *as* 866, 1317, *de* 494, 588, 866, *en* 936, 1573; adverbs, *bien* 935, *i* 260, 327, 1684, *mult* 949, 1337; article, *li* 1453; pronoun subject, *jo* 1316, *tu* 1264, *il* 615, 1488, *ço* 1596, and similarly the noun *Deus* 1553, 1591; pronoun object, *te* 1252, *lui* 534, also *en* 450, 1085; verb, *est* 1027; prefix *re-*, *returnerent* 328, *remandrez* 865. The insertion of *u* in v. 712 and of *de* in v. 1553 has destroyed the sense of these passages. In v. 866 two and in v. 1553 no less than three monosyllables have been added.

(*b*) Substitution of a longer form of the word:—*icel* 358, *ici* 420, 719, *idunc* 229, 448, for *cel*, &c.; *cel*] *celui* 1714; *n'*] *nen* 419, 1420, 1421; *tuit*] *trestuit* 441; *enz*] *dedenz* 442; *suz*] *desuz* 674; *junum*] *jeünum* 133; *muert*] *murrad* 422; *veiz*] *veez* 1318. *Enfermeté* 422, which gives the line ten syllables, may be merely a learned spelling for *enferté* (cf. 741). In v. 938 the adverb *halt* is replaced by the adjective *haltes*.

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(*c*) Definite alteration :—*as*] *a ses* 333, *nen i fait*] *n'i fait nule* 421, *tapinage*] *pelerinage* 725, *verne*] *guverne* 874, *guart*] *reguarde* (+2 ?) 894, *fundent*] *espandent* 896, *cist*] *ici* 1112, *la Marie*] *seinte M.* 1315, *cel*] *içe* 1457. In the following instances the syllabic value of the substituted word is uncertain :—*out*] *oid* 99, *quant*] *cume* 161, *curs*] *veie* 615, *espiez*] *espees* 944, *puint*] *nient* 983, *rien*] *nient* 1307, *trente a*] *t. de* 1596, *nen est*] *n'est mie* 1714.

(*d*) Passage rewritten :—177–8.

The total number of expanded lines in B, including both certain and doubtful instances (but not those in which a vowel is probably elided) is 95, out of 548 feminine lines given by this MS.; i.e. 17·3 per cent. There are also 21 feminine lines with a syllable too few; but many of these are short merely because a word has been inadvertently omitted. B therefore shows a definite but very sporadic attempt to normalize the feminine lines.

C contains only 68 legible feminine lines. In vv. 136, 221, 223, 226, 274 (*de arbre*), 291, and 305 the introduction of hiatus is probably apparent only. The repetition of *tus* in v. 208 and the substitution of *crïerent* for *crïent* (: *ublïent*) in v. 306 are mere inadvertences. The only instances of expansion occur in vv. 133 (*jeünum* for *junum*) and 134 (addition of *de*); against which we may set two lines which are a syllable short, viz. vv. 1 and 254 (?). So far as we can judge, therefore, C did not alter the metrical system of the original text.

D has expanded the feminine lines in the majority of instances, but not consistently. The devices employed are as follows :—

(*a*) Syllabic value given to elided or contracted syllables.

Introduction of hiatus :—25 possible instances. It is probable that the apparent hiatus introduced into these lines does in most cases represent a real attempt to add a syllable; especially as the insertion or alteration of a word in order to lengthen the line is often necessarily accompanied by hiatus (e.g. *que icist* 104, *e esculante* 178, *abeïe est* 673, also 753, 983, 1007). Noteworthy instances are *qu'en*] *qui en* 354, *qu'i*] *qui i* 600, *le unde* 987, *li apostoile* acc. 1038, *ki'n*] *qui en* 1072, *ja'st*] *jas* (!) *est* 1248.

Removal of enclisis :—*quel mei*] *que le me* 1264.

Fem. *e* revived or inserted :—*feres* 553, *ferai* 924, *troverai* 586, *enterrines* 686, *enterin(s)* 1645, 1683.

The total number of lines lengthened by these means, including both certain and doubtful instances, is 32.

(*b*) Addition of a monosyllable. This is a favourite method of expansion.

Conjunctions :—*e* 29 instances; *kar* 1482, *mes* 1302, *ne* 'or' 233, *que* 604, 754, *si* 449, 491, 570, 571, 734, 952, 956, 994.

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Prepositions :—*a* 1317, 1513, 1748, *as* 588, 866, *de* 134, 494, 588, 866, 1085, 1086, 1316, 1573, 1691, 1692, 1747, *en* 593, 779, *od* 685. The author's avoidance of repetition, and his fondness for using substantives without preposition to denote ' time when ', had left an obvious opening for many of these additions.

Adverbs :—*i* 12 instances, *mult* 10 instances ; *bien* 574, 680, 839, *ci* 720, *en* 342, 1128, *hui* 753, *or* 398, 1596, *par* (emphatic) 1115, 1665, *si* 1592, 1619, *sul* 156, 214, *tost* 795, *tres* 465, 1118, 1466, 1580, *tresqu'* 1819.

Complement to negation :—*nient* 162, *puint* 215, 305, 1240, *unc* 274, *nule* 487 ; *nen i fait*] *n'i f. nule* 421, *nen est*] *n'est mie* 1714.

Adjectives :—*grant* 531, 1307, 1326, *las* 1281, *seint* 351, *tut*, *tuz* 145, 984, 1313, 1416, 1730, 1733.

Articles :—definite, 28 instances ; indefinite, 84, 446, 666, 912, 1070. The author's avoidance of articles (cf. ch. viii, § 5, ii) facilitated expansion by this means.

Pronoun subject :—*jo* 1314, 1419, 1457, *tu* 776, *il* 450, 615, 725, 983, 1007, 1447, 1448, 1729, *ele* 800, 906, *nus* 397, 470 (?), *els* fem. pl. 1214, *ço* 469, *cil* 992, 1242, *qui* 1069, 1183.

Pronoun object :—direct, *le* 1294, *les* 695 (pleonastic), 1655 ; reflexive, *me* 1458, 1553, *se* 1627, 1750 ; indirect, *te* 516, 1252, *lur* 222, 991, 1116, 1710 ; also *en* 606, 948, 1333, 1656 (cf. 955).

Substantives :—*main* (*destre*) 207, *dan* (*Brendan*) 696, *Deu* 1243.

Verbs :—*est* 673, 1350, 1402 (in this instance destroying the sense), *sont* 679, *esteit* 1540, *fut* 646, *vit* 290.

Total, 201 lines expanded by these means (vv. 585, 588, 866, and 1419 are listed twice).

(*c*) Substitution of a longer form of the same word.

n'] *nen* 135 (*n'en* ?), 226, 254, 419, 420, 422, 674, 764, 923, 1420, 1421 ; *tut*, *tuz*] *trestut*, *-uz* 273, 341, 441, 573, 709, 1498, 1825 ; *sur*] *desur* 496, 554, 840, 874, 884, 1825 ; *suz*] *desuz* 674, *enz*] *dedenz* 442 ; *ainz*] *anceis* 1508 ; *fort*] *forment* 1231 ; *unc*] *unches* 1684, *dunc*] *dunches* 1290 ; *ici*, *icil*, *icist*, *içe*, *idunc*, *itant*, &c. for *ci*, *cil*, &c., 20 instances ; *oc*] *içe* 1282, *si*] *isi*, *eissi* 484, 1790 ; *s'*] *sei* 936.

Prefix or suffix added without alteration of meaning :—*aseürance* 121, *apriement* 654 (corrupt), *eschelette* 713, *revirent* 838, *remaindrez* 865, *trespaset* 1160, *detraire* 1205, *avis* 1401.

Fem. *e* added :—*bones* (*murs*) 76, *forte* 628, *engemmez*] *enginees* 678, *adubees* 679, *faite* 1241.

Verb-forms :—singular replaced by plural, 663, 1318, 1442, 1789 ; present by past, 147, 213, 887, etc. (24 instances) ; one past tense by another, 85, 146, 174, 240, 253, 389, 528, 532, 665, 955, 1270 ; *pernanz*] *preneient* 37, *fust*] *poist estre* 252, *crient*] *criant* (forming a masculine rime) 559, *rovent*] *rovasent* 1112, *atent*] *atendrai* 1561.

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In v. 470 *feimes*, which the scribe probably regarded as dissyllabic, has been replaced by *fesimes*.

Total, 110 lines expanded by these means (vv. 674 and 1825 are listed twice).

(*d*) Substitution of a different expression.

Without change of meaning, though usually to the detriment of the style:—*d'ici*] *de cest liu* 119, *qui* 'whose'] *li suens* 224, *mult*] *forment* 230, *s'en*] *d'iluec* 328, *itant blanche*] *qui est itant blanc* 492, *que tu seies*] *quel chose s.* 517, *lui*] *celui* 533, *Deu*] *Jesu* 544, *la*] *cele* 594, *tele*] *icele* 799, *cil revindrent*] *li moine vindrent* 817, *di paschur*] *jur de pasches* 845, *la*] *seinte* 1315, *poi*] *petit* 1452, *e al jusdi*] *al jur de j.* 1617, *i venent*] *ariverent* 1618, *al entrer*] *en l'entree* 1713, *d'els*] *de cels* 1833.

With different meaning, but not altering the general sense of the passage:—*dunc*] *mult bien* 223, *dunc*] *trestuz* 229, *enters*] *al chastel* 327, *un message*] *le Deu m.* 356, *e enz en ciel*] *que od Deu del c.* 522, *pain*] *mangier* 605, *unt*] *lur est* 792, *unt*] *trovent* 899, 1614, *fort*] *aveit* 1014, *les en meinet*] *tut dreit les m.* 1117, *l'*] *lur* 1198, *jo criasse*] *a tei c.* 1244, *en li descend*] *iluec me rüent* 1422, *la*] *une* 1591, *qu'unt*] *qui est* 1666, *d'isselites*] *pieres eslites* 1688, *lur*] *iluec* 1787.

Destroying the meaning of the original:—*par art*] *pur l'amur* 33, *cil*] *si fut* 75, *la veüe*] *la nef v.* 103, *curante*] *esculante* 178, *pener pourent*] *penerent lur cors* 238, *ne deit hoem*] *ne deivent rien* 243, *grande e halte*] *de luinz mult h.* 247, *la*] *i ad* 291, *mult la crient*] *nuit e jur c.* 306, *mult la serre*] *m. bien se s.* 498, *cum anceis*] *que puis od lui* (!) 534, *halt od*] *si i ot* 572, *enseign*] *creance* 596, *veient*] *siwerent* 627, *as festes*] *a la feste* 1315, *tut cald*] *a force* 1415, *a sun*] *e tut lur* 1532, *li hermites*] *si fui h.* 1543, *al espace*] *truverent l'e.* 1662, *flurs e arbres*] *des f. les a.* 1749, *cum*] *forment* 1786. It is possible that vv. 99 and 100 (*out*] *oid, oit*) should be included here.

Total, 56 lines (v. 1315 is listed twice).

(*e*) Lines entirely rewritten:—vv. 17–18, 239, 439, 560, 688, 848, 902, 1005, 1040, 1099–1100, 1147, 1304, 1467–8, 1625–6, 1657, 1679–80, 1687; see the variants.

Total, 22 lines.

The total number of feminine lines expanded in D is 421 out of 594; i. e. 70·9 per cent. The addition or alteration has entailed in some cases a revision of the word-order (vv. 449–50, 952, 1069, 1242), in others the substitution of masculine for feminine rimes (vv. 559–60, 887–8, 1099–1100, 1257–8, 1467–8, 1625–6). In a number of instances two syllables have been added instead of one; in v. 955 perhaps even three syllables. Of the 171 unexpanded lines, 10 have a syllable too few. Of two feminine lines added to the text in D (408 a b), one has eight, the other nine syllables.

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E, written on the Continent, shows very little uncertainty as to the counting of syllables. Its text has undergone a thorough revision, and the feminine lines have with few exceptions been made of a normal length, with the eighth syllable accented. As a transcription of this MS. has been published by T. Auracher, a summary account of the methods of expansion employed is all that need be given here.

(*a*) Syllabic value given to elided or contracted syllables.

Introduction of hiatus :—18 instances, of which the most noteworthy are *li arbres* 496, *ki'n*] *qui en* 1072, *ja'st*] *ja est* 1248. In view of the metrical regularity of this MS., and the frequent introduction of hiatus even with inserted words (vv. 671, 894, 955, 1045, 1447, 1616, 1656), there need be no hesitation in accepting the apparent instances of hiatus as real.

Removal of enclisis :—*sis*] *si lor* 358, *eissil*] *ensi le* 595, *kil*] *qui le* 1206, *l'urel*] *l'eure li* 1774.

Fem. *e* revived or inserted :—*feres* 553, 883, *fera* 924, *enterin(e)s* 686, 1683.

Total, 27 lines.

(*b*) Addition of a monosyllable.

Conjunctions :—*e* 37 instances, once with adverbial force (1104) and in five cases altering the meaning (1014, 1071, 1687, 1738, 1741) ; *car* 99, 393, *mais* 1302, *ne* 'or' 233, *que* 604, 993, 1401, 1553, *si* 161, 287, 1532, 1717.

Prepositions :—*de* 14 instances ; *a* 586, 653, 1317, 1543, *en* 593, 779, 1573, *o* 685.

Adverbs :—*i* 11 instances, *molt* 19 instances ; *bien* 252, 839, 1003, 1339, 1711, *ci* 923, 1263, 1307, *dont* (= *donc*) 1325, *droit* 664, 873, *en* 342, 439, 956, 1531, 1724, *ens* (+*en*) 446, 1281, 1597, *hors* (+*de*) 776, *ja* 226, *la* 1046, *mais* 1442, *onques* 980, *or* 991, *puis* 574, *seul* 156, 214, *si* 1539, *tost* 398, 1167, *trop* 1337.

Reinforcement of negation :—*ainc* 162, *mais* 1184, 1199, *mie* 1714, *nule* 238, 248, 274, 421, 440, *nus* (< *nullus*) 243, *onques* 979, *pas* 215, 305, 419, 1007, 1103, 1240, 1303 ; when the word added is dissyllabic, another syllable is dropped.

Adjectives :—*grant, -ns* 14 instances ; *ardant* 912, *bels* 1739, *bon(es)* 222, 677, 687, 796, 1665, *haute* 253, *las* 1392, *saint* 484, 1540, *tot, tos* 145, 984, 1169, 1730.

Articles and demonstrative :—definite article, 27 instances ; indefinite, 673, 1006, 1070 ; *ces* 1282.

Pronoun subject :—*il* 19 instances ; *jo* 1271, 1427, 1595, *tu* 1264, *ele* 800, *el* fem. nom. pl. 1214, *nos* 397, *ce* 1596, *qui* 1712.

Pronoun object :—direct, *le* 1175, 1294, *les* 711, 911 ; antecedent to relative, *ce* 517, *cels* 1656 ; indirect, *li* 121, 534, *lui* 734, *lor* 1116,

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1128, 1733, *te* 1244, 1252; reflexive, *se* 487, 621, 847, 1613, 1627, 1750; also *en* 33, 560, 1825.

Possessives:—*mes* 1418, *son, sa, ses* 244, 333, 351, 1005, 1031, *lor* 239, 712, 869, 895, 942, 1700.

Substantives:—*Brandans* 173, *main* (*destre*) 207, *mies* (?) 357, *Crist* 1272, *drap* 1457.

Verbs:—*est* 1350, *sont* 679, *fu* 646, 1110, *fust* 177.

Miscellaneous:—*ha* 1247, (*anbes*) *deus* 1668.

Total, 286 lines.

(*c*) Substitution of a longer form of the same word.

n'] *nen* 254, 420, 1420; *tut(es)*] *trestot(es)* 441, 573, 710, 904, 1002, 1042, 1415; *cum*] *conme* 42, 237, 1040, 1218, 1742; *ainz*] *anc(h)ois* 469, 992, 1008, 1160; *sur*] *desor* 554, 840, 854, 874, 884, *suz*] *desos* 674, *enz*] *dedens* 442, *cuntre*] *encontre* 1729, *vers*] *envers* 1151, 1152; *par*] *parmi* 390, 902 (cf. 1133); *dunc*] *adonc, -nt* 288, 448, 1290, *unc*] *onques* 1684, *iloec*] *ilueques* 870; *icele, ici, icil, icist, itant* for *cele*, etc., 11 instances; *si*] *issi* 1790; *s'*] *soi* 936.

Prefix or suffix added without alteration of meaning:—*escrient* 559, *enseing*] *enseignement* 596, *revirent* 838, *conjoïrent* 856, *remanrés* 865, *ajostees* 937, *s'entrenavrerent* 943, *aconduite* 1165, *detraire* 1205, *conplaintes* 1242, *depart* 1661, *enserree* 1667.

Fem. *e* added:—*grande* 572, 1787, *forte* 628, *faite* (!) 1241, *chieres* (!) 1454.

Verb-forms:—singular replaced by plural, 1789; present by past, 449, 450, 663, 795, 1255, 1785, &c. (35 instances); one past tense by another, 100, 146, 240, 274, 389, 606, 665, 1192, 1580; also *voelt*] *volra* 148, *fumes*] *estommes* (!) 522, *doust*] *devoit* 528, *-um*] *-omes* 720, 763, 764, *pouse*] *peüsse* 1579.

Miscellaneous:—*enferté*] *enfermeté* 422, *guerrere*] *gerroiere* 935, *deraine*] *daerraine* 951, *flammantes*] *flamboiantes* 1013, *rusast*] *reüsast* 1232. In vv. 1467–8 *refrigerie* and *miserie* are probably stressed on the penultimate instead of the antepenultimate vowel.

Total, 125 lines.

(*d*) Substitution of a different expression.

Without change of meaning:—*un'*] *itel* 93, *cist*] *l'hermites* 104, *en*] *ot moi* 119, *el*] *sor le* 355, *lui*] *l'ille* 466, *pas*] *mie* 469, *u*] *sor qui* 470, *itant blanche*] *qui tos estoit blans* 492, *desque*] *de ci* (*que*) 497, 1047, 1213, 1620, *mes dix dunc*] *ma parole* 516, *mis*] *asis* 527, *al*] *sor le* 570, *ad a*] *li covient* 616, *en*] *dedens* 695, *puis*] *aprés* 714, 1414, *mult*] *forment* 732, *sanz*] *outre* 806, *desqu'*] *e quant* 817, *di paschur*] *jor de pasches* 845, *puint*] *de rien* 983, *nerçun*] *noirece* 1111, *tant*] *issi* 1133, *sa*] *une* 1147, *la*] *cele* 1231, *li nes*] *qui fu n.* 1251, *tuz les*] *ses freres* 1257, *d'aprismer la*] *de lui a.* 1258, *qu'i*] *qui la* 1338 *od*] *avoec* 1416, *jus*] *aval* 1417, *ne guart quant*] *ne g. l'eure* 1426,

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cil la] *c. malfé* 1428, *par*] *devant* 1458, *nule*] *negune* 1574, *forment luisent*] *molt resplendoient* 1694, *entrer*] *entree* 1713, *süaté*] *souatume* 1748.

With different meaning, but not altering the general sense of the passage :—*ot*] *savoit* 103, *mult*] *en mer* 216, *dunc*] *molt tost* 229, *la*] *molt grant* 291, *mult*] *adés* 306, *mult tost*] *atant . . lors* 356, *out*] *voient* 491, *sunt*] *avoit* 493, *tut*] *conroi* 603, *e*] *ot lui* 696, *dous duiz*] *fontaines* 753, *pur fols forment tuit*] *p. fol e por bricon* 818, *unt*] *troevent* 899, 1614, *la nef od eals que*] *que trestote la n.* 906, *forment halt*] *en haut amont* 938, *en*] *ore a* 994, *en*] *tot droit* 1117, *les*] *roges* 1132, *que*] *trestot* 1134, *i tost*] *desos droit* 1191, *nen out*] *n'ot veü* 1198, *les*] *molt grant* 1212, *tost offri*] *rendi trestot* 1301, *en li descend e*] *la ens me getent il* 1422, *dient e*] *respondent quil* 1477, *la*] *une* 1591, *e*] *tot droit* 1617, *qu'unt*] *qui ert* 1666, *d'isselites*] *pieres eslites* 1688, *bois*] *arbres* 1737, *cum*] *forment* 1786, *sunt*] *vindrent* 1819, *de ço qu'or unt*] *que revenus est* 1826.

Destroying the meaning of the original :—*de*] *trestot* 147, *li sainz prestre*] *del roi celestre* 208, *s'en turnerent*] *si s'apresterent* 328, *que tu deies*] *que faire d.* 518, *par*] *plain de* 531, *par Deu*] *de par lui* 731, *preistes*] *mespreistes* 754, *l'oste chescuns*] *l'ostes cascun jor* 888, *n'*] *ci* 923, *espiez*] *espees* 944, *creient*] *conroient* 968, *les tempestes*] *les cors tempeste* (!) 974, *tens*] *busce* 1000, *trenchantes fort*] *t. e fors* 1014, *a*] *le jor* 1038, *fum ert*] *fumee* 1109, *od les*] *volent e* 1131, *de funde la*] *la f. ne la* 1156, *quinzeine*] *quarantaine* 1313, *ici deport*] *c'est li depors de* 1314, *a cest' ire*] *de tel matire* 1391, *le jurn bien*] *issi le cors* 1413, *al espace*] *a la salete* 1662, *od les*] *i ot e* 1693.

Total, 99 lines.

(*e*) Lines entirely rewritten :—vv. 94, 120, 122, 178, 224, 594, 599-600, 654, 678, 688, 848, 990, 1028, 1045, 1099-1100, 1304, 1421, 1482, 1498, 1592, 1657-8, 1679-80, 1718, 1767-8, 1833-4.

Total, 31 lines.

The total number of feminine lines expanded in E is 568 out of 574; i.e. almost 99 per cent. The addition or alteration has in some cases entailed a revision of the word-order (e.g. vv. 1110, 1308, 1785), and in one instance the substitution of masculine for feminine rimes (vv. 815–16). The six unexpanded lines are vv. 354, 465, 498, 853, 1115, 1211. Four other feminine lines have only eight syllables in the MS., but merely because a syllable has been inadvertently omitted by the scribe :—vv. 420 (*trait* for *traite*), 666 (*molt*), 855 (*bien*), and 1147 (*tost*). Four feminine lines added to the text (vv. 278 a b, 466 a b) and six in which feminine rimes have been substituted for masculine (vv. 27–8, 311–12, 953–4) all contain nine syllables. In a certain number of instances the devices employed in E for the expansion of the feminine lines coincide with those of D; the significance of these coincidences is discussed in ch. iv, § 2.

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APPENDIX II

THE SPELLINGS AND FORMS OF THE ANGLO-NORMAN MSS.

THE orthographic variants of the Anglo-Norman MSS. of the *Brendan* are numerous and diverse, but those of BCD have not been included in the critical apparatus unless some question of reading is involved. At the same time, though representing the language of the scribes only, they throw light on the later development of the Anglo-Norman dialect and of the French element in English. In order that so much useful material may not be lost, an attempt has been made in the following pages to classify all the spellings and forms of ABCD which differ from the standard French forms of the period, omitting only certain features which have been dealt with in ch. viii of the Introduction. Use has been made incidentally of many thirteenth-century forms which the scribe of A, writing rapidly, introduced into his text, but afterwards corrected by expunction, interlinear insertions, &c. (cf. Suchier's diplomatic edition, and the corrections on p. x of the present volume). It need hardly be said that many of the spellings and forms quoted are by no means peculiar to Anglo-Norman. Square brackets placed round any form or reference indicate that the word in question is palpably corrupt; they have, however, been sparingly used, owing to the difficulty of drawing the line between spelling variants and corruptions. It should be remembered that B dates from about 1200, C and D from the first half of the thirteenth century, and A from the second half of the thirteenth century (cf. ch. i).

SIMPLE VOWELS.

(In the phonological sections the order adopted, with certain necessary modifications, is that of A. Stimming's appendix to *Boeve de Haumtone*, Halle, 1899—the principal existing repertory of Anglo-Norman spellings. The starting-point in each section and paragraph is the standard French spelling of the first half of the twelfth century. For a discussion of the phonetic significance of the spellings quoted, see the corresponding sections of Stimming's appendix, and L. E. Menger, *The Anglo-Norman Dialect*, New York, 1904.)

§ 1. French A.

a] e. Tonic:—*esmareldes* D 1083; perhaps an instance of metathesis.
Pretonic:—*arbeleste* A 1155 (cf. D *areblaste*).

a] aa:—*aapaiser* A 1276.

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a] ai. Tonic:—*bais* corrected to *bas* A 1043. Pretonic:—[*arere* corr. *airere* A 936], *maiterie* A 1680, *traivaile* corr. *trav-* A 1684.

avuec (< *ab hoc*). By contamination with *od* < *apud*, the pretonic vowel commonly appears as *o*; for instances, see § 31.

chascun (< *quisque-* + *kata-unum*)] A *chescun* passim, *chascun* 752, 879, 1045, 1780, *checun* 297, 876, B *chascun* passim, C *cascun* 297, D *chescun* passim; cf. Vising, *Le Purgatoire de St. Patrice*, p. 58.

Pretonic **a** dropped in hiatus:—*Alis* B 1, *chaines* A 869, *urouent* (< *adorabant*) D 1293; cf. *asinat* for *aasmat* A 1054. On *cheles* ABD 343 see the note.

la def. art. fem. was sometimes written *le*, when it underwent elision before a vowel:—*le ure* C 308, *le arbre* A 496, 853, *le egre* B 790, *le unde* D 987, A 1232, *le une* A 1235, *le altre* A 1236; cf. § 6 e.

§ 2. Fr. Ã.

an] en. Tonic:—*tendent* C 255, *pendent* C 256, *senes* (< *sanguis*) B 945, *avent* corr. *-ant* A 1185, *ens* (< *annos*) D 1383. Initial or counter-final:—blocked, *quarenteine*, *-aine* AD 133, *enceis* B 534, *senglantes* A 948; free, *henap* B 315.

an] aen:—*raencune* A 421.

an] ain:—*ainz* (< *annos*) A 1622.

an] aun. No trace in these MSS.

dame, danz. The etymological *o* has remained unchanged in *donna* A 1, *donz* C 8, AC 194, A 454.

§ 3. Fr. Ẹ̃ (< Lat. tonic free *a*).

e] a:—*naf* corr. *nef* A 354, 398, *pares* D 825, *naf* A 1018, *mar* corr. *mer* A 1161. On *sal* 1346 see ch. viii, § 2, iv.

e] i:—*nif* A 252, [*cunreiz* corr. *-reez* A 400, 451], *pilirs* corr. *pilers* (assimilation?) A 1084. On *remist* AD 1815 see § 70 b.

e] ei:—*seit* (< *sapit*) D 15, B 1099, 1124, 1494, 1679, *seivent* B 231, 797, 1102, 1186, 1495, 1501, 1503, *neiz* C 19, *treis* C 143, *leires* B 334, *duneit* B 982, *treis* (for *tref*) B 1088, *mal(s)feiz* AB 1171, B 1206, *esteit* (< *aestatem*) A 1336, 1751, *ruseit* (< **rosatum*) A 1758. Cf. Tanquerey, *L'Évolution du Verbe . .*, p. 765. *Rocheit*, quoted as an example by Stimming, p. 175, contains the suffix *-eit* < *-ētum*.

e] ie:—*oriez* (< **auratus*) D 211, *tries* (for *tref*) D 1088, *siet* (< *sapit*) D 1494. Cf. Stimming, p. 176. On *detrie(r)s* ABD 1236, 1238, see § 36 a.

ẹ̃ + l + consonant. See § 34 b.

§ 4. Fr. Ẹ̃.

e] a:—*ast* (< *ecce*) A passim, C 310, *as* C 188, *sarre* corr. *serre* A 987, *awe* corr. *ewe* D 706, *awe* D 1595 (*de awe* = *d'eawe*?), 1607.

e] ei:—*oiseil* A 521, 613.

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e] i :—*disqu'* (= *desque* conj.) A 367.

e] ie :—[*osiel* D 521]. *Teniebres* B 323, 1424 is a recognized form of the loan-word *tenebres*.

ę+l+consonant. See § 34 b.

§ 5. Fr. Ę.

e] a :—*brestache* (for *bretesche*) A 1678.

e] ei :—*espeise* D 793; perhaps influenced by *espeisse* < **spissia*, cf. Meyer-Lübke, *R.E.W.*, 8159, 8160.

e] ie :—*eschiele* (< Goth. *skilla*) BD 512; influenced by *eschiele* < *scala*?

ę+l+consonant. See § 34 b.

§ 6. Fr. unaccented E.

(a) Initial *e* following a vowel.

e dropped :—*ci streit* (= *estreiz*, fut. 2 pl. of *estre*) A 863; probably also *veire storie* A 54, *une glise* D 446 (cf. A *en glise*), *se spandent* A 573, *me scorcent*, *-rgent* AD 1407, 1413, the words being so divided in the MSS.

Prosthetic e absent :—*la scripture* BC 23 (AD *le s.*); probably also *ne steot* A 16, *ne stuet* D 16, *ne stout* A 326, *le spir(i)t* ABD 349, AB 1034 (D *les spirt*), *ne stuveit* AD 920, *de smaragde(s)* AB 1083, 1692, *de spinis* A 1294, the words being so divided in the MSS. Cf. Vising, in *Literaturblatt*, v (1884), col. 70.

(b) Initial *e* (sometimes after a prefix) not following a vowel.

e] a. Etymological :—after *c*, *chaïmes* ABD 523, *chanud*, *-uz* ABD 827, *chaï(t)*, *-iz* ABD 1029, *ac(h)atai* ABD 1456, the *a* remaining unaltered because the *c* had not become fricative (cf. § 53); also *esmareldes* D 1083 (cf. § 1). Unetymological :—before *r*, *aparceut* D 335, *guarrere* A 935, *aparçout* A 1141, *parçut* D 1141, cf. *(a)partint* ABD 1065; also *eslavat* A 526. For initial *e* followed by *n* or *m*, see § 7. On the substitution of *as-* for initial *es-*, e.g. in *asperir* A 1322, *asorbet* AD 1656, see ch. viii, § 4, iii.

e] i :—by assimilation, *disirent* corr. *des-* A 217, *biril* A 1696; by analogy with other parts of the verb (cf. § 66 a), *quisis* corr. *quesis* A 545, *gisir* D 1729; after a palatal consonant, *chimin* D 1664 (cf. *gisir*?); other instances, *primereine* A 952, *primers* A 1007, 1581, 1675, *ligier* D 1337. For *e* > *i* before *l*-mouillé and *n*-mouillé, see §§ 19 and 20. *Divin* ABC 2, &c., *divisit* (for *-set*) A 1779 and *divisiun* A 1784 may be regarded as latinisms. On *litur* AB 700 see § 19, and on *signur* D 1585 see § 20. On *criature* BD 515, *rec(h)rie* AD 1748, see the note to v. 1748.

e] o, before *u* :—*soür(s)* A 116, 359, *poür* ABCD 240, &c. (invariably so written), *oür(s)* A 362, 1180, AB 926, *asoür* A 841, *goüst* (< *jacuisset*) A 1384 (cf. ch. viii, § 3, xxxix). Past participles in *-oüt* are listed in § 71 b.

e] u. Etymological (for *o*) :—*lu* def. art. A 5, B 915, 976; *sulunc*, *-nt* BD 10, ABCD 227, &c., *sujurner* AB 162, &c. (but *sej-* C 162), *busuinz*,

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-ign A 241, 1635, 1830 (but BCD *bes-*), *suc(c)urs* ABCD 289, &c. (but *sec-* B 718), *suduit* B 310 (but AC *sed-*), *sujur(n)* AB 589, ABD 877, &c., *suc(c)urt* AD 795, 993 (B *sec-*), *suduines* A 816 (B *sed-*, D *sudeines*), *suc(c)ur(r)ai* ABD 868; in all these words except the first, pretonic *o* (*u*) became *e* by dissimilation in Central French. Unetymological, before *u*:—*suurance* A 121, *uus* (< *habuisti*) A 1604. On *uneveis* A 1436 see the note.

e] ei :—by analogy with cognate forms in which the vowel was accented (cf. § 66 a), *veirablement* D 59, 1219, *receivurnt* D 64, *peisance* A 742, *peinible* A 792, *Neirun* D 1036, *peiner* A 1105, *espeirerent* A 1224, *seivrement* A 1566, *pleners* corr. *pleiners* A 1569, *pleiner* A 1576; other instances, *meis diz* A 516, [*leisi* (for *les*) *dous* D 750], *deimeines* A 1325.

e] ui :—*suiduit* D 310, *buisuign* D 1635. The scribe substituted *ui* for *u*; cf. § 15.

e dropped before a vowel:—*nent* BD 183, A 985, *prez* (< *precatis*) D 297, *nis* D 331, 1829, B 1766, *age* D 408, *cunrez* B 451, *crature* A 515, *seillus* D 647. The verb-forms *ussent* corr. *oussent* A 657, *ust* BD 917, *ustes* B 1121, and perhaps *gut* (for *geüst*) D 1384 may have been affected by analogical influences; cf. § 70d. *Junum* AD 133 (BC *jeunum*) and *juine* ABC 132 (D *jejuine*) must not be included here; *juner* (< **junare*) existed in OF by the side of *jeüner* (< *jejunare*), cf. G. Paris, in *Romania*, viii, p. 96, and Hammer, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, ix, p. 82.

e dropped between a consonant and *r*. The contracted future *frai* was used by the author, cf. ch. viii, § 3, xxxi; but the scribes frequently restored the *e*:—*fereit* A 43, *feras* BD 426, B 1044, D 1603, *ferez* BD 878, 883, D 881, *ferat*, *-ad* ABD 924.

(c) Counterfinal *e*.

e] a. Etymological:—*Aalis* A 1, *samadi* A 405, &c., B 1310, 1433, D passim (but *samedi* A 1417, 1433, B 405, 834, 1417), *parais* A passim, B 49, 546, 1706, 1736 (B *paradis* 99, 349, elsewhere *pareis*, D *pareis* passim).

e] i. *Vestiment* A 683 and *enimis* B 992 can be regarded as Latinisms, though elsewhere we find *vestement* D 683, ABD 960, BD 1535, and *enemi* AD 992, D 1322. For *aparill(i)ez* BD 830 and *pavilun* D 1075, see § 19.

e dropped before a vowel:—*Benetz* BCD 8, *paris* B 96, ? D 549, *emperur* A 270. In *gurrer* A 69 (for *guereer*) and *costant* A 1063 (for *costeant*) the omitted *e* represented *ei* (cf. § 8 d). On *poëstis* ABD 1652 see the note.

e dropped after a vowel:—*dimaine*, *-eine* AD 1311.

e dropped between consonants:—*alment* A 144, *larcin* corr. *larecin* A 319, *suffreiz* A 551, *pelrein* corr. *pelerein* A 722, *larcin* AD 1278. The contracted futures *truvrai* and *resuscitrai* were used by the author, cf. ch. viii, § 3, xxxi; but the scribes frequently restored the *e*:—*truvera(t)*,

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troverad, *-at* ABC 246, ABD 412, *truverum* B 402, *truverai*, *trov-* ABD 433, 586, *resusciterai* B 1567 (D *susciterai*).

(d) Posttonic *e*.

e] a. Etymological:—*donna* A 1, ?*[e]ntra* C 92. Unetymological:—*veiant* A 375.

e] i:—*primis* B 50, *vindrint* A 355, *spinis* A 1294, *divisit* A 1779.

e] u:—*voldrunt* D 1302; cf. § 65. The contraction m^o could be expanded as *mus* in *sumus* C 191, AD 521, A 535, 542, 719, *fumus* A 522, *asemblamus* A 731, *amamus* A 732, but more probably it represents *mes* (cf. *bon^o* = *bons* C 186); no *-mus* form is written out in full. Cf. F. W. Maitland, *Year Books of Edward II*, Introduction, p. xli.

e] ei:—only in the 3 sg. and 3 pl. of verbs; for examples, see § 65.

e dropped. After a vowel:—*aveint* A 182, *maint* corr. *maient* A 221, *vent* (= *veent* for *veient*) C 247, *estreint* A 620; *achipé* C 252, *soné* A 713, *chanté* A 714, *gardé* D 839, *retrové* D 840, *pous* B 942, *aluminé* A 1169, *fumé* A 1170, *sei* A 1250, *ro* A 1360, *entré* A 1710. After a consonant:—*peins* corr. *peines* A 66, *saint* A 76, *tut* A 175, 843, *curant* C 178, *nul* A 332, *icel* A 383, 1079, *fest* A 397, *clers* A 688, *tel* A 799, *cel* A 894, *cest* A 933, 935, *halt* A 1068, *guairs* A 1114, 1774, *tuneirs* ABD 1130, *reguardernt* A 1168, ?*turment* AB 1239, *fort* A 1710, *river* D 1737, *plenier* D 1738, *ur* A 1774. For examples in which *e* is followed by a vowel, see para. e below. Whether *capitel* A 125, *angel* AC 140 and *fatters* (= *faitres*) A 1682 represent *capitele*, &c., with loss of final *e*, or *capitle*, &c., with metathesis, can hardly be determined; cf. Menger, *op. cit.*, p. 91. Note *ert* A 46 for *eret*, impf. indic. 3 sg. of *estre* (BD alter); but *ert* is the usual form in this text, cf. ch. viii, § 3, xxx.

(e) Final *e* undergoing elision.

In monosyllables. The Anglo-Norman scribes frequently wrote the *e* of unaccented monosyllables, where in the author's pronunciation it was elided before a vowel.

le (def. art.):—*le ordre* A 34, 735, *le angel* AC 140, *le orét* C 211, *le air* C 255, *le altre* A 694; cf. *le* for *la* (§ 1) and *le* for *li* (§ 8 c) under similar conditions.

me:—*me aportout* B 1571.

le (pron.):—*le oit* A 1255.

se (pron.):—*se est* C 281.

ne (< *non*):—*ne i* C 283, [*ne art* A 1348], *ne avrai* A 1438.

ne (< *nec*):—*ne entre* AB 70, *ne oile* A 760, *ne estét* A 1246, *ne iver* D 1246.

se (< *si*):—*se il* B 918.

que (conj.):—*que a* B 74, A 520, *que en* AD 96, 954, C 278, *qu'en* corr. *que en* A 278, *que il* B 474, *que o(u)t* ABD 533, AD 555, AB 1807, *que avez* AB 548, *que estre* AD 602, *que unt* BD 1065, *que al* AD 1065, *que espleitent* ABD 1186, *que avrat* AD 1488, *que ad* AD 1490.

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que (rel. pron.) :—*que ert* ACD 300, *que alez* ABD 363, *que a(l)* ABD 755.

de :—*de une* AB 47, AC 263, *de arbre(s)* AC 274, A 1752, *de or* AC 291, A 315, 1077, *de argent* AC 291, *de ail(l)urs* AD 1115, *de amur* D 1275, *d'eigue* corr. *de aigue* A 1595, *de aigue* B 1595.

re- (prefix) :—*realat* A 956.

In words of two or more syllables. The Anglo-Norman scribes frequently omitted an elided final *e*, where the normal continental practice was to write the word in full :—*un isle* ABD 93, *cel isle* D 97, AD 423, ABD 425, *nul entre(th)e* AB 251, A 632, *nul enfermeté(t)* AB 741, *nul enfertez* D 741, *cel ewe* D 811, *bel i* B 842, *tut en* AB 904, *cler est* A 1045, *chascun unde* A 1045, *nul hure* A 1250, *chang enfern* B 1357, *(i)cest ire* ABD 1391, *un aigue* AB 1463, *un ewe* D 1463, *trent anz* A 1569, 1582, 1587, *trente a* corr. *trent a* A 1596, *icest aigue* A 1607, *icest awe* D 1607, *port en* D 1607, *lainur* (for *la mure*) *aval* A 1715 ; perhaps also *l'un al altre* ABD 1697 (see the note). Spellings like *entr'eus*, *els* BD 70 (A *entre eols*) are frequent also in continental texts.

(f) Inorganic *e*.

e added before a vowel :—*enpreist* B 114 (but see § 70 b), *leui* A 315, *larcein* A 336, *leiu* A 368, *seis* (: *paraïs*) A 549, *creient* (: *mercïent*) A 559, *seigne* (: *digne*) A 665, *pelerein* (: *fin*) A 722, *pesseuns* corr. *pessuns* A 801, [*geisent* A 812], *celebreient* (: *ublient*) A 845, *veinc* A 1434, *neie* (: *lie*) A 1458 ; cf. Stimming, p. 187. *Celebreient* and *neie* could be explained as correct forms ; but the rimes indicate that the *e* is purely graphic. *Leu* A 716, 727, 782 may represent *lu* for *lui* (pron.) ; cf. § 33. *Deiables* A 1437 (corrected from *diables*), 1471, 1485, may represent either *diables* with inorganic *e*, or *deables* with 'hiatus' *i* (cf. § 8 e). On *veient* < *vĕnit* see below. On the use of *ce* for *ç* before *u* see § 52.

e added after an internal vowel :—*fuiet* C 24, *parreien* D 89, *fiechez* B 1381. *Veient* (< *vĕnit*) A 743, 934, 986, 1722, B 659, 890, 907, [934], may represent either *vient* or *veint* ; in A probably the latter, as the scribe wrote also *veint* (cf. § 23). Cf. *creient* corr. *creit* (for *creint*) A 1714. On *raencune* A 421 see § 2. The forms *oierent* A 855 and *goierent* A 856 may illustrate the introduction of a glide *e* between a vowel and *r* (Stimming, p. 181), but can also be due to a change of conjugation (cf. § 64).

e added between consonants, chiefly between a consonant and *r*. In futures :—*savera(d)* B 110, 1766, *averez* A 227, AB 587, *muverum* AB 392, *muverez* AB 770, *muveras* AB 779, *? esterez* D 863, *averai* B 1436, *averad* B 1488 ; the scribes also tended to restore *e* in the contracted futures *frai*, *truvrai*, *resuscitrai* (cf. paras. b and c above). Other instances :—*mestere* corr. *meistre* A 527, *livrat* corr. *liverat* (pret.) A 605, *vivere* A 960, *liverez* (past part.) A 1292, *quivere*

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(= *queivre*) A 1427. *Entrin* and *suvrain* were correctly developed forms, used by the author (cf. ch. viii, § 2, lxi); but the scribes tended to introduce the commoner forms *enterin* D 443, 1645, 1683, *enterrin* B 443, 814, D 686, *suverain*, *-ein* ABD 564, 1682. The introduction of *e* between the stem and flexional *s* (Stimming, p. 183) is represented by *voices* A 559 (cf. § 59) and *senes* (< *sanguis*) B 945. On *angele* see § 54. On *capitel* A 125, *angel* AC 140 and *fatters* A 1682 see para. d above. On *vilement* A 1295 see § 62.

e added after a final consonant :—*ure* (< *aurum*) D 312, *quarte* A 328, D 1671, *repose* A 350 (a French form, but inadmissible here on metrical grounds), *palude* A 793, *salude* A 794, *reclaime* D 822, *porte* A 828, *alte* D 938, *arivere* corr. *-ver* A 988, *munde* A 1078, *fume* A 1174, *confesse* A 1305, *terce* A 1504, *helte* A 1715, *chere* A 1825. The substitution of *home* for *hoem* A 40, B 126, 243, and of *cume* for *cum* B 152, 475, 733, 800, 1383, 1835, A 314 (*cum* corr. *cume*), 1383, may be mentioned here. Some of the examples of the addition of 'analogical' *e* to adjectives and verbs (cf. §§ 62, 65, and 67) should also perhaps come under this heading.

e added after a final vowel :—[*emblee* B 311], [*assemblee* B 312], *ennuie* D 616, *poie* D 905, *celee* D 1283, *estelee* D 1284.

§ 7. Fr. Ẽ.

en] an. Cf. ch. viii, § 2, xxiv. Tonic :—[*vant* B 1660], *senglantes*, *san-* AB 948 (on analogy of present participles). Initial or counterfinal :—blocked, *Brandan* ABC passim (cf. note to v. 13), *sanz* A 235, et passim, *an*, *am* (< *in*) A 311, 1112, *anclose* C 253, *anquist* A 413, *an* (< *inde*) A 772, *tranchantes* D 1014, *antaile* A 1683; free, *manerent* A 540, *amanat* A 727, *ramanance* (for *rem-*) B 956, *annuus* (= *enuious*) A 976, *tanailles* B 1149, *an(n)uit* A 1393, 1484.

en] in. A few examples of *i* for free *e* in unaccented position before a nasal consonant have been included in § 6 b and c.

en] ein. Tonic :—*veint* corr. *vent* A 222 (quoted as *veint* by Hammer, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, ix, p. 90, and Stimming, *Boeve*, p. 185), *meing(i)e* AC 119 (cf. § 67), *veingent* A 1615, *tengent* corr. *tein-* A 1616. Initial :—the examples, all having a free vowel, are included in § 6 b.

en] ien :—*tient* D 1429. On *criendrez* B 477 see § 66 a.

encore] A *uncore* (by contamination with *unc*) passim, B *encore* 549, 1102, *unc-* 728, 1059, D *unchore* passim.

§ 8. Fr. I.

(a) Tonic and initial *i*.

i] y :—*enyvrez* D 810, *Yrlande* B 1819.

i] e :—*prestrent* A 302, *chosserent* A 465, [*sevent* corr. *sivent* (for *escivent*) A 486], *remes* B 1390; all verb-forms, in which the alteration is pro-

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bably due to analogy. *Trestes* D 677 represents *testes*, a recognized variant of *tistes*. On *apre(s)mer* see § 26.

i] ie. On *oierent* A 855 and *fiechez* B 1381 see § 6 f.

i] ei. All instances have been included either in § 6 f, as examples of the addition of inorganic *e* before a vowel, or in § 66 b, as examples of analogical alteration of the stem-vowel of verbs.

(b) Atonic *i* in Latin loan-words.

(e)spirit AD 131, A 349, 1034, 1566, preserved its first *i* in spelling, though not in the author's pronunciation; cf. the note to v. 131. The only variant is *(e)spirt* BC 131, BD 349, 1034.

Post-tonic *i* retained in its Latin position:—*apostolies* C 8, *-orie* A 1038, *munie(s)* C 29, A 36, 107, *ruisties* B 41, *glorie* A 53, 1037, 1554, AD 543, 1790, ABD 1032, 1734, 1797, *(e)storie* AB 54, *presentie* D 543, *baldorie* AD 544, *Arabie* A 684, *Thephanie* A 769, *victorie* ABD 1031, *sardonie(s)* B 1085, 1692, *calcedonie(s)* B 1086, 1691, *contrarie* A 1396, *refrigerie* AB 1467, *miserie* B 1468 (A *nuserie*), *ma(i)terie* AB 1680, *glavies* A 1713, *savies* A 1714. These forms occur in continental French texts also; but in Anglo-Norman they persisted much longer, and many of them passed into English. Cf. Mall, *Cumpoz*, pp. 54 f.; Berger, *Die Lehnwörter*.., pp. 46 and 187; Menger, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

(c) Final *i* undergoing elision.

li (def. art.) was often written in full, though the *i* was elided before a vowel; cf. ch. iii, § 4 a. In such circumstances the scribe of A sometimes wrote it as *le*:—*le abes* 123, 197, 295, 565, 667, 675 (also for accusative, 338, 662), *le orres* 211.

qu'i for *qui i* B 600, AD 1338; cf. ch. iii, § 4 c.

(d) Omission of *i* between vowels.

Many of the following forms could be included under other headings, as examples of the reduction of *ie* to *e*, *ei* to *e*, or *ui* to *u*:—*real* BD 21, 27, 269, *preer* BD 43, 48, *guereer* B 69 (A *gurrer*), *preerent* D 115, *preum* BC 129, *envead* B 139, *esmaerent* D 221, *prees* B 297 (D *prez*), D 339, *seet*, *-es* ABD 359, *vees* B 360, BD 361, *aes* A 361, D 1507, *preere* BD 509, *(es)maes* AD 365, D 1296, *füet* (for *fuieit*) B 456, *braheit* (for *braiet*) B 916, *pluus* corr. *pluius* A 975, *pluus* B 975, *plueos* D 975, *annuus* A 976, *ennuoes* D 976, *costeant* BD 1063 (A *costant*), *brüere* AB 1162.

(e) Inorganic *i*.

i inserted between vowels:—*seiu* (< *secutum*) B 192, *loier* B 305, *vedes* corr. *veides* (probably for *veies*) A 334, *chaies* A 820, *veies* A 991, *veiant* AB 1026, *preies* (< *praedatus*) A 1203, *seier* B 1226, *loient* (< *laudant*) A 1625, *praierie* A 1739. It is doubtful whether *deiables* (cf. § 6 f) and *poient* A 1788, D 1789 (cf. § 31) should be included here.

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i inserted between consonant and vowel:—only after *g*, cf. § 54. For *ruisties* B 41 and other loan-words, see para. b above.

i inserted between consonants:—*passibile* (for *paisible*) A 791, perhaps influenced by Latin. *Uitime* A 769 for *uitme* probably contains the ordinal suffix *-ime*. On *bevire* A 357, 1415 see § 64.

§ 9. Fr. Ĭ.

in] en:—*larcen* corr. *-cin* A 1278, *premseir* A 1469. *Estenceles* ABD 1131 was common in OF by the side of *estinceles*.

in] ein. Examples of *in* preceded by inorganic *e* are included in § 6 f.

in] ien. *Engien* D 276 is a recognized OF variant of *engin*.

§ 10. Fr. Ǭ (< Lat. *au*).

o] ou:—*noues* D 941, *poues* D 942 (B *pous*), BD 1014, *joues* BD 1013.

o] u:—*ure* (< *aurum*) D 312, *puvre* D 1456.

§ 11. Fr. Ǫ̆.

To the words mentioned in ch. viii, § 2, lviii, as containing pretonic *ǫ* may here be added *od* (< *apud*) ABCD passim, *bovin*, *-im* ABCD 176, and the loan-word *processiun* ABD 692; in *grisolite*, *cri-* ABD 1687 and *grisopase* AB 1690 the *o* is in counterfinal position. For examples in which the *o* is followed by a nasal consonant, see § 12.

o] u. Tonic:—*vult* (< *voluit*) D 299, 473, 474, ? *vuldrunt* D 606 (cf. § 65), *esturs* (< **extorsi*) D 962. *Resurt* for *resort* (: *fort*) A 257 is probably due to confusion with *resurdre* < *resurgere*. Pretonic:—*vuldreit* D 55, *vuldra(t)* D 61, 80, 1776, *tupazes*, *-ace(s)* A 687, BD 1690 (but *top-* D 687, A 1690). *Furment* B 702 may have been regarded by the scribe as a substantive (< *frumentum*).

o] eo:—*ceo* C 21, 110, 114, 117, 127, 136, *iceo* C 111, B 1507, *jeo* B 1277, 1287. These forms, frequent in later Anglo-Norman texts, were explained by Rydberg (*Zur Geschichte des franz.* ə, pp. 646 ff.) as due to contamination of *ço* and *ce*, *jo* and *je* respectively; though they may often be purely graphic.

o] oe:—*içoe* A 1800; explained in the same way as *iceo*.

§ 12. Fr. Ǫ̆.

This sound occurred in certain popular words as a result of proclitic use, and in a few loan-words; it was rarely spelt with *u*.

Proclitics:—*donna* A 1, *donz* C 8, AC 194, A 454, *bon(s)* AB 62, ABC 186, 215, AB 892, 1769, *bone* B 178, ABC 292, ABD 673 (: *trone*), 1248 (do.), *(h)om* B 40, 1177, 1279, AB 502, 723, A 957, 1521, 1610, also *home* (with inorganic *e*) A 40, B 126; but in some of these instances the *o* may represent an undiphthongized tonic *ǫ* (cf. § 32).

Loan-words:—tonic, *trone* AB 674, ABD 1247; initial, *romanz*, *-ns*

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ABCD 11, *(h)onurs* ABCD 28, *honeste* ABD 821, perhaps also *vomir, -er* ABD 1427.

on] en. *En* (< *homo*) D 1279 is a well-known OF form; cf. the note.

on] un:—*trune* D 674. *(H)um* ABD 964, by the side of *hom*, is perhaps based on the accusative *hume*.

§ 13. Fr. Ǫ.

o] u. This vowel is represented in the Anglo-Norman MSS. by *u*, with the following exceptions. Tonic:—A *vos* 118, *moras* corr. *muras* 778, *Pentecoste* 866, 1317, *totdi(s)* (twice) 1364, *tuz* corr. *tot* 1366, *o* (< *ubi*) 1801; B *vos* 330; C *tos* 124; D *totes* 213, *cors* (< *cursus*) 234, 792, 1101, 1641, 1645, *corent* 379, *coste* 587, *Pentecoste* 588, *tot* 603, 724, 1637, *tort* (for *tor* = *turn*) 878, *dolce* 1001, *boz* 1025, *toz* 1026, *cope* (< *culpa*, cf. § 34 b) 1060, *roge* 1148, *roche* (= *roge*) 1383, *boche* 1458, *troble* 1487, *vos* 1792. Pretonic:—A *vos* 117, 119, *voleit* 148, 474, *lor* 378, *voleient* 698, *trovum* 747, *lor* corr. *lur* 836, *fornaise* 912, *corouneint* 1294, *dolurs* 1432, *soleient* 1619; B *oreisuns* 138, *troverad* 412, *voleit* 474, *jornals* 578, *voleient* 698, *savored* 702, *ovrer* 749, *soëf* 849, *ored* 1004, *dolurs* 1432; C *lor* 126; D *soltif* 88, *oreisuns* 138, *voleit* 155, *escolante* 177, *ostilz* 179, *oblient* 305, *savorez* 702, 705, *nos* 743, *ovrier* 749, *dotez* 867, 995, *oré* 930, *tormi* (= *torni*) 1362, *enloëz* 1388 (cf. ch. viii, § 2, lix), *dolur* 1431–2, *plorout* 1445, *mover* 1620, *overte* 1733, *odurs* 1744, and especially in forms of the verbs *truver*, *pruver*, and *ruver* (*provez* 373, *trovum* 402, *troverat* 412, *troverai* 586, *troverent* 645, 1223, *rovum* 748, *retrové* 840, *rovasent* 1112, *trovat* 1829).

o] ou:—*tous* C 37, *trestout* A 897, *route* corr. *rute* A 1508.

o] ui:—only in *tuit* A 321, 724, 747, 1348, B 235, D 272, 321, 462, 982, 1635, 1656, 1675, for *tot*, *tut*, the substitution being due to confusion of the nom. pl. and acc. sg. forms; cf. § 33.

Noël. Etymological *a* has not been altered to *o* in *Naël* A 620, 879.

§ 14. Fr. Ǫ̃.

on] un. This is the normal spelling in the Anglo-Norman MSS. The spelling *on* occurs in the following instances:—tonic, *come* B 166, 1218, *Abiron* ABC 200, *vont* B 218, 449, D 266, 489, *hom(m)e* BC 278, A 1226, 1465, *respont* B 419, *avom* D 538, 539, 541, 652, *vivom* D 763, *entredone* D 1026, *longes* corr. *lunges* A 1776 (D *loges*); pretonic, *monter* C 254, *soné* A 713, *donouent* D 941, *nonante* AD 1596. The prefix *con-*, *com-* is spelt with *o* as often as with *u*, e.g. *com(m)andas* ACD 9, *conseil* AC 105 (D *coseil*), *congié* BD 145, *coment* BD 150; this is not due to inconsistent expansion of the contraction ᵽ = *con*, which is not used in these MSS., but probably to Latin influence. For words preserving pretonic *ǫ* before *n* or *m*, see § 12.

on] en. The forms *volenti(f)s* BD 87, *volent(i)ers* BD 774, 965, 1542, *volenté* BD 1770, with atonic *en*, were widespread in OF.

on] oun:—only one doubtful instance, *corouneint* (for *corononent*) A 1294.

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§ 15. Fr. U.

u] o :—*poante* B 1110, *rosast* A 1232.

u] iu:—*sius* (< *sursum*) D 1353; cf. *iu* for *ui* (§ 33).

u] ui:—*cunuit, con-* CD 195, AD 337 (B *conuist*), 935, ABD 975, *pluis* A 841, [*muit* D 928]. Cf. *suiduit* D 310, *buisuign* D 1635, in which pretonic *ui* represents *u* < *o* (see § 6 b).

§ 16. Fr. Ü.

un] en. On *cumengement* B 347 see W. Foerster, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, xiii, p. 536, and A. Horning, *ibid.*, xv, p. 495.

un] on. No examples.

DIPHTHONGS.

§ 17. Fr. AI.

ai] ae :—*maerien* D 174.

ai] ei. Tonic:—*meis* B 17, 47, AD 370, AB 820, D 1640, *maneie* ACD 225, *paleiz, -eis* ACD 273, D 279, 281, *peist* D 375, *eir* D 499, 975, 1011, 1363, *meistre(s)* A 527, 530, D 1682, *peistre* D 528, *leisent* A 569, *furneise* D 912, *eigue* A 1001, *malveis* D 1304, *gueires* D 1331, *feire* D 1684, [*esteit* AD 1705, D 1775], *escleir* D 1764. Pretonic:—*veis(s)ele* CD 291, *meisun* BD 344, *leissat* D 509, *leisserent* D 569, 1481, *beisez* D 693, *repeirerent* D 848, *leissez* D 1475. On *traveilliez* B 829 see ch. viii, § 2, ix.

ai] a. Tonic:—*trast* corr. *traist* A 936, *istra* corr. *-ai* A 1515, *fatters* (= *faitres*) A 1682. Pretonic:—*plasir* C 130, *reparat* corr. *-airat* A 592, *basét* corr. *baisét* A 693, *passibile* (= *paisible*) A 791, *reparat* A 825, *mariem* (= *mairien*) D 1070. For instances in which the *i* is dropped before a vowel, see § 8 d.

ai] e. Tonic:—*mes* D passim (the only exceptions are *mais* 577, *meis* 370, 1640), *femes* C 132, *trestrent* A 380 (cf. § 70 b), *mestere* corr. *meistre* A 527, *egre(s)* ABD 790, BD 945, *gueres* D 1114. On *estre* ABD 664 and *lermes* ABD 896 see ch. viii, § 2, viii. Another word in which *ai* became *e* very early is *eue* B 332, *ewe* D 332, 811, 1001, 1463, BD 706, cf. *ewage* D 569. Pretonic :—*fesei*[*t*] C 43, *geole* D 1419.

§ 18. Fr. AÎ.

ain] ein. Tonic:—blocked or final, *seint(e)*, *-nz* ABCD 19, B 76, 98, BCD 131, D 351, 851, 1038, BD 722, 1315, *parrein* C 89, *parreien* D 89 (cf. § 6 f), *navein* C 90, *einz, -ns* BC 118, B 427, 469, 550, 619, BD 992, D 852, *vilein* B 163, *Brandein* B 164, [*plein* corr. *plain* A 210], [*plein* BC 210], *suvereins* AB 564, B 1682, *mein* B 581, *demein* B 967, *greindre(s)* BD 1008, D 1256, *pleintes* AB 1242, *pleindre* D 1255, *mein(s)* B 1257, 1289, 1291; free, not final, *semeine(s)* B 593, 779, 870, 1573, *tepheine* D 780, *dereine* AB 951, *primereine, prem-* AB 952, *certeinement* D 1265, *veine*

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B 1574. Pretonic:—blocked, *remeindra(t)* BC 4 (cf. § 66 a); free, *grei(g)nur(s)* AB 471, AD 1586. On the confusion of *ain* and *ein* in the rimes, see ch. viii, § 2, xiii.

ain] an :—*anz* A 550, *man* (: *Brandan*) B 660.

ain] en. Tonic:—*enz* A 427, 1008, *plentes* D 1242. *Desclem* A 532 is a corruption of *desdein*, but the scribe may have thought of *desclaim*. *En sei* B 1179 is a corruption of *ainse* (< *anxia*). Pretonic:—*ensentirent* BD 1833. Cf. Matzke, in *Publications M. L. A. America*, xxi, p. 653.

ain] in. *Parin* A 89 represents Lat. *patrinum*, and is an earlier form than *parrain*.

§ 19. Fr. EI (> *oi*).

ei] ai. Tonic:—*fai(t)* A 70, 298, 958, *umbraiet* A 501, *quai* A 1262, *vait* A 1773, *laist* (< *licet*) B 1793. Before *l*-mouillé (cf. ch. viii, § 2, ix) *aparail* D 106, *solail* D 581. Pretonic:—*fraitur* (for *refreitur*) A 699. *Travailleres* D 617, *travail(l)es* AD 829 may be influenced by *travail*.

ei] oi. No example in these MSS.

ei] e. Tonic:—*ers* D 27, *tres* A 35, 78, 188, 353, 404, 1573, AB 954, *tres* corr. *treis* A 1575, *drez* A 170, *celet* A 198, *feels* D 206, 242, 1784, *devent* C 232, *se* (< *sitim*) A 332, *müet* B 455, *füet* B 456, *mes* D 617, *sef* corr. *seif* A 654, *manet* corr. *-eit* A 730, *set* D 876, *agrees* D 1498, *nefs* (< *nives*) A 1681. In some of the following there may have been confusion of suffixes:—*rochét* BD 163, B 635, AB 1519, A 1528, *roché* D 253, *branchee* corr. *-eie* A 498, *branchee* B 498, *umed* B 803, *betumét* B 804. *Vent* C 247 represents *veent* for *veient* (cf. § 8 d). On the substitution of *-er* for *-eir* in infinitives see § 64. On *pared*, *-ét* BC 276 see ch. viii, § 2, vii. Pretonic:—*crestrat* D 3, *esi* A 12, D 1019, 1647, *pessuns* A 471, 480, 801, *conseller* A 504 (cf. ch. viii, § 2, xxii), *seelus* B 647 (cf. § 35), *refretur* corr. *-eitur* A 712, *pessuns* corr. *peissuns* A 1048, 1049, *estrai* (fut. of *eissir*) D 1515. For examples of the reduction of pretonic *ei* to *e* before a vowel, see § 8 d. On *letur* D 700 see below.

ei] ee? Although this spelling occurs in Anglo-Norman (cf. Stimming, p. 198), it is preferable to regard *tu i vees* D 423 as an instance of *tu* with a plural verb (similarly *entres* D 424); cf. Stimming, *Boeve*, note to v. 51.

ei] ie? *Rochié* D 264 for *rocheit* is due to confusion of suffixes.

ei] i. Tonic:—*Benedix* A 8, *volit* corr. *-eit* A 474, [*qui* B 914], *surpis* D 1588, *list* (< *licet*) A 1793. In 1271 the scribe of A 'corrected' *serveie* to *servie* in order to rime with *traïe* (!); perhaps for this reason he made the same 'correction' in 1550. Pretonic:—by analogy with forms in which the vowel was accented (cf. § 66 a), *issum* B 641, 836, *issud* B 690, *istrai* AB 1515, *isselites* A 1688 (cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii,

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p. 34), possibly also *litur* AB 700 (for *leitur*, on analogy of nom. sg. *litre*?); such forms are not specifically Anglo-Norman. *Issi* C 12, D 389, 595, A 439, B 1019, *isi* D 1790, was a common variant of OF *si* or *eissi*. Pretonic, before *l*-mouillé:—*aparill(i)ez* BD 830, *pavilun* D 1075; this represents a phonetic development widespread on the Continent, cf. *signur* (§ 20).

ei dropped before a vowel (after reduction of *ei* to *e*):—*gurrer* (for *guerreier*) A 69, *costant* (for *costeiant*) A 1063; cf. Stimming, p. 199.

§ 20. Fr. ẼI.

ein] ain. Tonic only:—blocked or final, *mai(g)nt* D 115, 130, *paint* (< *poenet*) A 762, *demain* D 1314, [*plain* D 1669]; free, not final, *quarantaine, -entaine* CD 133, *maine(t)* C 267, A 439, *entaimes* D 332, *laines* (for *leignes*, cf. 1147) D 1212, *demaine* AD 1308, *di(e)maine* AB 1311, A 1321, *ainés* A 1717. Cf. ch. viii, § 2, xiii.

ein] en. Only when free:—*cene* B 831, 881 (a Latinism?), *chaënes* D 869, *quinzene(s)* corr. *-eine(s)* A 901, 1313, *menet* A 1531. *Segnurs* B 472, etc., and *ensegnes* B 1806, which probably contained a diphthong in the author's pronunciation (cf. ch. viii, § 2, xxvii), may also be mentioned here. *Mendre* 1007 D is an older form than *meindre*; cf. ch. viii, § 2, xiii.

ein] in? *Signet* A 208 may be a Latinism. In *signur* D 1585, a common continental form, pretonic *e* was raised to *i* by the following *n*-mouillé.

§ 21. Fr. EU.

eu] iu:—*fiu* (< *focum*) D 466.

eu] ou:—*fou(s)* A 466, 758, 759, 939, B 1142, *fous* corr. *fus* A 1384.

eu] u:—*fu(s)* A 911, 1024, 1142, 1211, 1380, 1384, 1385, 1400, 1712.

§ 22. Fr. IE.

ie] e. This characteristic Anglo-Norman reduction was gaining ground rapidly in the thirteenth century. In A (the latest MS.) the regular spelling is *e*; the only exceptions, nearly all monosyllables, are *tierz* 201, *melz* corr. *mielz* 476, *miels* 821, *legiers* 1337, *chier* 1454, *lied* 1825, and a few similar instances in which *ie* is followed by a nasal consonant (cf. § 23). In B (the earliest MS.), on the contrary, *ie* is usually preserved, the exceptions being *deinted* 704, *ovrer* 749, *baigned* 829, *chaudere* 837, *rechargerent* 848, *chers* 966, *chet* 1161, *mels* 1175, *apresmer* 1258, *fieches* 1381, *er* 1433, *targét* 1659. In C *ie* is the usual spelling, but we find *entaillét* 276, *manjerent* 303, *erberger* 307. In D the spellings *ie* and *e* occur with almost equal frequency, and a list of exceptions would be excessively voluminous. On *eschiele, teniebres*, and *criendrez* see §§ 5, 4, and 66 a respectively. On the forms of the archaic imperfect and future of *estre* (*ert, iert*, &c.) see §§ 68 and 69. For instances of the reduction of *ie* to *e* when immediately preceded by a vowel, see § 8 d.

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ie] i :—*espix* A 944, *firent* A 1233. *Cirge* ABD 326 is a correct OF form.

ie] ee. No examples.

ie] ei :—*meilz* A 105, *musteir* C 191, *nageir* C 249, *ceil* A 522, *cheit* A 1161. Cf. the similar spellings for *ę* (§§ 3, 4), and for *ie* before *n* (§ 23). In *veil(l)ard*, *-rt* ABD 656 the pretonic *e* was originally undiphthongized in OF. *Rocheit* AC 264, &c., contains the suffix *-ētum*, and is not a spelling for *rochiélt*.

ie] eo :—*cheot* A 1160.

§ 23. Fr. IẼ.

ien] en. Simplification of nasal *ie* is much less frequent than that of oral *ie* :—blocked or final, *ben* A 23, *mairen* AC 174, *avent* B 241, *vent* C 248, A 890, 1173, 1425, 1459, *ren* corr. *rien* A 277, 487, 658, *ren* C 286, *vengent* A 619, 1724, AD 666, *men* A 751, 1386, *venget* A 1080, *revenc* A 1405, *revent* A 1411, *vens* A 1444; free, not final, *venent* A 485, 1473, 1513, 1618, D 633, *crement* A 626, 653, 914, 1090, AD 1009, *prement* A 654, *tenent* A 808. Yet even A, which has provided most of the examples, commonly employs the forms *bien* and *rien*, as well as *vient* 248, 405, 821.

ien] in? The substitution of *vint* for *vient* CD 211, D 405, 659, 986, B 1722, *avint* C 241, may be merely a change of tense.

ien] ein :—*bein* A 34, *veint* A 211, 907, *mairein* A 1070, *veingent* A 1615, *teingent* A 1616, *? crei[n]t* A 1714; also *veient* (< *vĕnit*) A 743, B 659, &c., with inorganic *e* added (cf. § 6 f).

§ 24. Fr. IEU.

The standard French spelling occurs only in *lieu(s)* D 35, 63, *fieu* B 270.

ieu] iu :—*liu(s)* A 91, 431, 518, 773, 1327, 1329, 1444, 1521, B 35, et passim, C 160, 263, D 88, et passim, *fiu* D 270, *ciu* B 1398, *ciut* (< *caecum*) D 1398. Cf. ch. viii, § 2, xix. On *leiu* A 368 see § 6 f, and on *fiu* < *focum* see § 21.

ieu] iuu, iw :—*liwes* B 465, *liuues* D 465 (A *luiues*); cf. § 44.

ieu] eu :—*leu(s)* A 35, 160, 263, 269, &c., *feu* A 270, *ceu* A 1398.

ieu] u :—*lu* A 63, 703, 1188, *lu* corr. *leu* A 160, *uidus* (= *Judus*) A 1291. On *fu* < *focum* see § 21.

ieu] ui :—*lui* A 86, D 160, [545], [B 716], *fuis* A 1330. These may be mere scribal errors (cf. *luiues* A 465, *uidus* A 1291, *enniuout* A 1585). Or *ui* may be an inverted spelling for *u*; cf. § 15, and Stimming, p. 204. See also Vising, *Le Purgatoire de St. Patrice*, note to v. 385.

§ 25. Fr. IU.

iu] ieu :—*pieus* D 36.

iu] ui :—*pui* A 1606, perhaps also *sui* (< **sequo*) A 1605.

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§ 26. Fr. QI.

oi] ui:—*ruiste* 'steep' D 1514; probably through confusion with *ruiste* < *rusticum*.

oi] i, e. *Aprismer, -mo(u)t, -mouent* AD 921, D 1258, 1259, 1469, 1661, *apre(s)mer, -mo(u)t* B 921, AB 1258, 1259, 1469, *aprisment* AD 1650, A 1661, *apresment* B 1650, 1661, are recognized forms of OF *aproismier, apruisment*, etc. in which the labial semi-consonant of *oi* (*we*) or *ui* (*üi*) has fallen after the group *pr*; cf. Tobler-Lommatzsch, *Altfranz. Wörterbuch*.

oi] o:—*chosserent* A 465, *roe* D 1270 (cf. § 29), *o* (< *habui*) D 1303, *po* A 1331 (cf. § 29).

oi] u? In *annuus* A 976 (Fr. *enoious*) analogical *ui* was substituted for *oi*, and the *i* dropped before a vowel (cf. § 8 d).

oi] iu? On *enniuout* (for *ennuiout*) A 1585 see §§ 33 and 66 a.

§ 27. Fr. QI.

In tonic position the normal spelling is *oi*, but examples are few:—*voiz* B 511, ABD 1041, 1487, *croiz* BD 677, 1123, 1299.

oi] ui. Tonic:—[*conuist* B 337]. Pretonic:—*tuisun* AB 388 (D *toisun*), *anguisus* ABD 1430 (B *angoissus*). *Fuisun* AB 387 may also belong here (cf. D *foisun*), but OF possessed a form *fuison* (< *fūsionem*).

oi] o:—*voces* corr. *voices* A 559.

oi] u. Tonic:—*crus* A 677, 1123, 1299. Pretonic:—*? fusun* A 1746 (see above).

§ 28. Fr. ŌI.

oin] uin. In ACD this is the normal spelling for words of popular origin, e. g. A *lui(g)n, luinz* 165, 242, 1113, &c., *busuinz* 241, &c., *luigneit* 456, *puint* 983, 1585, *caruine* 1110, *poin* corr. *puin* 1139, *puig* (for *puint*) 1408; C *luinz* 165, 242, 256, *gruinz* 166 (cf. *gruig* 167), *besuinz* 241; D *puint* 215, et passim, *besuign* 241, *luign* 242, &c., *puign* 1139 (but *loign* 165, 382, *groign* 166–7, *caroigne* 1110). In B, on the other hand, *oin* is normal, the only exceptions being *grain* 167, *luin* 855, *puin* 1139. For words of learned origin (Lat. *-ŏnium, -ŏnicum*) the more usual spelling is *oin*:—*moine* AD 29, BCD 107, &c., *sardoine* AD 1085, 1692 (B *-onie*), *calcedoine* AD 1086, 1691 (B *-onie*); but *uin* occurs in *muine* B 29, 36, 78, A 815, 1082, 1095, AB 1495, (cf. *munie* C 29, A 36, 107), *suduines, sed-* AB 816.

oin] on:—*pont* corr. *punt* A 331.

oin] un:—*punt* A 331, *sudunes* corr. *-uines* A 816.

§ 29. Fr. QU.

ou] eu:—*eurent* D 860, 1200; the *eu* probably represents *u*, cf. 70 c.

ou] oi:—*oit* [D 100], C 278. *Poi* (< *paucum*) ABD passim, and *roie* (< *rauca*) AB 1270, corresponding to OF *pou* and *roue* respectively, were dialectal forms widespread on the Continent.

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ou] uu :—*uus* (< *habuisti*) A 1604; the word is monosyllabic, cf. ch. viii, § 3, xl.

ou] o :—*ot* B 75, 76, 104, 124, 316, 319, 437, 950, D 621, 1256, 1684, *orent* C 240, *plot* D 303, 1506, *veillot* BD 313, *pot* B 382, ? 608, *resemblot* D 408, *muntot* B 496, D 1073, *revisetot* D 594, *aloënt* BD 667, B 1135, *apresmot* B 921, *aprismot* D 921, 1259, *enchaçot* B 1019, *chantot* D 1041, *mot* AB 1259, *commot* A 1260, *cumot* B 1260, *celoe* B 1281, *curunoënt* B 1294, *sot* D 1505, *portot* D 1578. *Po* A 1331 is a reduction of *poi*, not of *pou*; cf. § 26.

ou] u. In verb-forms only, probably as the result of analogy; cf. § 70.

§ 30. Fr. QU.

(a) From V. Lat. ϱ + atonic ϱ.

ou] eu :—*deus* B 590, *leus* (< *lupos*) B 1288.

ou] oi :—*andois* (= *ansdous*) B 204.

ou] u :—*lus* AD 1288.

(b) From V. Lat. tonic free ϱ.

ou] eo :—*plueos* B 975; cf. § 8 d.

ou] oe :—*ennuoes* D 976; cf. § 8 d.

ou] oi :—*demoir* A 1354.

ou] u. This is the usual spelling, e. g. *amur* ABCD 70, *flur* ABCD 96, *orguillus*, *orgeillus* ABD 524, *purcusent*, *par-* ABD 599, *ure* ABD 714, *süe* ABD 1214, AD 1234.

ou] o :—*odor* C 95, *meillors* C 108, *ore* D 308, *tenebros* D 1126, 1398, *soë* B 1234, *menor* D 1240, *roë* B 1360 (A *ro*).

§ 31. Fr. UE.

On the numerous forms assumed by this diphthong (early reduced to a simple vowel in Anglo-Norman) see Suchier, *Voyelles toniques*, § 28, and Stimming, pp. 206 ff.

The French spelling *ue* is frequent in BCD, e. g. *iluec* BCD 126, *ilueches* D 1161; *crues* BD 637, *bues* D 1150; *puet* D 15, C 17, B 180, (*e*)*stuet* CD 16, *rueve* B 358, *truevent* C 261. It does not occur in A.

ue] uei :—*pueit* (: *astuet*) C 180; perhaps a mere slip, but cf. *-eit* for *-et* (§ 65).

ue] oe. Frequent in all the MSS., e. g. *iloec* A 126, B 833, C 182, *iloeces* A 1423, *aloeces*, *-ekes* AC 173 (D *haloecs*); *coer* B 142, *croes* C 257, *boef* B 599, *boes* B 1150, *oes* (< *opus*) BD 638; *poet* C 245, A 1638, 1789, *troeve* B 960, *troevent* B 261 (et passim), *roevent* B 1112; *oec* AD 631, A 1467. For *ovoec*, see below.

ue] eo :—*ileoc* A 53, 66, 404, 778, 823, 833; *creos* A 257; *peot* A 15, 17, *steot* A 16. Cf. *aveoc*, *o*(*d*)*veoc* below.

ue] oi :—*voilt* C 148, *poit* A 1392, *poient* A 983, 1788, D 1789. Whether the *oi* in these forms is a substitute for *ue*, *oe* (as on the Continent, where both were pronounced *we*), or an inverted spelling for *o* (cf. § 26),

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is difficult to decide. Stimming's explanation (p. 208) that the *oi* replaces *ei*, representing the sound *ę*, is inadmissible, as our MSS. nowhere use *oi* for *ei*. *Poient* could be *poënt* with inorganic *i* (cf. § 8 e).

ue + l-mouillé] **oil** (the *o* forming a diphthong with *i* from depalatalized *l*-mouillé) :—*voil(l)e(t)* ABC 17, *doil(l)e* AB 18, *escoil* D 68, *voil* ABCD 118, *foilles* BD 493, *oilz* AB 407, D 408, BD 1142, 1202, *orgoil* B 540.

ue + l-mouillé] **uil** :—*duillet* C 18, *fuiles* A 493, *orguil* ABD 67, AD 540, *orguillus* AD 524, *escuil* AB 68, *uilz* A 1142, 1202, *cuil(l)ir* ABD 1302, *cuil(l)it* AD 1551. Cf. ch. viii, § 2, xxxvii.

ue] **e** :—*velt* B 148, 155, 325 ; the *u* is absorbed by the preceding labial, as in Fr. *veut*.

ue] **o**. This spelling does not occur in C, but is common in ABD :—*iloc* B 53, et passim, A 413, *iloches*, *-okes* B 173, 1161, &c., *iloces* A 1369, 1373; *filiol* A 84, *fil(l)ol* BD 84, *josdi* D 393, 824, 1617, *bof(s)* D 599, A 1150, *cros* A 637, *os* (< *opus*) A 638; *moz* (< *moves*) A 1247, AB 1328, *pot* B 15, 17, A 1720, *estot* B 16, A 1637, *mot* A 1021, A 1762, *commot* corr. *-out* A 1051, *mort* A 422, *volt* AD 325, *rovet* A 358 (D *rovez*), *trovet* AD 960, *movet* A 1516, *volent* D 293, *trovent* AD 294, 799, &c., B 251, *rovent* A 1112, *movent* AD 1627 ; *oc* AB 979, 1282, B 631, 990, 1467. In some of the verb-forms quoted the *o* may be due to the analogy of the flexion-accented forms; cf. § 66 b. For *avoc*, *ovoc* see below.

ue] **ou** :—*pout* A 245, *estout* A 246, 589, 1052, 1116, *commout* A 1051, *doul* A 1274.

ue] **u** :—*iluches* D 1373; *jusdi* B 393 (A *judis*), AB 824, 1395, A 1617, *buf* A 599, *puple* D 1824; *suffres* A 1262, *vult* D 17, *estut* B 326, *suffret* A 1432, *muvet* D 1516, *truvent* AC 251, A 261, 632, 637. In verb-forms like *suffres* and *truvent* the *u* may have been taken from the flexion-accented forms. The tendency to reduce *ue* to *u* may perhaps explain the corruptions *gurrer* for *guerreier* A 69, *gurre* A 1048, 1730, *li urs* for *l'ivers* B 421, *aurer* for *averer* D 958.

avuec] *ovuec* B 1409, *ovoec* D 65, 181, A 644, 1353, 1639, AD 1409, 1736, *odvoec* D 644, *aveoc* C 181, *oveoc* A 65, D 1353, 1639, *odveoc* A 181, *avoc* B 65, 181, 644, *ovoc* B 1353, 1736. On the *o(d)*- forms see § 1.

§ 32. Fr. UE.

The French spelling *uen* does not occur in A, but is frequent in BCD :—*tuens* CD 12, *suen* CD 105, BCD 109, BC 116, &c., *huem* D 40, et passim, C 126, B 957, *buen* D 62, et passim (not in BC).

uen] **oen** :—[*b*]*oen* C 62, *soen(s)* A 105, 109, 283, *hoem* A 126, 243, 1177, B 1521, *oem* C 243.

uen] **eon** :—*teons* A 12, *seon(s)* A 116, 144.

uen] **on** :—*son* A 752. Other possible examples will be found in § 12.

uen] **un** :—*sun* A 999. On (*h*)*um* ABD 964 see § 12.

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§ 33. Fr. UI.

ui] uei :—*queivre* (: *beivre*) B 1416 ; see ch. viii, § 2, xxxvi.

ui] oi :—*pois* B 91, et passim, *noit* B 137, et passim, *anoit* B 425, &c., *oi* A 393, *doit*, *-z* B 489, 753, BD 491, 638, 801, *oit* B 607, 738, *oitaves* B 588, 780, 866, *oit(t)ante* B 721, D 738, *oitme* B 769, *cundoit* B 927, *pois* B 1124. This spelling is thus chiefly characteristic of B.

ui] oe :—*oet* D 584, 607, 617, 870 ; on analogy of *set* ?

ui] ei ? :—[*deiz* D 753].

ui] iu :—*enniuout* A 1585 (*ui* for *oi*, cf. § 66 a) ; perhaps a mere slip, cf. § 24.

ui] u. Tonic :—*pus* corr. *puis* A 32, ? *muret* D 61, *cundus* A 378, *pusset* corr. *puisset* A 602, *pusset* A 618 (cf. note), *lu* corr. *lui* A 660, 1261, *utme* D 769, *pus* A 1124, *su* corr. *sui* A 1277, 1397, *fu* D 1296, *fu* corr. *fui* A 1378, *su* A 1395. On *tut* nom. pl. AB 596, D 683, 689, 700, 1042, 1092, 1734, B 1201, AD 1754, *tut* corr. *tuit* A 643, *trestut* D 309, 441, 709, see § 13. On *rustes* A 41 see ch. viii, § 2, xlvi, and on *cundüent* A 639 see ch. viii, § 3, xxiii. Pretonic :—*utaves* D 588, 780, 866, *fusun* A 1746 (cf. § 27). For examples in which the *i* of *ui* is dropped before a vowel, see § 8 d. *Plusur(s)* ABD 81, et passim, was a common OF form of *pluisour*.

ui] eu. *Leu* (= *lui*) A 716, 727, 782 probably contains inorganic *e* ; cf. § 6 f.

Consonants.

§ 34. Fr. L.

(a) Intervocalic.

l] r :—*apostorie* (: *glorie*) A 1038 ; a recognized OF form (cf. ch. viii, § 2, lxvii).

l] ll :—*apostoille(s)* B 8, 1038, *ceille* B 198, *c(h)andeille* BD 324.

al] ll. See § 48 b.

(b) Before a consonant.

In this position *l* was apparently preserved by the author (cf. ch. viii, § 2, lxiv), and in a great many instances it remains intact in the MSS. ; but numerous spellings indicate its vocalization or disappearance.

A. **al] au** :—*chaus* D 756, *chaudere* B 837, *faut* D 905, *auques* D 1460, *vaut* D 1461.

al] a :—*comunament* A 113, *vassament* C 114, *açur* A 279 (B *azur*), *Abeu* A 619.

Inorganic **l** :—*alval* A 172, *altre* D 720, *lalmes* D 1128.

Ę. **el] eal** :—*cummunealment* D 1824.

el] e :—*ques* D 66, *que part* A 612, *queque* B 980, 996, *que liu* A 1327 (but cf. para. c below).

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Ę. **el] eal**:—*beal(s)* A 82, 443, 1043, 1541, 1560, 1634, 1737, 1740, *guasteals* D 410, *oiseals* D 501, 506, 510, 546, 579, 852, A 856, AD 872, 1629, *nuveals* AD 830, *tuneals* D 1002, *juvenceals* AD 1735, A 1811. Cf. *de awe* = *d'eawe* (?) D 1595. The presence of glide *a* in these words indicates vocalization of the *l*.

el] al:—*oisals* A 580, *oisals* corr. *-eals* A 872.

el] eu:—*guasteus* A 410, *oiseus* A 501, 506, 510, 546, 852, *beus* A 502.

Inorganic **l**:—*relvelat* A 525; perhaps due to assimilation, or a mere slip.

Ę. **el] eu**:—*eus* B 68, 70.

el] eal:—*iceals* A 28, 711, 1143, *ceals* A 1292, 1338, *eals* A 151, et passim, C 110, 122, 151, 254, D 1736. Cf. ch. viii, § 2, xvi.

el] eol:—*iceols* A 123, *eols* A 68, 70, 110, 122.

el] eo:—*iceos* C 123.

el] ou?:—[*ous* D 579].

I. il] i. Cf. para. c below. On *fiz* for *filz* see § 35.

Ǫ (blocked). **ol] ou**:—*avoust* D 176, *voustrent* B 293, *tout* D 500, *cous* (< *colaphus*) D 512, B 941, *jous* AB 1129. Cf. *vult* : *pout* D 179.

ol] eu?:—[*feus* D 1129, 1384].

ol] o:—[*sot* B 767]. *Cops* corr. *colps* A 941, *cops* B 512, D 941, BD 1025 is due to contamination with *coper* < **cuppare*.

Ǫ. **ol] ou**:—*douz* A 395, [*dous* D 1298].

ol] o:—*cope* (< *culpa*) D 1060.

ol] u:—*dux* CD 146, D 1826, *duce* D 559, 706, *ducement* D 1727, *duzur* D 1758, *suf(f)re* AD 1213.

Inorganic *l*:—*sultil* D 1077.

ll (from *t, d* + *l*) **] ill**:—*suillent* (< **sudolentum*) D 1351, *puillent* (< *putulentum*) D 1352. This spelling appears to represent *l*-mouillé; if so, we have here an interesting parallel to the development *retina* > *reðne* (written *redne*; cf. *bodne* 1520) > *resne* or *reigne* (cf. Walberg, *Bestiaire*, p. lxv; Stimming, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, xxxv, p. 96). The stages *puðlent* and *puslent* were indicated by Stimming (*ibid.*, p. 95); *puillent* completes the series. Cf. the development of *sl* (through *ðl* or *hl*?) to *l*-mouillé (§ 48 b).

(c) Final.

l dropped:—[*si* (for *cil*) A 17], *ço qui volt* corr. *ço qui il v.* A 345, *e* (< *aliud*) A 907, *ci* corr. *cil* A 1470; before initial *l*, *a liois* B 262, *e liois* C 262, *que liu* A 1327. *Qui* may possibly represent *qu'il* in A 505, D 520, 614, 1732; but cf. § 63.

l added:—[*chil* (for *qui*) A 889].

(d) Sporadic changes.

l added after a consonant:—*tenercles* (< *tenebricus*) D 1653.

Metathesis. The examples are all of doubtful value:—*capitel* A 125 (cf. § 6 d), *angel* AC 140 (cf. § 6 d), *glas* (for *gals*) B 577, *salüent* (for *saülent*) A 704.

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Assimilation :—perhaps in *alval* A 172, *relvelat* A 525, *sultil* D 1077, all mentioned in para. b above. *Charlnelment* D 1801 is probably a scribal error.

l] r. *Bref* B 264 for *blef* is probably a corruption.

§ 35. Fr. L-mouillé.

The normal spellings for *l*-mouillé in these MSS. are *ill* in intervocalic position, and *il* when final or before a consonant, e.g. *voille(t)* BC 17, *cunseil(s)* ABD 41, *conseils* C 41, *meillurs, -ors* BCD 108, *merveilles* ABD 475, *travailz* AB 1177, *buil* AB 1377. A preceding *i* absorbs the *i* of *ill* or *il*, e.g. *fillol* B 84, *peril* ABCD 258. On the change of pronunciation in Anglo-Norman, see ch. viii, § 2, lxiii.

ill] il. The scribes, especially of A, tended to use the spelling *il* even in intervocalic position (a natural consequence of depalatalization) :—*voile* A 17, *doile* A 18, *ailur(s)* A 88, 748, 1115, 1207, *meilurs* A 108, *vitaile* A 237, *defaile* AB 238, *entailét* A 276, *veilout* A 313, *faile* A 367, *sailent* A 386, 969, 1062, *oeile* A 420, *bailis, -iz* AD 452, *muilent, moi-* AB 462, *fuiles* A 493, *cunseilier* B 504, *veilard* A 656, *verseilant* A 708, 709, *failent* AB 789, A 1500, *travailez* A 829, *apareilez* A 830, *bataile* A 949, 1023, *cuntresailiz* A 977, *failiz* A 978, *failet* A 998, AD 1526, *paveiluns* AB 1075, *tenailes* A 1149, *esturbeiluns* A 1153, *cuilir* A 1302, *cuilit* A 1551, *antaile* A 1683, *travaile* A 1684.

ll] l :—*filol* D 84, *pavilun* D 1075 (cf. § 19). In *seelus* (< *siticulosi*) B 647 the diphthong *ei* has been reduced to *e* (§ 19 ; cf. *conseller* A 504).

ll] li :—*filiol* A 84.

il (+consonant)] l :—*travalz, -ls* A 250, AB 589, D 1177, *vielz* B 827, *viel* D 827.

l-mouillé dropped between *i* and a consonant :—*fiz* B 116, D 394, BD 893.

§ 36. Fr. R.

(a) Before a consonant.

r dropped :—*sevise* A 443. The form *mecre(s)di* AB 1375 is due to dissimilation ; cf. D *merquedis*. The scribe of A frequently omitted *r* in this position, but inserted it afterwards above the line :—*la(r)cein* 336, *se(r)vimes* 533, *fe(r)ment* 869, *ce(r)ne* 873, *le(r)mes* 896, *tu(r)mente* 905, *se(r)penz* 909, *gue(r)pit* 936, *se(r)vir* 1100, *go(r)ge* 1145, *enfe(r)n* 1357 ; in other positions he did the same, but less frequently :—*ent(r)et* 92, *t(r)uvent* 632, *f(r)as* 1044, *entre(r)* 1713 (cf. *entre* 1710), *(r)useit* 1758.

r added :—*alerger* corr. *aleger* A 1357. *Surjurner* for (*suj-*) D 162, 584, 1630, BD 327, 771, B 880, is probably due to a change of prefix. The second *r* in *detriers* (< *de trans*) A 1236, 1238 (BD *detries*) is due to contamination with *riere* (< *retro*).

Metathesis of vowel +r :—*grandins* (for *gardins*) A 1739. On *festeire* D 844 see § 64.

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(b) After a consonant.

r added :—*Brandrans* C 203 (cf. note to v. 13), *? beitrer* AC 233 (cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxi, p. 401), *trestes* D 677, *drestresce* corr. *des-* B 1190, *offrendre* D 1279.

Metathesis of **r** + vowel :—[*esscirent* (for *escrient*) A 453], [*cres* (for *clers*) A 755], *fatters* (for *faitres*) A 1682 (but cf. § 6 d). *Chernel, ker-* ABD 1677 is a recognized OF variant of *crenel.* The metathesis is frequent, but not constant, in certain forms of *prendre* :—*pernanz* AC 37, *pernez* B 37, CD 296, ABD 399, 459, 997, *pernent* D 307, 440, 598, 610, 631, 663, 802, 807, 1166; except for these instances, *pren-* forms are employed.

(c) *r* and *rr.*

Cf. ch. viii, § 2, lxvi.

rr] **r** :—*tere* D 3, et passim, *guereer, -ier* BD 69, *quere* D 84, &c., B 1094, *sere* D 498, *derain(e), -eine* ABD 951, D 967, *oribles* D 1337, 1350, *guere* D 1730; futures, *durat* A 362, *muras* A 778, *demurai* AD 867, *merai* B 1792.

r] **rr** :—*Barrins* B 75, *orrez* A 94, 211, 1260, *murrir* A 340, *enterrin(es)* B 443, 814, D 686, *marrin* D 858, *averrer* corr. *-erer* A 958, *averrer* B 958, *surrist* AB 1053, *serril* B 1310; futures, *dirra* D 14, *irrat* D 141, *irrez* D 431, 772, *serrunt* D 620, *irras* D 1601. In *currurent* C 219, *trescurrud* B 438, *currant* B 647, *curreit* B 811, *currum* B 1222, the *rr*, though not usual, can be justified etymologically.

When the source is *r* preceded by a dental consonant, the spelling varies. After the accent *r* is usual, the only exceptions being *frerre* A 85, *pierre* D 1231. Before the accent we find either *r* :—*parin* A 89, *parain* B 89, *larecin* AD 319, *Perun* D 1035, *quarel(s)* AD 1155, *repair(i)er* passim; or *rr* :—*parrei(e)n* CD 89, *larrecin* B 319, 1278, *errer* passim, *erout* corr. *err-* A 322, *Perrun(t)* AB 1035, 1038, *quarrels* B 1155. Futures normally have *rr*, e.g. *verrez* ABD 340, *crerrez* ABD 476–7, *succurrai* AB 868; but *sucurai* D 868.

§ 37. Fr. M.

m] **n** before *p* :—*enpris* ABCD 9, *ensanp[le]* C 37, *anple* C 38, *enprent* ABCD 106, &c., *enpr(e)ist* ABC 114, *enprenge* D 114, *conpaignuns* D 644, 1525, *enpeintes* D 1241, *enposte* ABD 1614.

mm often corresponds to Lat. *mm*, e.g. *commandas* C 9, *gemmes* ABCD 275, *flammes* AD 1025, *cummunealment* D 1824; but *m* is also used in such words, e.g. *comuna(l)ment, cum-* ABC 113, *cumandent* ABD 574, *cumuet* B 1051, *cumot* B 1260, *flame(s)* B 1132, 1148, 1164. When the source is *mn*, we find usually *m*; but *lammes* A 1128, 1131, 1212, *homme* A 1226.

mn. Note the preservation of this group in *sumnes* A 811. *Dam(p)nedeu* (cf. § 40) ABD 458 is of course a latinism.

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Final **m] n** :—*nun* ABD 75, BD 545, B 1523, AD 1524, AB 1726, [*sun* AB 556, A 886], *eisun* (: *peisun*) D 836, *cun* A 1135, *en* (< *homo*) D 1279. Probably on analogy of the 1 pl. ending *-un*, it appears also in *-uns*, cf. § 65.

Inorganic **m** :—*umbli* A 820.

On *bodme* (< **botina*) A 1520 see the note.

§ 38. Fr. N.

(a) Intervocalic.

n] gn, ngn, ign :—*semaigne* D 134, 593. *Aseigner* D 474 for *asener* is probably due to confusion with *enseigner*. On *pre(n)gnent* A 307, &c., see § 66 c.

n] ng. On *prengent* A 631 see § 66 c.

n] nn. *Ennuier* and its derivatives have *nn*, except in *anuit* A 1393, *enuit* D 1393. *Prennent* has *nn* in ABC, except when metathesis of *re* takes place (cf. § 36 b), similarly *prennez* B 296; whereas D wrote *preneient* 37, *prenent* 68. The *n* is not doubled in other words, except *meinnet* C 212.

sn] in. See § 48 b.

(b) Before a consonant.

n] m :—before *f*, *cumfés* B 74, *cumfort* A 562, *emfle* B 1429. *En* (prep. and pron.) becomes *em*, *am* before *p* in A 802, 809, 876, 1112. Note the etymological spelling *temptez* AB 201 (cf. § 40).

n] gn :—*maignt* D 130, *peignt* D 762.

n] l. *Alme* D 1566 for *a(n)me* was a widespread continental form.

n dropped :—*Bradan* B 36, *coseil* D 105, *aceis* A 563, *masise* D 774, *efers* corr. *enf.* A 1211, *lusdi* AB 1476, *cumpaignus* A 1525, *purplatez* D 1707, *loges* D 1776. Probably many of these spellings are to be regarded as mere scribal errors.

Inorganic **n** :—[*sen seignent* (for *se feignent*) A 215], *venduns* A 746, *renpentance* A 1303, [*encroenz* A 1361], *meins* D 1630, 1819, *grandins* A 1739. On *tensor* A 1760 see ch. viii, § 4, v.

(c) Final.

n] m :—*bovim* C 176, *mariem* D 1070, *chalim* D 1108, 1650, 1663, 1671, *matim* corr. *-in* A 1476; also *dum* for *dun(t)* in A, cf. § 45 b.

rn] r :—*jur* D 137 (: *tristur*), 306, et passim, B 557, 814, *sujur* D 877, 1312, *entur* D 1063, 1075, 1654, *tur* D 1092, *iver* D 1246. Cf. ch. viii, § 2, lxx.

rn] rt :—*tort* (: *sujur*) D 878, cf. § 45 b; perhaps to be regarded as a corruption.

rn] rm? In 1362 D's reading *tormi tant* is an error for *torni tant* (not *torn itant*).

n] nt. See § 45 b.

no] gn, ign :—*loign* D 787, *lugn* D 1163, 1545.

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n dropped :—*e* (= *en* prep.) C 39, D 961, *que* (= *qu'en*, Lat. *inde*) A 352, 817, *du* (= *dunt*) C 174, *la* (= *l'an*) A 860; cf. the note to v. 18.

§ 39. Fr. N-mouillé.

The French spelling *ign* is common in these MSS. in both intervocalic and final position, and predominates in the former, e.g. *seignurs* ABCD 127, *baigned*, *-ez* BD 829; *gruign* A 166, *groign* D 166, *desdeign* A 236, *besuign* D 241. A preceding *i* absorbs the *i* of *ign*, e.g. *lign* D 21, 44. On the change of pronunciation in Anglo-Norman see ch. viii, § 2, lxviii.

ign] in. This spelling is frequent in ABD, probably in consequence of depalatalization. Intervocalic :—*greinurs*, *grai-* B 418, ABD 471, D 1586, *cumpaine* AB 594, *cumpainun(s)* B 644, 1499, 1525, *cumpainie* AB 696, 894, *luinet* A 786, *esloinent* B 786, *bained* A 829, *feinent* BD 1103, *leine* (< *ligna*) D 1147, 1163, *laines* D 1212, *ainel* B 1288, *greine* A 1487, *groine* B 1487, *muntaine* AB 1704. Final :—*groin* B 166, *gruin* B 167, *desdein* B 236, *ensein* B 596, *puin* AB 1139; for *luin* &c., see below. *Respoinent* C 113 probably contains analogical *n*-mouillé (cf. § 66 c). On *almoine* A 1455 see § 48 b.

ign] gn. In *segnur(s)* B 472, 526, 692, 923, 964, and *ensegnes* B 1806 the diphthong *ei* has been reduced to *e*; cf. § 20. *Regne* ABD 536 is a Latin loan-word, and the spelling *agnel* A 1288 (DE *aignel*) is probably influenced by Latin. On *pregnent* A 307, 1166, see § 66 c.

ign] ingn :—*enseingnad* C 140.

ign] ngn. On *prengnent* A 598, 610, see § 66 c.

ign] inn :—*feinnent* B 215.

ign] ig :—*gruig* C 167, *desdeig* C 236, *seig* (= *enseign*) A 596. Cf. *puig* A 1408 for *puint*.

gn] n :—intervocalic, ? *enginees* D 678; final, *lin* ABC 21, 44.

loign] *loign* D 165, 382, *luign* D 242, &c., A 1113, 1174, 1332, 1702, *loin* B 165, &c., *luin* A 165, 256, 382, 500, AB 855, *loinz* B 242, *luinz* C 165, 256, AC 242, A 1636.

Before a consonant *n*-mouillé is resolved into *in*, as in continental French. In *enseignt* D 129 the *n*-mouillé has been restored in spelling.

§ 40. Fr. P.

Glide **p** inserted between *m* and *n* in the borrowed words *Dampnedeu* D 458 and *dampné(t)*, *-ed*, *-ez* ABD 1172, 1182, 1306. In *temptez* AB 201 the *p* is etymological.

p] pp :—*eschippee* B 252, *apparut* A 726, 1107, *grippun* B 1022, *apprendras* B 1799.

On the reintroduction of *p* before flexional *s* in substantives, see § 58.

On *grips*, *gripun* see § 42.

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§ 41. Fr. B.

b dropped after *m* in *amedous* A 1344, a continental form also.
Glide **b** introduced in *humblement* D 661, BD 1730, a continental form.
b] **bb** :—*abbé* D 667.
Etymological **b** :—*subtil* B 1077.

§ 42. Fr. F.

f] **ph** :—etymological, *saphire* AB 1071, *sulphre* B 1213, *Thephanie* (see Glossary). Cf. *griphon* E 1011, 1022.
Grifs B 1011 and *grips* AD 1011, ABD 1027, 1029, *grip(p)un* ABD 1022, are parallel derivatives of *grypho*, showing different treatment of the *ph*.
f] **ff** :—*naffrerent* B 943 (cf. § 43), *sufflanz*, *-nts* AB 1129, 1384, *suffre* D 1213, *offrande*, *-end(r)e* ABD 1279, *offri* ABD 1301, *suffraite* ABD 1768. In the forms of *suffrir* the doubling of the consonant is usual, the exceptions being *sufert* D 590, *sofrent* D 902, *suefres* D 1262, *suefre* B 1432, *sufrer* D 1788.
On the reintroduction of *f* before flexional *s*, see § 58. *Seif* (< *sitim*) A 654, 1178 has analogical *f* (elsewhere *se* A 332, *sei* A 1608, BD passim, *seid* A 790, 807, *seit* A 1768).

§ 43. Fr. V.

v] **f** :—*fol* D 873, *naf(f)rerent* ABD 943, *funt* D 969.
v dropped :—*quire* A 1416 (for *quivre*, in order to obtain a rime with *bevire* for *beivre*; but cf. Stimming, p. 219).

§ 44. Fr. consonantal U.

u] **uu** :—intervocalic, *liuues* D 465 (A *luiues*), *eschiuuent* D 486, *siuuerent* D 627, *eschiuuerent* D 1176; before a consonant, *niuule* D 1614; after *g*, *guuardee* A 839. Cf. *uuerec* A 1577. The pronunciation of intervocalic *u* (*uu*) as *v* is, however, guaranteed by the rimes in vv. 486 and 1514; cf. ch. viii, § 2, lxxii.
u] **w** :—*ewe* D 332, 811, 1001, 1463, BD 706, *awe* D 1595, 1607 (but *eue* B 332), *liwes* B 465, *ewage* D 569. Cf. *werec* D 1577.
u] **gu** :—*aigue* A 332, 706, 1607, B 1001, AB 1463, 1595, *eigue* A 1001; a widespread French dialectal form. Cf. *aigage* below.
u dropped after *c* (*q*) and *g* :—*ki* BD 6, ABC 24, &c., *chi* A 861, &c., *ke* D 9, *qunt* = *qu'unt* A 1004, 1065, 1181, *kar* BD 46, &c., *car* B 97, &c., *char* D 1253, *cachez* (< *coacticatos*) A 1120, *unches* ABD 502, &c., *un(c)kes* B 1256, ABD 1574, *alkes* B 1460; *esgardent* B 279, *gastels* B 410, *orgeillus* B 524, *aigage* B 569, *gardé*, *-ez* D 839, 925, *garnirent* B 1000, *garanz* corr. *gua-* A 1058, *gaires* B 1114, 1331, *garunt* B 1494. For the various spellings of the palatal consonants, see § 50.

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§ 45. Fr. T.

(a) Internal.

t] th:—*orthie* A 1746.

t] tt:—*lettre* D 10, 11, *vitte* A 76, *oittante* D 738, *attendisse* A 1554, *fatters* (= *faitres*) A 1682; *gettes*, *je-* AD 344, *jettet* D 1211, 1236, *gettent*, *je-* ABD 96, D 1372, *metiét* D 225, *mettent* BCD 229, BD 385, 895, 1663, AB 1372, *regrettent* corr. *-etent* A 230, *regrettent* BCD 230.

t dropped between consonants:—*forment* ABCD 42, et passim, *quanque* AB 293 (D *quancque*), 416, AD 1638, ABD 1830; both normal continental forms.

(b) Final, supported.

t] d:—*secund* A 10, 807, 1549 (a Latin loan-word), *mund* ABCD 24, AB 1597, *gord* C 168, *guard* A 206, *veilard* A 656, *bord* A 1015, *reguard* A 1141, 1537, D 1444, *freid* A 1397, 1399, 1402, *cald* A 1415. Cf. *mundz* B 1209.

nt] no. Only in the 1 sg. of verbs, unless *quancque* D 293 be included here. See § 65.

t dropped:—*un* (< *unde*) A 168, *defen* B (? C) 296, *un* (< *habent*) A 373, 1113; followed by a word beginning with a dental consonant, *defen* C 14, *revin* A 320, *mul* A 705, *un* (< *habent*) A 853, *es* D 1366, *sun* D 1492, *seven* D 1495. The scribe of A frequently omitted this final *t* at first, but inserted it afterwards above the line; so in *vent* 437, *quant* 557, *tant* 791, *trovent* 799, *unt* 840, *vint* 1035, *mult* 1147, *pent* 1713, *vient* 1758.

Inorganic **t**:—after *n*, *Perrunt* A 1035, 1038, *Nerunt* A 1036, *munt* B 1095, *cardunt* A 1745; after *r*, *tort* D 878 (but see § 38 c).

en (< *inde*)] *ent* (: *defent*) A 295, *an* A 772, elsewhere *en*.

dont] *dunt* A 48, BD 52, AB 71, &c., *dun* A 52, &c., B 48, C 276, 286, D 71, *dum* A 812, 886, 1448, 1536, 1608, 1686, 1784, *du* C 174.

(c) Final, after an accented vowel.

t] th:—*abeth* A 13, 89, *gabeth* A 14.

t] d. A common spelling in AB:—*ned* A 19, *vertud* A 38, &c., *sed* A 62, *abed* B 89, &c., *pensed* A 127, *pared* B 276, *cited* B 278, *plented* B 290, *maiested* AB 542, *deinted* B 704, *mured* B 706, *cunreid* A 789, &c., *seid* A 790, 807, *palud(e)* AB 793, *salud(e)* AB 794, *umed* B 803, *feid* A 808, *absolud* A 824, *chanud* A 827, *cunreid* corr. *-rei* A 862, *ored* B 1004, 1260, 1818, *pred* A 1036, *fed* AB 1136, 1456, *nud* A 1226, 1456, *costed* AB 1298, *malfed* B 1484, *eded* B 1598, *l(i)ed* AB 1672, 1825, *cungied* B 1809. The use of *d* is specially frequent in the verb-endings *-ad* (< *-avit*, *habet*), *-ed* (< *-atum*), *-id* (< *-ivit*, *-itum*), and *-ud* (< *-uit*, *-utum*), e. g. *alad* B 84, *ad* AB 9, *ferad* B 924, *pened* B 249, *entaillied* B 276, *choisid* B 853, *oid* B 1113, *fud* AB 19, *tolud* A 823. The preposition *od* regularly has *d*. In C and D, apart from *ad* (< *habet*) and

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od, the use of *d* is less frequent:—*oïd* D 99, 1201, *enveiad* CD 139, *aveiad* D 140, *enseingnad* C 140, *irad* C 141, *aspirad* C 142, *avrad* D 1765.

t] **s**. This substitution is a feature of D. In some instances it may be due to confusion of case-forms (e.g. *abes* acc. sg. 152, *endormiz* nom. pl. 309), but it occurs also in feminine nouns (e.g. *cites* 278, *vertus* 364, *salus* 794, all acc. sg.), in neuter participles (e.g. *soüs* 373, *ales* 671, *valus* 1836), and in the 3 sg. of verbs (e.g. *duiz* 694). The only adequate explanation is that the scribe regarded final *t* and *s* as identical in value and interchangeable; cf. the rimes *fut* : *curus* 97, *fut* : *trescurus* 437. It is unnecessary to give a complete list of instances, as all are included in the variants. There are perhaps traces of the same scribal habit in B (cf. *flamez* 1689) and C (*plentes* acc. sg. 290; cf. *seignes* 208); cf. also § 60 b and c.

t dropped. When in rime with a word not entitled to a final dental, the *t* regularly disappears, e.g. *fai*, *fei* (: *lei*) ABCD 70, (: *sei*) 298, *fi* (: *di*) ABCD 118. In other circumstances A usually preserves the dental, though there are many exceptions (*cungé* 145, *clarté* 275, *cunrei* : *desrei* 301, *merci* 306, *cunrei* : *se* 331, *entré* 463, &c.); while BCD drop it more or less frequently (e.g. *fu* C 19, B 50, *vertu* BD 38, *herité* B 51, *sié* BD 62, *voldra* BCD 144). C alone has preserved the dental in *claret* (for *clartét*) 275 and *mercit* 306. In B the forms without the final dental predominate.

Inorganic t:—*ciut* (< *caecum*) D 1398.

(d) Final, after feminine *e*.

t] d:—*pried* A 65, *ported* D 862, *enchaced* A 910, *escalfed* A 913, *mueved* B 1516, *puied* B 1517. The spelling *culped* B 1060 (cf. § 46 b) shows clearly that the *d* was purely graphic, so far as the scribe was concerned.

t] **s**:—*seignes* C 208, *mentes* CD 298, *lieves* D 317, *roves* D 358, *flames* B 1689. In some instances (e.g. 298) the scribes may have intended to introduce the 2 pl., just as they have elsewhere avoided the 3 sg. ending *-e(t)* by substituting the preterite (e.g. *comandat* D 151, *celat* D 198), or by introducing another syllable (*deprie* for *priet* B 205, *li devise* for *deviset* D 1779). But the scribe of D, at least, appears to have regarded final *t* and *s* as interchangeable; cf. para. c above.

t dropped. A usually preserved the *t* of atonic *-et* (e.g. *voldret* 55, *murget* 61, *target* : *charget* 135), except when in rime with a word not entitled to the dental (e.g. *cisle* 94, *dure* 161, *ose* 254; cf. *target* corr. *targe* 621); the scribe probably followed the practice of the author, who recognized *-et* as making hiatus within the line, but ignored it in rime (cf. ch. viii, § 2, lxxvii). In BCD the *t* is sporadically preserved, but more often omitted, sometimes even when it produces hiatus, e.g. *cum(m)andë eals* BC 151. The *t* was preserved or restored by C alone in *voillet* 17, *duillet* 18, *eret* (: *frere*) 222, *facet* 245.

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§ 46. Fr. D.

(a) Intervocalic.

d preserved:—*oïde* A 100, *fedeil(z)* C 206, BCD 210, BC 242, ABD 582, *veüdes* C 213, *vedeir* C 218, A 666, 1718, 1775, *entrede* C 251, *ledes* A 493, *taceledes* A 494, *vedue* A 495, *ledement* A 499, *sedeillus* A 647, *justedes* A 937, *podes* A 942, *sedeir* A 1435, 1776, *eded* B 1598. *Venduns* A 746 represents *veduns*, and *ne deit* A 816 is a corruption of *vedeit*. *Paradis* B 349, *obedimes* A 534, and *adamant* AB 1719 may be latinisms.

d] th:—*vetheir* A 55, 61, 65, 218, *setheir* A 56, *fetheil(z)* A 206, 210, 242, *veüthes* A 213, *entrethe* A 251, *vetheit* A 313, 324, *ethez* A 1598. The use of *th* is thus confined to A; cf. § 45 c.

(b) Final.

Inorganic **d**:—*culped* (< *culpa*) B 1060 (cf. § 45 d), *otreid* A 1649.

§ 47. Fr. unvoiced S, SS.

(a) Initial.

s] c:—*ci* A 142, 1378, 1759, 1801, B 1582, *cil* (= *si*) A 484, *cest* (< *septem*) D 878.

(b) Intervocalic.

ss] s. This spelling is very frequent in AD, less frequent in BC. For examples in A, see the text. In B we find *naisance* 20, *asis* 50, *eisir* 486, *asise* 501, *asez* 587, *asens* 788, *osase* 1243, *traïseie* 1272, *seisante* 1595, *asist* 1698. In C:—*eisil* 30, *veisele* 291, *asez* 301. From D only a selection can be quoted here:—*asis* 275, *eisuz* 441, *guarnisent* 603, *perisent* 604, *amasez* 681, *enchasez* 682, *asemblames* 731, *seusum* 765, *masise* (for *mansisse*) 774, *espeise* 793, *cesent* 1005, *apresent* 1006, *esi* 1019, *rovasent* 1112, *foses* 1127, *groses* 1128, *lasement* 1242, *criase* 1244, *venise* 1553, *puise* 1579, *isi* 1790.

(c) Before a consonant.

s dropped:—*mustrat* A 49, *decendi* B 172, *echipede* corr. *esch.* A 252, *checun* A 297, 876, *lacent* B 385, *alat* A 614, *buche* ABD 912, ? *out* A 917, *decirad* B 954, *decent* D 1011, *epees* corr. *esp.* A 1373, *apremout* A 1469, *cunduit* AD 1557 (cf. § 70 b), *brestache* (for *bretesche*) A 1678; similarly *le clair* = *l'esc.* AB 500, 1764, *se pandent* = *s'esp.* D 573. *Cunuit* A 337 was interpreted by Tanquerey (*L'Évolution du Verbe* . . , p. 116) as representing *cunuist*; but see § 15. On the prefix *de-* for *des-* see ch. viii, § 4, iii.

Inorganic **s**:—*eslist* A 107, *osast* D 414, *meisne* D 439, *amestistes* A 678, 1693, *cest* (< *septem*) D 878, *fust* A 1219, *brestache* A 1678. The scribe of A constantly wrote *dist* for the past participle of *dire* (147, 198, 359, 484, 555, 585, 595, 621, 885, 929, 1807), occasionally also for the present indicative 3 sg. (126, 150). In the latter use *dist* may perhaps be correctly developed from *dicit* (cf. Jenkins, *La Chanson de Roland*,

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p. cxxxii); but it was not so used by the author of the *Brendan*, cf. *dit* : *delit* 23, 1779, *cuntredit* : *vit* 435, &c. On *suspeis* A 997 see the note, and on *des(h)ait* BD 154 see ch. viii, § 4, iii.

(d) Final.

s] **s** :—*abez* C 32 (nom. remade on acc.?), *vifz* B 45, *frerez* C 145, *perez* C 146, *gracez* A 229, *paleiz* A 273 (cf. ch. viii, § 2, lxxix), *blanz* A 410, *bail(l)iz* BD 452 (perhaps due to confusion of suffixes), *sanz* A 945, *morz* AD 1025, *perchez* A 1212, *senez* D 1437. The *z* which is constantly added to *fedeil*, *fetheil*, *fee(s)l* (A 77, ABCD 206, 242, D 1784) is probably analogical, cf. ch. viii, § 2, lxiii; perhaps also in *peilz* A 1540. On the analogical *z* in *moz*, *muez* (< *moves*) see § 65. The substitution of *z* for *s* is normal in the preposition *senz* (*sine* + *s*) BC 235, BCD 238, &c., *sanz* A 235, 238, &c.; this form was common on the Continent also.

us] **x** :—*dex* C 139.

s dropped. No distinction can be made here between unvoiced and voiced pronunciations. Before a word beginning with a consonant :—*le* for *les* C 28, 153, 206, A 375, D 938, *a* for *as* A 338, 808, 1330; *pui* A 555, *ver* C 190, D 558, 1613, *for* D 283, A 700; *de* corr. *des* A 416, *pui* corr. *puis* A 929, 1297; *trei* D 35, *hure* A 846, *tante* A 962, *tute* D 1681. *Andois* (for *ans-dous*) B 204 may have lost its *s* on analogy of nom. *andui*. Before a word beginning with a vowel :—*plu* corr. *plus* A 1028, *pui* corr. *puis* A 1395, *mai* corr. *mais* A 1461; all probably mere slips. On the loss of final *s* in the verb-ending *-om*, *-um*, see ch. viii, § 3, xviii. On the preposition *sen*, *san* see § 49.

Inorganic **s** :—*as* for *a* A 46, 1292, [1796], [*ses* for *se* A 281], in each instance before a word beginning with a consonant; *ungles* A 1016, [*jas est* (for *ja'st*) D 1248].

§ 48. Fr. voiced S.

(a) Intervocalic.

s] **ss** :—*chosserent* A 465, *cumandisse* corr. *-ise* B 1562.

s] **so** :—*descirent* C 217.

(b) Before a consonant.

sl] **ll** :—*cille* B 94. This spelling perhaps represents *l*-mouillé; cf. Walberg, *Bestiaire*, pp. lxiv ff., and Menger, *op. cit.*, pp. 103 f.

sn] **in** :—*almoine* A 1455. The *in* may be the outcome of an earlier *n*-mouillé (cf. § 39); references as above, also Stimming, in *Ztschr. f. roman. Phil.*, xxxv, p. 96.

sn] **dn** :—*bodne* or *bosne* B 1520 (A *bodme*). On the phonetic value of this spelling see Stimming, *ibid.*, pp. 93 ff.

s dropped :—*se maient* = *s'esm.* A 221, *se levat* = *s'esl.* BD 526, cf. § 47 c; but these forms may be due to the Anglo-Norman propensity for omitting prefixes (cf. ch. viii, § 4, iii). *Judis* for *jusdi* A 393 is a scribal error.

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In *lu(n)sdi* ABD 1476, *mecresdi* B 1375, the *s* is analogical; cf. *jusdi*, *jos-* BD 393, AB 1395, AD 1617, *vendresdi* AB 1405.

§ 49. Fr. Z (= *dz*, *ts*).

z] **c**:—*quatorce* D 107, C 156, *quince* D 916, *quinceine(s)* D 901, 1313; *topaces* D 687, *tupace(s)* BD 1690. The latter is a loan-word, the pronunciation of which may have been uncertain.

z] **ts**:—*estreits* A 169, *sufflants* B 1129.

z] **tz**:—*tantz* B 576, *butz* B 1025, *ardantz* B 1128, *tutz* B 1138, *dreitz* B 1816.

z] **dz**:—*mundz* (Lat. *mons*, not *mundus*) B 1209.

z] **cz**:—*dulcz* B 1298.

z] **ce**:—*voices* A 559 (cf. § 59), *duce* A 670, *dulce* A 701, *terce* A 1504. Conversely *chaliz* for *chalice* A 1097.

z] **t**. Only in the 2 pl. of verbs; for examples, see § 65. For the converse substitution of *z* for *t*, see § 45 c.

z] **th**:—*suth* A 674.

z] **d**?:—*cunreid* A 1592, 1594; perhaps a mere slip, but the repetition of it is singular.

z] **s**:—(from *t*, *d*+*s*) *tous* C 37, *tus* C 108, 149, *tos* C 124, *grans* C 41, *mors* BC 45, *Bar(r)ins* BD 75, 101, *veis* A 423, AD 1795, *merveilles* A 472, *funs* A 1074, *creés* A 1095; (*st*+*s*) *ices* C 28, D 390, 399, 579, B 1262, *ces* BCD 285, AB 390, B 946, D 1338, ?*pres* A 395; (*c* before *e*) *romans* C 11, [*dous* D 1298]; (*t*+yod) *eins* C 118, *ters* corr. *terz* A 392; (*s* after *l*-mouillé) *conseils* C 41, *travals* B 589, *mels* B 1175; (supported *n*+*s*) *dans* B 8, 454, *jurs* ABC 134, C 137, A 219, AB 260, 327, 1573, B 781, 1669, *tresturs* C 138.

z] **x**:—*feix* corr. *feiz* A 7.

z dropped:—*en* A 442. *San* A 248, *sen* C 250, B 408, 806, 1761, D 1730, probably represent Lat. *sine* without the addition of adverbial *s*.

Inorganic **z**?:—[*enz* A 945].

§ 50. Fr. C, Q (= *k*).

OF *qu*, originally representing a double consonant, was often used as a spelling for hard *c* before *e* and *i* (e.g. in *dunques*, *ilueques*, *esquiver*); but in these Anglo-Norman MSS. *qu* is only written where it is etymologically justified. The loss of consonantal *u* from the group *qu*, in so far as it is reflected in spellings, has been dealt with in § 44.

qu (graphic)] **c**:—*alocces* A 173, *iloces* A 1369, 1373, *iloeces* A 1423. Perhaps *escive* A 1514 should be included here, cf. *eschive* below (but see p. clxxxi, note 5).

c, **qu**] **k**:—(Lat. *qu*) *ki* BD 6, ABC 24, &c., *ke* D 9, *kar* (see below), *unkes* B 1256, BD 1574, *alkes* B 1460; (Lat. *c*) *aloekes* C 173, *ilokes* B 1161, 1373, *kernel* B 1677.

qu] **ok**:—*unckes* A 1574.

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c, qu] ch :—(Lat. *qu*) *chi* A 861, ?889 (*chil*), 898, 900, 910, 1174, 1206, 1698, 1700, 1765, *char* D 1253, *unches* D 408, ABD 502, 563, A 1256, D 1684; (Lat. *c*) *iloches* B 173, 1369, 1423, *ilueches* D 1161, 1369, *iluches* D 1373, *dunches* AD 771, D 1290, 1397, *unchore* D 549, 728, 1059, 1102, *chernel* AD 1677, *rechrie* A 1748. The words *eschipede, -ippee* AB 252, *achipé* C 252, *eschivent, -iwent* BD 486, *eschiverent, -iwerent* ABD 1176, *eschive* BD 1514 would also come under this heading, if we could be sure that the palatal consonant was hard. In *paschal* D 400, *Pasche* ABD 554, &c., *paschur* A 845, the *ch* is borrowed from Latin.

ou (+ vowel) **] qu** :—*quer*(*s*) AD 142, A 416, 1426, *quir*(*s*) ABCD 176, ABD 599, AB 1412, 1429, *quire* AB 448, AD 1579, *queivre* B 1416 (A *quire*), *quiv*(*e*)*re* AB 1427. On *cui, qui* see § 63.

or] gr :—*grisolites* AB 1687, *grisopase* AB 1690.

o] oc :—*succurs* B 289, A 615, 718, 961, *succurt* A 795, 993, *succurrai* AB 868, *secc* A 972; cf. *iccurum* = *i curum* A 1222.

o inserted between consonants :—*jacinctes* A 1695; perhaps also *quancque* D 293 (but cf. § 45 b).

-no] -ng :—*lung* B 461, 787.

-no] -gn, -ign. See § 38 c.

-no] -nt :—*sulunt* C 227, *idunt* C 304.

oar] *quer* A 46, 91, 97, 253, AC 231, 300, *quar* A 325, 455, 600, &c., D 1214, *car* B 97, 253, &c., *kar* D passim, B 46, 91, &c., C 253, *char* D 1253.

§ 51. Fr. G (= *g*).

On the dropping of *u* from the group *gu*, see § 44.

g] j :—?*juit* A 132; possibly an inversion of the use of *g* for *j* (cf. § 54).

Intervocalic **g** preserved or introduced :—*regal* A 21, 269, *segurance* B 121, *segur* A 1496, *segut* A 1568. Similarly *gr* :—*segrei* BD 1094.

§ 52. Fr. C (= *ts*, not final).

c] s :—*delaserez* B 1228, *duzur* B 1758. On *chaliz* (for *-ice*) A 1097 see § 49.

c] s :—[*si* (for *cil*) A 17, C 244], *ses* D [990], 1292.

c] sc :—*dresce*(*t*) B 204, 1022, D 660, *drescent* B 938, *haltesce* B 495, BD 1194, *nublesce* BD 1189, *destresce* BD 1190, *prescius*(*es*) D 680, 1077, 1744.

c] t :—?*presentie* D 543 (probably a Latinism, cf. § 8 b), *delitius* D 1743 (influenced by *delit*?).

c] ch :—*icho* D 102, *chi* C 119, *drechet* A 204, 660, 1022, *drechent* A 209, 383, 938, *boche* (: *roche*) AB 1217 (cf. ch. viii, § 2, lxxxii), *delachcrez* A 1228. On *caches* A 1120 see the note.

c, before *u* **] oe** :—[*receurent* B 64], *alceur* C 279, *aparceut* AD 335, *receut*

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A 347, 354, *dulceur* A 691. On *ceo* C 21, &c., *iceo* C 111, B 1507, see § 11.

c] **cc** :—*occean* ABC 166, AB 552, *destrecce* A 1190.

For final *ts* (written *z*, etc.) see § 49.

§ 53. Fr. CH (= *tš*).

ch] **c** :—initial, *capitel*, *-tle* AC 125, *carg(i)e* CD 136, *castel* AC 267, *cascuns* C 297, *candeil(l)e* AB 324, *cose* A 505, *cant* A 558, 560, *encassét* A 682, *capes* D 688, *calz*, *-ld* A 756, 1178, 1351, 1415, 1431, *caldere* A 837, *canter* A 857, *escalfed* A 913, *caçout* A 1019, *calcedoine(s)*, *-onie(s)* ABD 1086, 1691, *calice* BD 1097, *calin(s)* A 1108, 1650, 1655, 1663, 1671, *caruine*, *-oigne* AD 1110, *acaliz* A 1366, *acatai* A 1456, *calengent* A 1477, [*cors* (for *cois*) A 1548], *carn* A 1563, *carnalment* A 1801; internal, *roceit* A 163, *la(s)cent* AB 385, *taceledes* A 494, *blance* A 1539, *sacel* A 1578. Loan-words from Latin may have been influenced by the Latin spelling; but all occur also with *ch*, except *calcedoine*. In any case the choice of spelling was largely arbitrary, as the scribes used both *c* and *ch* to denote hard *c* (cf. § 50). On *cachez* A 1120 see the note.

ch] **cc** :—*peccét* A 57.

ch] **cch** :—*p[e]cchez* A 1204.

ch] **g** :—*(e)scorgent* D 1407, 1413.

ch, from *þ* + yod] **c**. On *saciez* B 1052, 1119, 1296, *sacum* B 1222, see ch. viii, § 2, lxxxiv.

§ 54. Fr. G, J (= *dž*).

j] **g**, before *a*, *o*, *u*. From Lat. *g* + *a* :—*goïd*, *-it* A 566, 670, 1114, *gals* AD 577 (B *glas*), *goie* A 691, 1644, 1773, *goierent* A 856, *chargat* D 891, *goës* A 1013, *goïs(s)ant* AB 1064, *galeste* AD 1156, *galiz* ABD 1365, *gaiole* AB 1419 (D *geole*), *gardins* D 1739 (A *grandins*), *esgoient* A 1786. It is possible that in some of these instances *g* represented the sound *dž*. From Lat. *j* or V. Lat. yod :—*goüst* (< *jacuisset*) A 1384 (B *geüst*), *gut* D 1384, *sergant* ABD 1569.

g] **j**, before *e*, *i*. The normal spelling is *g*, but *j* (usually written *i*) is constant in *Jesu* passim, *majested* 542, 1245, *jesque* D 192, et passim, and occurs in *jejuine* D 132, *manjerent* C 303, *cumunjement* D 347, *jet(t)er* A 461, 1145, 1211, 1236, D passim (but *get(t)er* A 96, 343, B passim). The verb *gesir* and its forms are spelt in every instance with *g*.

g] **ge** :—only in the loan-word *angele(s)* ABD 100, et passim (but *angel* AC 140, *angle* D 140).

g] **gi**, before posttonic *e* :—*meingie* C 119, *targie* C 135, *cargie* C 136 Cf. § 8 e.

g] **ch** :—*roche* D 1383, *prenchent* B 1478.

j] **je**. On *jeo* B 1277, 1287, see § 11.

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§ 55. Fr. H.

h dropped:—*desait* B 154, *alt(es)* C 189, A 483, D 938, 1041, 1061, 1701, *alt* corr. *halt* A 1061, *? ors* D 218, *aler* AC 232, *erberger* C 307. Cf. *haan* for *ahan* D 980, B 1320.

h added:—etymological, *ho(e)m*, *hom(m)e* ABCD passim, *honur* ABD 28, *habiz*, *-it* AD 31, 1534, *herité(t)* AB 51, *hure(s)* A 757, 846, 1250, *hoste* A 827, 861, &c., *enhortout* A 1280, *horribles* A 1337, 1350; not etymological, *hermite(s)* B 75, ABD 1543, 1547, [*haloecs* D 173], *has* A 757, *braheit* B 916, *debahardai* B 1278, *trahi* AB 1288. In *hui* A 1435, *h* has been added before initial *V* to indicate that it is a vowel.

Declension.

(Some of the morphological and syntactical peculiarities found in the MSS. of the *Brendan*, but not necessarily due to the author, have already been indicated in ch. viii (§§ 3 and 5) of the Introduction; while those involving phonetic or orthographic rather than analogical developments have been dealt with in the earlier sections of this Appendix. There remain certain groups of forms, demonstrably due to the scribes alone, which may conveniently be classified here.)

§ 56. Genders.

Peculiarities in the author's usage have been pointed out in ch. viii, § 5, 1. The scribes did not always accept his gender, cf. *murs out bones* D 76, *un arbre . . blanc* BD 491. The gender of *Thephaine* is uncertain in A; B makes it masculine (*del T.* 769, 780), D feminine (*de la T.* 780). In *le scripture* AD 23, *un isle* ABD 93, *del isle* AB 97, 786, *le unde* D 987, A 1232, and similar instances, the masculine gender is apparent only, being due to the scribal habits mentioned in § 6 e and ch. iii, § 4 d. *Del mer* A 1352 is corrupt for *de mer*, though we find also *le grant mer* A 157 and *mer halt* (−1) A 1068. No justification has been found for *la trune* D 674, *la sel* B 1409, *le nef* A 1528, *la sigle* A 1660 (but see the note), *li muntaine* A 1704, *la glaive* D 1731.

§ 57. Analogical nom. sg. *s*.

The author added *s* at will to masculine nominatives ending in *-e*, according to the requirements of rime or metre; cf. ch. viii, § 3, i and ii. When either form is admissible, the MSS. often disagree, e.g. 322 AB *freres*, D *frere*; 825 A *peres*, B *pere*, D *pares*; 1007 AB *meindres*: *graindres*, D *mendre*: *greindre*. Note *marbres* AB 1389. In the nom. sg. of imparisyllabics *s* is optional:—531 A *fels*, BD *fel*; 1287 AD *fels*, B *fel*; cf. ch. viii, § 3, iii. The addition of *s* to feminine nominatives of the Latin third declension is due solely to the scribe of A (cf. ch. viii, § 3, iv):—*? lais* 1040, *morz* 1246, *puurs* 1425, *neifs* 1539. On *enfertez* D 741, *amertez* D 742, see § 45 c.

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§ 58. Restoration of stem-consonant before flexional *s*.

b:—*gabs* AB 1293.

c:—*luncs* A 461, *blancs* ABD 501, AB 1681. Cf. *dulcz* B 1298.

f:—*vifs* A 45, *vifz* B 45, *volentifs* B 87, *bofs* A 1150, *chaitifs* B 1361, *neif(s)* A 1539, 1681. Cf. *grifs* B 1011, with analogical *s*.

n:—*enferns* BD 1333, 1347.

p:—*raps* A 461 (cf. ch. viii, § 3, vi), *colps* A 941, 1025, *cops* B 512, D 941, BD 1025. Cf. *grips* AD 1011, ABD 1027, 1029.

t. See § 49.

Cf. Brekke, *Étude sur la flexion* . ., pp. 25 ff.

§ 59. Plural in *-es*.

Only in *voices* (for *voiz*) A 559. Cf. Stimming, p. xv.

§ 60. The use of case-forms.

It has been shown in ch. viii, § 5, iii–vii, that except in certain definite circumstances the author of the *Brendan* used the nominative and accusative cases as correctly as the best OF authors. The MSS. also, in a very large number of instances, have preserved the case-forms in their correct use; certainly they do not show the complete confusion which is usually considered characteristic of thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman. Instances in which either case could have been used by the author have been omitted from the following list of exceptions.

(a) Accusative singular form in nominative function.

Pronouns:—*un* D 1516, *l'un* ABD 510, 872, ?1697 (see the note), D 1343 (for *nul*), B 1474, *chascun*, *che(s)*- ABD 297, 752, AD 694, B 888, *nul* B 92, AD 254, D 376, 1679, *tel* (repeated) ABD 814, *un sul* BD 1341.

Article or adjective alone incorrect:—*le* for *li* D 201, 394, 792, BD 597, ABD 871, B 1124, *lu* for *li* B 976, *un* for *uns* BD 405; *nul mal orez* D 94, *cel frere* D 484, *nul hom* A 502, *suverain reis* D 564, *un marin serpenz* D 909, *maint huem* D 1177, *jo chaitif* BD 1344, D 1361.

Substantive alone incorrect. With correct article:—*li piu* B 36, *li fedeil* B 77, *li vent* CD 220, C 248, D 625, 1165, *li fil* B 394, *li manger* D 451, *li osiel* D 521, *li feu* D 911, B 1024, *li pavement* D 1086, *li quarel* A 1155, *li plus ligier* D 1337, *li post* AB 1381 (cf. ch. viii, § 5, vii), *li peil* D 1540, *li peissun* D 1624, *li jacincte* D 1695. Form of article uncertain owing to elision:—*l' ab(b)é* B 203, 775, D 667, 1489, *le spir(i)t* or *l' espirit* ABD 349, A 1566, *l' oise(i)l* AB 521, D 547, *l' oste* D 1659. With correct adjective:—*icil seint* B 19, *cist feu* B 759, *liu si chers* AB 773, *vostre (h)oste* ABD 882, *altre peril* ABD 1006, *mis eded* B 1598, *li clers soleil* A 1761 (cf. ch. viii, § 5, vii). Without article or adjective:—*vent* D 1260, B 228, 1363, ABD 1190, BD 1762, *diable* D 314, *iver* D 421, *(h)oste* ABD 882, BD 1815, *dragun* D 1031, *esturbeillun* D 1153,

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enfern BD 1211, *ored* B 1260, 1762, *cunrei(d)* AD 1590, *fer* ABD 1719, *acier* D 1719, *a(d)amant* (: *trenchant*) ABD 1719 (cf. ch. viii, § 5, vii), *mal* BD 1766, *chalt* BD 1767, *freit* BD 1767.

Substantive and article, or adjective, both incorrect:—*le orét* C 211, *grant besuign* D 241, *le conduit* D 378, *le num, nun* ABD 545, *le jur(n)* AD 557, A 781, *un doit* D 638, *nul mal* D 740, *le feu* B 911, *un dragun* D 1020, *chescun peissun* AD 1066, *un pævilun* D 1075, *le post* D 1381, *tut nuvel quir* BD 1412, *le drap* D 1448, *un mur* BD 1675, *le jagunce* B 1695, *le flur* D 1751, *le cler soleil* BD 1761, *le puple* D 1824.

Proper names. The tendency to use only a single form for proper names (cf. ch. viii, § 5, iv) will account for the frequent omission of the nominative *s* of *Brandan(s)*, A 103, &c., B 281, 922, 1809, C 157, 281, D passim; also for *saint Mernoc* BD 98, *Albeu* B 730, *Adam* ABD 1652, probably also *Deu* B 49, BD 242, D 439, &c. Yet we find nom. *Brandans* B 481, 825, and (quite exceptionally) *Brendans* D 481, where a rime in *-an* is required.

(b) Nominative singular form in accusative function.

Article alone incorrect:—*li* for *le* BD 582, A 722, D 1038, 1671, *li* corr. *le* A 1413, *uns* for *un* A 1569.

Substantive incorrect:—? *jurs* C 137, *Deus* A 186, 743, D 515, [1287], *li vens* D 222, (*le*, *l'*) *abes* A 338, 653, 662, 690, 734, *sun vols* A 873, *iverz* A 1246, *fus* A 1384, [*nums* D 1726].

Filz was often indeclinable in OF, hence *Filz* A 893, *le fiz* BD 893. *Li vielz chanuz* B 827 was probably made nominative on account of its use in apposition (cf. Laubscher, *The syntactical causes of case-reduction*, ch. vi); this entailed the substitution of *tenduz* for *tendut* acc. sg. in v. 828. On *aüverz* ABD 1210 see ch. viii, § 5, vii. The frequent substitution in D of final *z* for *t* in nouns (e. g. *abez* 13, *pechez* 57), adjectives (e. g. *chanuz* 407, *savorez* 705), and participles (e. g. *essembles* 312, *soüz* 373) is to be regarded rather as an orthographic peculiarity than as a sign of case-confusion; cf. § 45 c.

(c) Accusative plural form in nominative function.

Pronouns:—*tuz* B 573, D 596, ? 763, *trestuz* CD 154, D 229, 573, 693, 850, A 1824, *plusurs* D 1840.

Article correct, substantive incorrect:—*li cers* A 390, *li munz* A 635, *tuit li seinz* D 851, *li oiseals* A 856, *li denz* A 946, *li dampnez* A 1182, *li biens e mals* A 1453, *li plusurs* AD 1833.

Other instances:—*les cers* D 390, *les dous* (for *li duit*) D 652, *les oisels* B 856, *els* (< *illos*) B 1091, *d(e)iables* ABD 1437, AD 1485, *mulz humes* D 1465, *les flurs* (fem. for masc.?) D 1741.

(d) Nominative plural form in accusative function.

Pronouns:—*trestuit* B 348, *trestut* D 480, *tuit* A 662, 816 (cf. § 61), *tut* corr. *tuz* A 1582.

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Adjective alone incorrect:—*tuit travailz* C 250, *grant . . guasteus* A 410, *blanc guasteals avenant* D 410, *lung ras* B 461, *grant plurs* A 611, *grant assalz* B 1146, *(i)tel lius* BD 1444, *tant dolurs* D 1446, *grant luurs* A 1685, *bel bois* D 1737. For *malsfeiz* acc. pl. A 1171, BD have *malfe(i)z*, not distinguishing the first part of the compound as an adjective. The adverb *tuzdis* 'always', though invariably divided into two words by the scribes (cf. *tuz jurz* D 593), is regularly spelt *tut dis* in BD; cf. also *tot dis* and *tot di* A 1364, *tut dis* corr. *tuz dis* A 1749. In the critical text, to avoid ambiguity, it has been treated as a compound. Cf. *tuztens*, *tuttens* in other texts (Suchier, *Reimpredigt*, p. xxviii).

Substantive alone incorrect:—*divers liu* B 35, *tuz cunreid* A 1592, 1594. *Dui enfern* B 1335 is nominative after *aveir* used impersonally; cf. ch. viii, § 5, vi.

(e) Other confusions.

le for *li* nom. pl. B 371, A 1654, D 1755, *le* corr. *li* A 63; *li* for *la* acc. A 1385, nom. 1704.

Masc. nom. sg. formed on fem.:—*blanches* D 1676.

Masc. for fem.:—*tuit*, *tut* for *tute* AD 1348, *plenier* D 1738.

Fem. acc. sg. ending in *z*. See § 45 c. *Grant clartez* D 1685 may be either singular or plural.

Riens acc. sg. (fem.) B 286, 1593 often has *s* in the accusative in continental French.

Fem. pl. without *s*:—*grant* D 902, 1132, *beste ruiste* D 1062, *nature* D 1789.

The confusion between *tuit* and *tut* (cf. §§ 13 and 33), frequent in AD, less frequent in B, was probably due to the formation of an analogical nom. pl. *tut*.

On the forms of the relative pronoun see § 63.

§ 61. *Tut* used adverbially.

When used adverbially, *tut* was inflected by the author of the poem; cf. ch. viii, § 5, ix. The scribe of A preserved the original forms with two exceptions:—*tuit suduines* for *tuz s.* 816, *tuz acalis* corr. *tot a.* 1366; cf. *tuz drez* (for *tut dreit*) 170, where the inflection is probably not due to the author. The scribe of B made *tut* (adv.) invariable, except in *tuz ert faiz* 272, *trestuit curent* 897, *tuts eschalfez* 1138. The scribe of C used the inflected form *tuz* in 272 and 273, but *tut . . gurz* 220. The scribe of D made *tut* invariable except in *tuz senz cure* 763 (perhaps adjectival, cf. 60 c), *tuz sudeines* 816, *tuz senz corde* 1422 (an error for *tut*, cf. § 45 c), *tuz enterins* 1683; in 272 *tuit* stands for *tut* (cf. § 13). In *tuz les meilurs* 108, where *tuz* need not be interpreted as adverbial, all the MSS. use the inflected form.

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§ 62. Analogical fem. *e* in adjectives.

Cf. ch. viii, § 3, vii. Additional examples, due to the scribes, are *quele* BD 343, B 505, *forte* D 628, *grande* D 913, A 1760, *vilement* A 1295.

§ 63. Relative pronoun.

qui nom.] *que*:—masc. sg., A 525, ABD 728 (*que uncore* for *qui'ncore*?), AD 1273, 1670, D 1277, 1284, 1400, 1676; pl., B 67, D 720, AD 1336; fem. sg., A 38, 292; pl., A 804. Cf. ch. viii, § 3, xiii. *Que* represents *qui* for *qui i* A 600.

que acc.] *qui*:—A 182, 345, 919, D 354, ?518. Similarly *qui* is substituted for the conjunction *que*, B 53, D 375, 520, 614, 721, A 474, 505; though in some of these instances *qui* may represent *qu'il* (cf. § 34 c).

qui dative and possessive] *que*:—[A 224], B 1484.

qui tonic acc.] *que*? In 1263 AB have *qui*, D has *que*, in 1272 BD *qui*, A *que*; but either the tonic or the atonic form seems admissible (the critical text follows A).

qui used with double function (nom. and acc.) occurs in C 14 (*cui*), AB 439, BD 927, AD 1580. It is replaced by *que* in A 927.

qui acc.] *quei*:—B 3, D 1450 (interrog.); cf. § 6 f.

quei undergoing elision:—*qu'il* B 218.

CONJUGATION

(Frequent references are made in the following sections to F. J. Tanquerey, *L'Évolution du Verbe en Anglo-Français*, Paris, 1915.)

§ 64. Confusion of conjugations.

Due in every instance to the scribes; cf. ch. viii, § 3, xiv.

-eir] -er:—*aver* BD 62, 63, B 80, D 530, 1277, A 1549, *cremer* A 928, *enchaer* AB 659, *muver, mov-* AD 1620, *parer* D 382, *parer* corr. *-eir* A 382, *saver* D 61, 1680, *seer* BD 56, D 1435, 1776, *seier*? C 56, B 1226, *vether* corr. *-eir* A 55, *veer* BD 55, 65, 218, [B 324], D 666, 1679, 1775.

-eir] -ir:—*chaïr* D 659, *cremir* D 928; these forms are not peculiar to Anglo-Norman.

-ir] -er:—*chosserent* A 465, *dormer* A 320, *guarer* corr. *-rir* A 1720, *murer* A 1044, *plaiser* corr. *-sir* A 130, *repénter* A 120, *sufrer* D 1788, *tenir* A 1528, *vomer* A 1427; perhaps also *oierent* A 855, *goierent* A 856, but these forms are susceptible of other explanations (cf. § 6 f, and ch. viii, § 3, xiv).

-ir] -eir? *Choiseir* A 1193 has *i* written above *e*; the scribe probably intended to correct *choiser* to *-sir*.

-er] -ir:—*alirent* A 1004, [*encroiz* D 1361], *preïrent* BC 115.

-er] -re:—*festeire* D 844; an interesting parallel to *paire* (for *paier*), quoted by Tanquerey, p. 440. The alteration is probably due to metathesis rather than analogy (cf. Menger, *op. cit.*, p. 91).

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-re] -er ? On *perderent* D 213 and *siwerent* D 627 see § 70 a. On *braiet* D 916 (A *brait* corr. *braiet*) see ch. viii, § 3, xiv.

-re] -ir. The past participle *suï* D 192 postulates an infinitive *suïr*, for *siwir*, *siwre*; cf. § 71 b, and Tanquerey, p. 432.

beivre] *bevire* A 357, 1415 (in the latter instance there is the trace of a second accent over the first stroke of the *u*; cf. the facsimile). On this form see Tanquerey, p. 444.

§ 65. Personal endings.

The following instances are mainly supplementary to those mentioned in ch. viii, § 3, xv–xix.

1 sg. -e added:—*redemore* D 1354, *munte* AD 1355, *merveille* A 1716; cf. *deportet* A 1314. Whether the *e* in these words is analogical or purely graphic (cf. § 6 f) can hardly be determined.

Analogical **-s** ? *Chanz* for *change* D 1357 is probably corrupt.

-s dropped:—*voi* (< *vado*) A 1322, 1364, cf. *revoi* (: *poi*) ABD 864; but *vois* ABD 432, B 1322, BD 1364.

Analogical (?) **-c**:—*defenc* (reading doubtful) C 296, *prenc* ABD 1310. The examples quoted in ch. viii, § 3, xvii, have the support of ABD, except that B has *revieng* in 1405.

2 sg. -s] -z:—*moz* A 1247, AB 1328, *muez* BD 1247, D 1328; doubtless analogical (cf. *puez* < *potes*), although final *z* for *s* occurs in other words (cf. § 47 d). See M. K. Pope, *Étude sur la langue de Frère Angier*, pp. 60 f.

-z] -s:—*veis* A 423, AD 1795; cf. § 49.

3 sg. -et] -eit:—[*braheit* B 916], *entreit* B 1081, *meineit* A 1190, *puieit* A 1517.

-t] -st:—*eslist* A 107, *dist* A 126, 150, *fust* A 1219; cf. § 47 c. Tanquerey, p. 110, quotes *taist* 376 and *braist* 934; but the former is correctly developed from *tacet*, the latter is a preterite (< **braxit*).

On the treatment of the unsupported dental consonant in the ending *-et*, see § 45 d, and ch. viii, § 2, lxxvii.

1 pl. The ending is *-um* in ABCD (apart from *sumes*, *faimes*, and preterites), except in the undermentioned instances.

-om:—*avom* D 538, 539, 541, 764, *vivom* D 763.

-un:—*eisun* (: *peisun*) D 836; cf. § 37.

-ums:—*eisums* A 641, *querums* AB 642, *avums* B 650, *veums* B 746, *tolums* B 1096.

-uns:—*venduns* (for *ved-*) A 746, *toluns* A 1096.

On the supposed substitution of *-mus* for *-mes* see § 6 d.

2 pl. The ending is *-ez* in ABCD (apart from *estes* and preterites), except in the undermentioned instances.

-iez after a palatal consonant:—regular in B; C *nagiez* 228; frequent in D. Cf. § 22.

-eiz:—*meteiz* (imperat.) C 225, *suffreiz* A 551, *freiz* A 878, 881, 883.

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-eit :—*streit* (fut. of *estre*) A 863.

-és :—*merveillés* A 472, *creés* A 1095 ; cf. § 49.

-ét, -iét :—*mettét* D 225, *prengét* A 296, *seét* A 359, *clamét* B 1060, *targét* B 1659, *chargiét* B 1660 ; cf. Tanquerey, pp. 207 f.

3 pl. The endings are *-ent* and *-ont* (*-unt*), as in standard French, except in the undermentioned instances.

-ant :—*veiant* A 375.

-int :—*vindrint* A 355 ; cf. § 6 d.

-eint :—*guarnisseint* A 603, *periseint* A 604, *aüroueint* A 1293, *corouneint* (for *coronouent*) A 1294.

-ent] -ont, -unt :—*voldrunt* D 1302. Vising, *Le Purgatoire de St. Patrice*, p. 13, quotes *volont* from D, v. 293 ; but the MS. has *volent* (the word is obscured by dirt). *Voldrunt, vul-* (for *voldrent*) BD 606 may possibly be intended for the future tense.

§ 66. Analogical alteration of the stem.

(a) Accented vowel in unaccented position.

an] ain :—*remaindrat* D 4, *-eindra(t)* BC 4, *-aindrez* D 865.

e] ei :—*receivurnt* (for *-vrunt*) D 64, *peiner* A 1105, *espeirerent* A 1224 ; cf. § 6 b.

e] ie :—*criendrez* B 477, *viengez* D 619.

e] i :—*quisis* corr. *quesis* A 545, *gisir* D 1729 (cf. Vising, in *Literaturblatt*, v, 1884, col. 71) ; but these forms can also be explained as due to assimilation (cf. 6 b, and Tanquerey, p. 445). *Giseit* AD 813 was a normal OF form. On *rec(h)rie* AD 1748 see the note.

ei] i :—*guerier* D 69, *festier* A 844, *lied, -ez* ABD 1229, 1380, B 1369, *otriout* D 1280, *ferliez* AD 1369 ; cf. ch. viii, § 3, xx. *Prier* invariably has *i* as stem-vowel in A, also *prium* D 129 ; in BCD (apart from D 129, and *preirent* BC 115) the forms *preier* and *preer* (cf. § 8 d) are used. *Eissir* commonly retains its original apophony (cf. ch. viii, § 3, xxi), but we find *issum* B 641, 836, *issud* B 690, *istrai* AB 1515 ; conversely *ei* is sometimes introduced into the stem-accented forms (cf. para. b below).

oi] ui :—*enniuout* (for *ennuiout*) A 1585.

(b) Analogical vowel in accented position.

ei] i :—*turni* AB 1362 (D *tormi*) ; other examples will be found in ch. viii, § 3, xx.

i] ei :—*eis(s)ent* ACD 265, A 441, D 453, 1004 (: *guarnisent*), 1671, ABD 643, ? *eist* AB 1521 ; cf. para. a above.

o] oi :—*oit* A 1255 (but *ot* AB 103, B 1255), *oient* D 1172, AD 1787 ; cf. ch. viii, § 3, xxi. On *loient* (< *laudant*) A 1625 see § 8 e ; cf. *loier* B 305.

ue, oe] o, ou, u. See § 31.

ue] oi. On *poient* A 983, &c., see § 31.

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u] ui :—*cunduient*, *con-* BD 639; cf. ch. viii, § 3, xxiii. But the form *cundüent* in A could also be due to the reduction of *ui* to *u*; cf. § 33.

Note *va* (ind. pr. 3 sg. of *aler*) B 1735 instead of the usual form *vait* (ch. viii, § 3, xxiii); cf. *vas* 2 sg. ABD 1328. Similarly *estat* D 1483 instead of *estait* (cf. Tanquerey, pp. 146 f.); but the scribe may possibly have intended this form as a preterite.

(c) Analogical alteration of stem-consonant.

Fall of **d**. On *quïes* A 568 see ch. viii, § 3, xxiv. The *d* is retained or restored in *quides* BD 568, *quident* B 1220, ABD 1339, *quiderent* D 1220, *quidoue* ABD 1283.

l] l-mouillé. *Faillir* and *saillir* have *il(l)* between vowels except in *falit* A 222. Note also *builli* D 1377. *Galiz* ABD 1365 retains its *l* unaltered.

n] gn, ngn :—*pregnent* A 307, 1166, *prengnent* A 598, 610, all indicatives. According to Tanquerey, pp. 281 ff., such forms are due to a tendency to extend the subjunctive stem to the indicative.

n] ng :—*prengét* (imperat.) A 296, *prengent* (indic.) A 631; cf. Tanquerey, pp. 280 f.

nd] n :—*respunent* B 113, 580 (for *respunt*), AB 965.

nd] in (for *n*-mouillé?) :—*respoinent* C 113.

Fall of **v**. *Deient* for *deivent* occurs in A 232, as well as twice in rime (cf. ch. viii, § 3, xxiv). The *v* is retained in *deivent* BD 232, D 234, 612, *devent* C 232.

§ 67. Present Subjunctive.

Analogical **e** added :—*reguarde* B 894. Cf. ch. viii, § 3, xxvi.

Subjunctives in **-ge** :—*enprenge* D 114, *venges* D 618, *prengum* B 1840; for other examples see ch. viii, § 3, xxviii. Note the exceptions *muret* D 61, *toillet* D 1764. The stem-vowel shows free development in *vienges* B 550, *vienge(t)* B 619, BD 1080, *vienges* D 619, *viengent* D 1615, B 1724, *tiengent* D 1616. In *meing(i)e* AC 119 (cf. ch. viii, § 2, xxvi) the *ei* is probably analogical. On *prenchent* B 1478 see § 54.

§ 68. Imperfect Indicative.

-out] -ot, and similar forms. Cf. § 29.

-out] -eit :—only in *luigneit* A 456; cf. ch. viii, § 3, xxix. On the 3 sg. ending *-eit* for *-et* see § 65.

The archaic imperfect of *estre* usually appears with *e* undiphthongized; cf. ch. viii, § 3, xxx. But we find *iert* BD 38, B 40, 42, 46, 420 (future?), C 268, *ierent* D 1114 (MS. *ni erent*; possibly intended as a future). Note *eret* (: *frere*) C 222.

§ 69. Future.

Contracted forms. Note *dur(r)a(t)* ABD 362, *demur(r)ai* ABD 867, *merrai* D 1605, *mer(r)ai* BD 1792; for other examples see ch. viii, § 3

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xxxi. *Murras* D 779 for *muvras* is probably a scribal error. On the intercalation of *e* in contracted futures by the scribes see § 6 b and c.

Analogical stem-vowel. On *remaindrat* D 4, &c., *receivurnt* D 64, and *criendrez* B 477 see § 66 a.

The archaic future of *estre* appears with *e* undiphthongized (cf. ch. viii, § 3, xxxii), with the possible exception of *iert* B 420 and *ierent* D 1114; but it is not clear whether these two forms were intended as futures or imperfects (cf. § 68).

§ 70. Preterite and Imperfect Subjunctive.

(a) The *-dedi* type.

Cf. ch. viii, § 3, xxxiii. The only instances of this type of preterite furnished by the MSS. are *perderent* D 213 and *siwerent* D 627, in which *ie* has been reduced to *e*. Tanquerey (pp. 577 ff.) regards all such forms as examples of transference to the *-re* conjugation; but in these MSS. there is no other evidence of confusion between *-re* and *-er* verbs (cf. § 64). Elsewhere we find only the remodelled forms in *-it*, *-irent*:—*vesqui(t)* ABD 733, *perdirent* ABD 837, *venqui(t)* ABD 951, *chaï(t)* AB 1029, *respundi(t)* BD 1269.

(b) The *-si* type.

s retained between vowels:—*fesimes* D 470, *quesis* ABD 545, *presistes* BD 754, *requesis* BD 1796. The forms *mansesisse* A 774, *masise* D 774, for *mansisse*, are both corrupt.

s dropped between vowels (cf. ch. viii, § 3, xxxiv):—*?enpreist* B 114 (perhaps an instance of inorganic *e*, cf. § 6 f), *feimes* AB 470 (cf. ch. viii, § 3, xxxv), *preistes* A 754, *meisse* (for *mansisse*) B 774, *requeis* A 1796.

s dropped before a consonant:—*cunduit* AD 1557. Cf. § 47 c, and ch. viii, § 3, xxxiv.

Analogical alteration of vowel in stem-accented forms:—*prestrent* A 302, *trestrent* A 380 (perhaps merely *e* for *ai*, cf. § 17), *remist* AD 1815 (cf. Vising, *Purgatoire*, note to v. 72); but *pristrent* BD 302, ABD 448, AB 807, 809, *prist* ABD 721, &c., *traistrent* BD 380, *remest* B 1815. Tanquerey (pp. 652 and 760) explains *remist* and *prestrent* as due to phonetic confusion between *i* and closed *e* in Anglo-Norman; but analogical alteration is more probable.

Preterite of *voleir*:—*voustrent*, *vols-* B 293, 1302; but *voldrent* AC 293, A 606, 1302, *voldrunt*, *vul-* ? BD 606 (cf. § 65), D 1302.

(c) The *-ui* type: stem-accented forms.

1. Stem-vowel *e* in V. Lat. (e.g. *debui*).

Forms with analogical *ou* were most probably used by the author; cf. ch. viii, § 3, xxxvii. By their side we find also the standard forms with *u*:—*durent* B [63], 612, [*receurent* B 64], *estut* (from *ester*) D 77, B 1483, *dut* BD 158, A 528, *aparceut* AD 335, *aperçut* B 335, *parçut* D 1141, *receut* A 347, 354, *reçut* B 347, BD 354, *crut* (from *creistre*)

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ABD 625, 790, B 902, [*gut* D 1384]. On the *ce* in *aperceut*, *receut*, see § 52.

2. Stem-vowel *a* (e.g. *habui*).

On *o* D 1303 for *oi* (< *habui*) see § 26; cf. *fu* D 1296 for *fui*.

ou] o :—*ot* B 75, &c., D 621, &c., *orent* C 240, *plot* D 303, 1506, *pot* B 382, ? 608, *sot* D 1505; cf. § 29.

ou] oi :—*oit* C 278.

ou] eu :—*eurent* D 860, 1200 (: *surent*); probably an analogical spelling for *u*, cf. para. d below.

ou] u :—*desplut* B 277, *ut* B 278, *plut* corr. *plout* A 303, *plut* B 303, *urent* A 562, *surent* BD 1176, D 1199; cf. Tanquerey, pp. 606–8.

3. Stem vowel *o* (e.g. *potui*, *nocui*).

These preterites fall into two groups in OF, with *ou* and *u* respectively in the third person.

ou] u :—*purent* D 1175.

u] ou :—*estout* (from *estuveir*) A 179, ACD 304, A 530; but *estut* B 304, 326, BD 530.

u] ui :—in *cunuit*, *con-*, cf. § 15; but *cunut*, *con-* AB 195, B 935. Probably not analogical, but an inverted spelling; cf. §§ 15 and 33, and Tanquerey, pp. 608–17.

(d) The *-ui* type: flexion-accented forms.

1. Stem-vowel *e*.

On the author's preference for analogical *o* see ch. viii, § 3, xxxvii. The only *eu* forms retained are *geüst* B 1384, *deust* D 1708. *Gut* D 1384 is corrupt for *geüst*.

2. Stem-vowel *a*.

The author used *ou* forms; cf. ch. viii, § 3, xxxvii. Forms with *eu* occur in D only:—*eussent* 657, *seusum* 765, *eusum* 766, *eustes* 1121, *eus* 1604. In 657, 765, and 766, also in *deust* 1708, the *eu* appears to be monosyllabic, in 1121 dissyllabic; 1604 is uncertain.

ou] uu :—*uus* A 1604.

ou] u :—*ussent* corr. *oussent* A 657, *ust* BD 917, *ustes* B 1121.

3. Stem-vowel *o*.

ou] eu :—*meüs* BD 776.

ou] oi :—*poist* D 252.

ou] ui :—*puise* D 1579.

§ 71. Past Participle.

(a) The *-sum* type.

The form *remis*, past part. of *remaneir* (on analogy of *remis*, past part. of *remetre*) does not occur in this poem. We find in B 1390 the converse substitution of *remes* (past part. of *remetre*) for *remis*, a substitution of which no example is quoted by Tanquerey (p. 521).

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(b) The *-utum* type.

Only the participles in *-eüt*, *-oüt* require mention. The difficulty of determining what forms were used by the author has been pointed out in ch. viii, § 3, xlii. The following forms occur in the MSS.

-oüt:—stem-vowel **e**, *voüt*, *-ud* A 371, 374, 1181, B 561, *reçoüd* A 1182, *soüz* (< *secutum*) D 1568; **a**, *poüz*, *-u(d)* (from *paistre*) AB 95, 1582, A 1583, *soüt*, *-uz* (from *saveir*) AD 373, *oüt*, *-ud* A 468, AB 1490; **o**, none.

-eüt:—stem-vowel **e**, *receü(d)*, *-üe* ABCD 104, D 347, BD 1182, *seüd*, *-üt* (< *secutum*) AC 192, *seiu* B 192 (cf. § 8 e), also *segut* A 1568, *veü(d)*, *-uz* BD 371, 374, 1181, AD 561, ABD 1721, 1798; **a**, *seüd* (from *saveir*) B 373, *eü* D 468, 1490, *peü(z)* (from *paistre*) D 1582, 1583; **o**, *meüd*, *-ut* ABC 191.

-u(t)] -i(t). The form *suī* D 192 is probably based on the late infinitive *suir*, for *siwre* (cf. § 64). *Muī*, past participle of *muveir*, D 191, was probably invented by the scribe for the sake of rime; though Tanquerey (p. 474) quotes *eslui*, for *esl(e)ü*. *Chaī(t)* AB 1029 (D *chaīz*) is probably not a past participle (Tanquerey, p. 485), but a preterite.

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GLOSSARY

The Glossary is intended to include all the words, forms, and meanings that occur in the critical text, and the more interesting words and forms found among the variants, especially those of the Anglo-Norman MSS. For words and forms of frequent occurrence only one reference has usually been given. Square brackets indicate that the word is not exactly so written in any of the MSS. The asterisk draws attention to a note. Nouns are in the accusative singular, adjectives in the accusative singular masculine form, unless otherwise stated. Under accusative singular and nominative singular are included nominative plural and accusative plural respectively, when the two are identical. Cross-references are given as far as possible, but not for forms taken from the variants, nor for well-known alternative spellings such as *ie* and *e*, *ei* and *ai*, *u* and *o*, *c* and *ch* before *a*.

a, *interj.* 454.

a, *prep.* I replacing dative: to; for 766, 1150, 1456; from 145, 1284, 1810; (agent) by 1206, 1732; (possession) belonging to, of 131, 388, 546, 1291, 1330; II local: (place where) at, on, in; by the side of 1463; from 242; (motion towards) to; fig. 22, 478, 1300, 1837; cf. **cerne, desque, destre, ens, falir, guarir, sec, senestre**; III temporal: (time when) on, at; (duration) for 183, 607, 1000; until 1187; *al lur turn*, in turn 1092; cf. **desque, ore, primes**; IV modal: (manner) with 189, 302, 1041, 1293, 1631, &c.; (accompanying circumstance) 377, 622, 897, 1167, 1384, 1596, 1628; (attribute) with 1142, 1687; (material) of 273; adorned with 683; (instrument) with 1474; (cause) at 945; by 975; (value) at 1552*; in accordance with 381, 864, 997, 999; *a cenz*, by hundreds 802*; cf. **celer, force, plain, plein, rage, saveir, tart**; V final: (purpose) for 530, 755, 1140, 1412, 1794, 1806, 1808; (+inf.) 218, 1775; cf. **remüers**; VI before inf.: *estre a venir* 300; (after adj.) *fort a cunquerre* 628, *f. a sigler* 900; cf. **aveir, estre, prendre.**

aasmer (*DE* **aes-**), *v.* judge, deem 1054.

abeie, *sf.* abbey 673, 695.

abét 152, **-eth** 13, 89; *nom.* **abes** 32: *sm.* abbot.

abit v. **habit.**

abooter (*D* **abouciter**), *v.* watch for, look out for 888*.

abraser, *v. a.* 1689 *D*; *v. n.* be on fire 1689.

absolud, *adj.* holy 824; v. **jusdi.**

acalir, *v.* make insensible, stupefy 1366*.

acater, *v.* buy 1456.

achant, *sm.* tilt, lurch, sudden overturning movement; *prendre a.*, capsize 1018*.

achiper, *v. a.* 252 *C*; cf. **eschiper.**

[**aclore**]; *ind. pr.* 3 **-ot** 1651; *pp.* **-os** 253, 1111 *BD*: *v. a.* surround completely.

aconduire, *v. a.* 1165 *E*.

acrier, *v.* 1370 *B*; cf. **escrier.**

adamant (*D* **aa-**), *sm.* 1719.

adenter, *v. n.* overturn, capsize 906.

adés (ę), *adv.* forthwith 377; incessantly, all the time 188.

ados (ǫ), *sm.* support 80.

aduber, *v.* adorn 679.

aës v. **aveir.**

afamét, *pp. adj.* hungry 797.

aforcier, *v. a.* 1386 *D*; cf. **enforcer.**

agnel, *sm.* lamb 1288.

agreger, *v.* make heavy, make grievous 698, 1358.

agreie, *sf.* equipment 1498*.

ahan 380, 1320, **haan** 980 *D*, 1320 *B*, *sm.* fatigue, distress; cf. **han.**

aigre, egre 790, *adj.* bitter (fig.) 790; violent, fierce 945, 1028.

[**aiguage**] (*BE* **aigage**, *D* **ewage**), *sm.* channel, water-way 569*.

aigue 332, **eigue** 1001, **eue** 332 *B*, **ewe** 332 *D*, **awe** 1607 *D*, *sf.* water; watercourse 1463.

ailurs 88, **-ur** 748, *adv.* elsewhere.

aine, *sf.* groin; *pendre en aines*, hang suspended, dangle 1717*.

ainxe, *sf.* anxiety 1179*.

ains, ens 427, 1008, **ans** 550, *prep.* (of time) before 427, 578; *adv.* before

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previously 852, 992; *conj.* but 198, 469, &c.; *a. que*, before 61, &c.
air, *sm.* air, atmosphere 255, 975, &c.
aïr, *sm.* impetuosity, violence 1017, 1133.
aise, *sf.* comfort 990.
ajurner, *v.* become day 1491.
al = a le 131, &c.; **= a la** 436, &c.
[**alqur**] (*C* **alcour**, *E* **auqor**), *adj.* lofty 279.
aleger, *v.* lighten, alleviate 1357.
alement, *sm.* going, departure on a voyage 144*.
aler; *ind. pr. 1* **vois** 432, **voi** 864, 1322, 1364; *2* **vas** 1328, *3* **vait** 153, &c., *6* **vunt** 210, &c.; *fut. 2* **iras** 1601, *3* **-at** 141, *5* **ires** 431; *imper. 2* **va** 424: *v.* go; + gerund, expresses continuous action 363, 1063; *en a.*, depart 349, 432, &c.; go off 449, 633; become used up 760; *sei en a.*, go away, go off 157, &c.; proceed, go on 1185, 1735; *inf. subs.* departure 871.
aleür, *sm.* passage, gallery 1677.
alis, *adj.* compact, smooth; (of bread) unleavened 410.
alme, *sf.* soul 1566 *D*.
almoine (*BDE* **-osne**), *sf.* alms 1455.
aloeces, *adv.*; *ci a.*, to this spot 173; cf. **ileoc**.
alques, *pron. and adv.*; *a. de*, something of, in some degree 1460.
alter, *sm.* altar 1083.
altre, *pron. and adj.* another, other 171, &c.; previous 826.
altretant, *adv.* just as long 1354.
alumer, *v. a.* 326, 1169.
aluminer, *v. a.* 1169 *A*.
amasser, *v. a.* mass, heap up 1668: *v. n.* unite, become a single mass 1159; *pp. adj.* massive, solid 681; cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxi, p. 396.
ambes, *adj. fem. pl.* both 204, 1668: *a. dous* 1344 *BD*, *amedous* 1344, *andois* 204 *B*, both.
amedous v. **ambes**.
amener 727; *subj. pr. 3* **-enget** 1526: *v.* bring (a person).
amer 732, 798; *ind. pr. 3* **aimet** 568: *v.* love.
amertét, *sf.* bitterness 742.
amestiste (*BDE* **amet-**), *s.* amethyst 678, 1693.
ami, *sm.* 46, &c.
amonester, *v.* admonish 223.
amplè, *adj.* great 38.
amunt, *adv.* up, upward 259, &c.; *prep.* up 489, 859.
amur, *sf.* love 70, 1275.
an v. **en**.
an 379; *nom.* **ans** 721, &c.: *sm.* year
anceis, *adv.* before, previously 534, 563, 1603.
angele, *sm.* angel 100, &c.
angeliel, *adj.* angelic 1537.
anguisus, *adj.* full of anguish 1430.
annuit v. **ennuier**.
annuus, *adj.* troublesome 976.
[**anquerre**]; *pret. 3* **-quist** 413: *v.* inquire.
antaile, *sf.* incision, carving 1683.
anuit v. **ennuier**.
anuit, *adv.* to-night 425, 1440, 1442.
ans v. **ains**.
aorber, *v. a.* blind 1655.
apaiser, *v.* pacify 1728; reconcile 1276.
[**aparceivre**]; *pret. 3* **-eut** 335, **-out** 1141: *v. n.* 335 *A*; *v. refl.* become aware, give heed 335, 1141.
apareil, *sm.* preparation (for a journey) 106.
apareiler, *v.* make ready, provide 830.
apartenir, *v.* 1065 *B*.
apeler, *v. a.* call 164, &c.; invoke 893.
aporter, *v. a.* 301, 1571; carry away 188 *D*.
aporteür, *sm.* one who brings 746.
apostoile, *adj.* apostolic 8; cf. Introduction, ch. ii; *sm.* 1038 *BDE*.
apostorie, *sm.* pope 1038*.
[**appareir**]; *pret. 3* **-rut** 726, 1107: *v. n.* appear.
[**aprembre**]; *ind. pr. 6* **-iement** 654 *D*: *v. a.*
aprendre; *pp.* **apris** 735: *v.* teach 735; learn 1799.
aprés, *adv.* 187, 1781; *prep.* 985.
apresmer v. **aprismer**.
apresser, *v.* press hard, beset 1006.
aprester, *v.* make ready 1635.
aprismer 921, **apresmer** 1258, **aproismier** 1258 *E*, *v. a.* approach 921, 1259 *E*; *v. n.* do. 1258, 1259, 1650, 1661; used impersonally 1469.
arbaleste (*D* **areblaste**), *sf.* cross-bow 1155.
arbre, *sf.* tree 491, 853, &c.; timber 274.
ardeir 1388; *ind. pr. 3* **art** 1142, 1161, 1163, 1348, 1400, *6* **ardent** 1712: *v. n.* burn; *pres. p. adj.* 1128, 1132, 1410; fig. 790.
arere, *adv.* back 936, 1232, 1603; in the future, yet 549.
argent, *sm.* 291.
ariver, *v. n.* come to land 386, &c.; *v. refl.* do. 968.
armer, *v.* (*refl.?*) arm 1216.
armes, *sf. pl.* military power 5.

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arsun, *sf.* burning 759.
arsure, *sf.* 759 *E*, 1390 *D*.
art v. **ardeir**.
art, *sm.* skill 33.
arter, *v. a.*† 1698 *D*.
as = **a les** 146, &c.
asart, *sm.* clearing 1162.
[**aseeir**]; *pret. 3* **asist** 513, &c.; *imper. 5* **asees** 452; *pp.* **asis** 50, &c.: *v. a.* place 50; sit upon, occupy 501; establish 736, 1040; set (gems) 1698; *v. n.* sit down 452, 513; *v. refl.* do. 282, 874.
aseigner, *v.* 474 *D*.
asembler, **ass-**, *v. a.* 312 *B*; *v. n.* gather together 731.
asen, *sm.* teaching, instruction 583; cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxi, p. 397.
asener; *subj. pr. 3* **-ent** 508: *v.* instruct, teach 474*, 508, 1778.
asens, *sm.* indication (of direction) 788, 1546; cf. 583 *D*.
aserir, *v.* become evening; *inf. subs.* 1321.
aserrer, *v. a.* 1828 *D*; cf. **enserrer**.
aseürance, *sf.* 121 *D*.
asez, *adv.* enough, in sufficient quantity 301, 415, &c.
asis, **asist** v. **aseeir**.
[**asoldre**]; *ind. pr. 3* **-olt** 346: *v.* absolve.
asorber, *v. n.* lose one's sight 1656*.
asoür, *adj.* secure, confident 841.
asperir, *v.* submit to trials, undergo ill-treatment 1323*.
aspirer, *v.* inspire 142.
assals, *sm. nom.* 1146 *B*.
assent, *sm.* 583 *E*.
asserril, *sm.*† 1321 *B*.
ast, **as** 188 *C* (*BDE* **es**), *interj.* behold! 827, 861; *a. vus*, do. 188, 310, 356, 582, 613, 656.
atendre 1632, 1804, **att-** 1554; *ind. pr. 1* **atent** 1561, *3* **-ent** 338; *imper. 2* **-ent** 454: *v.* await.
atraire, *v.* bring together, collect 173.
atre, precincts of a church or monastery, holy ground 720.
aturner, **ator-**, *v.* (+ *a*) direct towards 808 *D*, 1184.
aürer, *v.* adore 1293.
[**aüvrir**]; *pp.* **-vert** 1210: *v. a.* open.
aval, *adv.* down, downward 259, 552, 1715; *prep.* down 172.
avaler, *v.* descend 872.
avant, *prep.* (of order) before 171; *adv.* onward 1033, &c.; forward 1474, 1735, 1792, &c.; further, more 1268.
avei, *sm.* guidance 583; cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxi, p. 400.
aveier, *v.* guide, direct 140.
aveir 62; *ind. pr. 1* **ai** 751, *2* **as** 1324, *3* **ad** 9, **at** 258, *4* **avum** 127, *5* **aves** 468, *6* **unt** 70; *impf. 1* **aveie** 1549, *3* **-eit** 36, *6* **-eient** 182; *pret. 1* **oi** 1290, *2* [**ous**] 1604, *3* **out** 75, *5* **oustes** 1121, *6* **ourent** 240; *fut. 1* **avrai** 1436, *3* **-at** 1488, *5* **averes** (3 syllables) 227, 587, *6* **avrunt** 66; *subj. pr. 3* **ait** 226, *5* **aiez** 366, *6* **aient** 652; *impf. 3* [**oust**] 917, *4* **ousum** 766, *6* **oussent** 657; *imper. 5* **aëz** 361, **aiez** 1507; *pp.* **oüt** 468, **oüd** 1490: *v.* have; get back, recover 1200; hold (dear, &c.) 966, 1588; *a. a* (+ *inf.*) have to, must 615, 616; *n'i unt nïent*, they have no power over him, they are foiled 1482*; *a. nun*, *v.* num; cf. **freid**, **mester**, **os**, **poür**; *v. impers.* (with or without *i*) 53, 135, &c.; *inf. subs.* wealth, money 1277.
[**avenir**]; *ind. pr. 3* **avient** 241; *fut. 3* **avendrat** 196: *v. n.* befall; *pres. p. adj.* 410 *D*.
averer, *v.* establish as true 958.
avirun, *sm.* oar 229.
avis, *sm.*; *m'est a.*, it seems to me 1403.
avisiun, *sf.* vision, wonderful sight 1783.
aviver, *v.* become more violent 974.
[**avoldre**]; *pret. 3* **avolst** 176: *v.* envelop.
avoler, *v. n.* 1011 *E*.

[**baïf**]; *nom.* **-is** 617*: *adj.* waiting expectantly.
[**bailif**]; *nom.* **-is** 452: *sm.* steward.
bainer, *v. a.* bathe 829.
baiser, *v. a.* 153, &c.; *v. refl.* 609, 693.
balaine, *sf.* 839 *E*.
baldorie, *sf.* joy, jubilation 544.
baleste, *sf.*† 1156 *B*.
banc, *sm.* bench, seat 282.
barge, *sf.* boat 622.
bas, *adv.* (of place) 523; (of sound) 1043.
bat 890; *nom.* **bas** 602*: *sm.* boat.
bataile, *sf.* 949, 1023.
batre, *v. n.* (of the sea) beat upon the shore 1702.
beal v. **bel**.
bein v. **bien**.
beitrer (*B* **-tier**, *D* **-ter**), *v. n.* steer 233*.
beivre 806, &c.; *ind. pr. 3* **beit** 1593; *impf. 3* **beveit** 813: *v.* drink; *inf. subs.* drink 290, 357, 605, 705.
bel 268, **beal** 82, 443, &c.; *nom.* **beus** 502: *adj.* beautiful, handsome, fine;

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(as vocative) 1043, 1541; *adv.* 514, 1740.
berbiz, *sf.* sheep 387, 399, 417.
beril, *sm.* beryl 1089, 1696.
beste, *sf.* animal 469, &c.
betumeit, *sm.* bog, morass 804.
betument, *sm.* 804 *E.*
beveit v. **beivre.**
bien, **ben** 23, **bein** 34, *adv.* well 23, &c.; (believe) firmly 53, 968, 1204; (see, hear) clearly 196, 855, &c.; (promise) truly 412; completely 1285, 1413; steadfastly 1508; fortunately situated 1828; certainly, indeed 964, 1150, 1580; (+ *adj. or adv.*) very 430, 461, 702, 1034; *mult b. avant*, a long way forward 1777; *sm.* good, good action 1452, 1453; property 1462.
bienfait, *sm.* kind act, good office 1612.
bis, *adj.* grey 262.
blanc 494; *nom.* **-ns** 410; *fem.* **-nche** 388, **-nce** 1539: *adj.*
blasmer, *v.* 16, 1053.
blef, *adj.* pale 264.
boche, *sf.* hump, projection 1217.
bodne (*B* **bosne**?), *sf.* boundary stone; (here) large stone or rock 1580*.
bof v. **buf.**
bois, *sm.* wood, grove 77, 1547, 1737, 1753.
bon, *adj.* good 13; favourable 186; *sm.* pleasure, desire 1769.
bord, *sm.* board, plank 1015.
bovin (*E* **buevin**), *adj.* of an ox; *quir b.*, ox-hide 176.
braire 1206, [**braier**]; *ind. pr. 3* **braiet** 916*; *pret. 3* **braist** 934: *v.* bellow.
branche, *sf.* branches 854*.
brancheie, *sf.* branches 498.
brande, *sf.* peril 904*.
branle, *sm.* 904 *D.*
bretesche, *sf.* wooden embattled tower, kind of outwork 1678.
broche, *sf.* spit 1371.
brüere, *sf.* heather 1162.
buche v. **busche.**
buche, *sf.* mouth 912, 1458.
buf 599, **bof** 1150, *sm.* ox.
[**bulir**] or [**builir**]; *ind. pr. 1* **buil** 1377: *v. n.* boil.
buntét, *sf.* kindness 1551.
burse, *sf.* pouch, purse 1281.
busche 449, 1003, **buche** 912, *sf.* fire-wood.
busuign 1830; *nom.* **-uins** 241, 1635: *sm.* need, want.
buter, *v.* thrust, push 488.
bus, *sm. nom.* push, thrust 1025.

ça, *adv.* hither 727, 1116, 1546; **ça** *avant*, beyond this point, farther on 1798.
cacer 1019, **cha-** 989, *v.* pursue; drive, impel 989*.
cacher, *v.* force, compel to go 1120*.
calcedoine (*E* **calsidoine**), *s.* chalcedony 1086, 1691.
cald 1415; *nom.* **cals** 756, 1351, **chals** 1767: *adj.* hot; *sm.* heat 1767; *pl.* 1178, 1431.
caldere, *sf.* cauldron 837.
calenger, *v.* dispute, contest 1477.
calin (*D* **chalim**), *sm.* fog 1108, 1650 ff.
candeile, *sf.* candle 324.
cant, **chant** 577, *sm.* hymn 558, 560; *c. de gals*, cock-crow 577.
canter, **cha-** 571, *v.* sing: *inf. subs.* 857.
cape, **cha-**, *sf.* 688 *DE.*
[**capitle**], *sm.* chapter-house 125.
cardunt, *sm.* thistle 1745.
carn 1563, **charn** 447, *sf.* flesh.
carnalment (*BD* **charnel-**, *E* **carnel-**), *adv.* in the flesh 1801.
caruine, *sf.* putrefying flesh 1110.
castel, *sm.* castle 267.
ceil v. **cel.**
ceine, *sf.* Last Supper 393, 1617; ceremony commemorative of the Last Supper 831, 881.
cel, **cele** v. **cil.**
cel 25, 140, **ceil** 522, *sm.* heaven.
celebrier, *v.* celebrate 845; cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxi, p. 402.
celer, *v.* conceal 198, 1281, 1283; *a celét*, secretly 809.
celestiel, *adj.* 1538.
censier 681 *D*; cf. **encenser.**
cent 1206, 1797: *pl.* **-ns** 78, 802, 918.
cerf, *sm.* 390.
cerne (ç), *sm.* circle; *a c.*, all round 873.
cert, *adj.* certain, unfailing 1626, 1734.
certeinement, *adv.* 1265 *D.*
certement, *adv.* with certainty 143, 1265.
ces = **ce les** 1638 *D.*
cesser, *v. n.* 1005, 1336.
cest, **ceste** v. **cist.**
cester, *v.* stumble 224*.
cestirer, *v. a.* ? 1228 *D.*
cestui v. **cist.**
ceu, *adj.* blind; dark 1398*.
ces v. **cist.**
cha- v. **ca-.**
chaeine, *sf.* chain 869.
[**chaeir**]; *ind. pr. 3* **cheot** 1160, **cheit** 1161; *pret. 3* **chaït** 1029*, 4 **chaïmes** 523; *subj. pr. 5* **chaies** 820: *v.* fall; *c. en ubli*, be forgetful 820.

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[chaitif]; *nom.* -is 1344, 1361: *adj.* wretched.
chalice, *sm.* 1097.
changer, *v. a.* 1357.
chanut 407, -ud 827, *adj.* hoary.
charger, *v. a.* load 890, 891; fill (a sail with wind) 1660; charge, command 136; *v. n.* become loaded, produce fruit 1749*.
chef, *sm.* head, upper end 491.
cheit v. chaeir.
cheles (*E* queles), *interj.*, if you please, I beg you 343*.
chemin, *sm.* 1664, 1670.
cheot v. chaeir.
cher 160, 1825, &c., chier 1454, *adj.*
chere, *sf.* face; frame of mind 1290.
chernel (*E* carnel), *sm.* crenel, indentation in a battlement 1677.
chescun 297, &c., chas- 752, &c., *pron. and adj.* each one, each, every.
[chil] = chi (qui) le 1206.
chis = chi (qui) les [898], [910], 1698.
choisir, *v.* see 465, 853, 1193, 1674.
ci 192, &c., ici 68, &c., *adv.* here; *de ci que* 139, 1106, *d'ici que* 650, until.
cil 18, icil 165; *acc.* cel 49, icel 51, celui 314; *nom. pl.* icil 67, cil 121; *acc. pl.* iceals 28*, 711, 1143, iceols 123, ceals 1292, 1338; *fem.* cele 894, cel' 97, icele 383; *neut. sg.* cel 60, 117, 358, 1457, 1771, icel 358 *B*: *dem. pron. and adj.* that, he, she, it; the former 1028*; *cil la* 1428; *pur cel*, v. pur.
cinc, five 918.
cinquante 1597.
ciprés, *sm.* cypress 1782.
cire, *sf.* 760.
cirge, *sm.* taper 326.
cisler, *v.* (of wind) whistle, howl 94*.
cist 27, icist 19; *acc.* cest 331, icest 724, cestui 171; *nom. pl.* cist 1112; *acc. pl.* ces 285, ices 1262; *fem.* ceste 933, cest' 1391; *pl.* ces 390, ices 399, ces 1805; *neut. sg.* cest 1457 (!), 1460 (!): *dem. pron. and adj.* this; the nearer one 933, 935; the latter 1028*; = *def. art.* 390*.
cité, *sf.* 278.
clamer, *v.* call; *c. culpe*, cry 'mea culpa!', confess one's sin 1060.
clarté, *sf.* brightness 275, 1697.
cler, *adj.* clear, bright 483, &c.; resonant 1041; *sm., le c. del jurn*, daylight 1134; *adv.* clearly 1067; brightly 1020; in a resonant tone 1061; *estre c. ajurné*, be broad daylight 1491.
cliner, *v.* bow 369, 661.
[clore]; *ind. pr. 3* clot 1706: *v.* enclose.
ço 9, içe 71, o' 546, *dem. pron. neut.* this, that; *impers. subj.* it 546, 1218, 1593; *ço que*, what 127, 1506, 1832; the fact that 1446, 1826; *pur ço, pur ço que*, v. pur.
coe, *sf.* 941 *B*.
cois, *sm.*; *prendre en sun c.*, choose 1548.
col, *sm.* neck 1577.
colp 941, 1025; *nom.* cols 512: blow, stroke.
colur, *s.* 1700.
[commuveir]; *ind. pr. 3* -mout 1051; *pret. 3* (?) -mot 1260: *v.* excite, arouse.
[comunalment], cummuneal-, *adv.* universally, one and all 113, 1824 *D*.
comunel, *adj.* 236 *D*.
comunement, *adv.* universally 113 *DE*, 1824.
[conoreire]; *ind. pr. 3* -creit 149: *v.* entrust.
confés, *adj.*; *sei rendre c.*, make one's confession 74, 337, 1305.
conforter, *v.* comfort, console 1806.
conseller, *sm.* counsellor 504.
contrarie, *sm.* disagreeable experience, vexation 1396.
converser, *v.* dwell, live 720.
cop, *sm.* 512 *B*, 941 *D*, 1025 *BD*.
cor, *conj.* = quer (?) 561*.
cor, *sm.* choir 580.
corde, *sf.* rope 232, &c.
coroner, *v.* crown 1294.
cors, *sm.* body 217, &c.; *mun c.*, myself 1516, 1590.
[ços] (*D* ces) = ço les 1638.
cose 505, chose 1199, *sf.* thing; *pur quel c.*, why 1199.
costed, *sm.* side 1298.
costeer, *v.* go along the side of, skirt 1063.
costil, *sm.* coast 430*.
creablement, *adv.* in a believing manner, confidently 1220; cf. 60 *E*.
creance, *sf.* belief 596 *D*, 1056.
creint v. cremeir.
creire 148; *ind. pr. 1* crei 171, *3* creit 53, &c., *6* creient 968; *fut. 5* crerres 477; *imper.* 5 crees 1095, -es 1204: *v. n.* believe 53; trust, expect 968; (+*a*) 968 *E*; *v. a.* believe 105; believe in 794; entrust, commend 148*.
[creistre]; *ind. pr. 3* creist 1180; *pret. 3* crut 625, 790, 902 *BE* (!)*; *fut. 3* creistrat 3: *v. n.* increase, grow greater.

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oremer 928 (*B* **-eir**, *DE* **-ir**); *ind. pr. 3* [**oreint**] 1714, *6* **orement** 626, &c.; *fut. 3* **orendres** 477: *v. a.* fear; *v. n.* be afraid 1009.
orendres v. **oremeir.**
oreopase, *s.* 1690 *E*; cf. **grisopase.**
oreos 257, **oros** 637, *sm.* hollow.
orerres v. **oreire.**
oriature, *sf.* creature, created being 515.
orieme, *sf.* 1487 *D.*
orier, *v. n.* cry out 342, 559, 1244; *v. a.* call out the name of, invoke 189, 306, 1263; beg for, implore 1252.
orisolite, *sf.* 1687 *DE*; cf. **grisolite.**
oristal, *sm.* 272, 1098, 1696.
oris, *sm. nom.* cry 1172.
oroc, *sm.* hooked staff, crook 1474.
oros v. **oreos.**
orûel (ę̂), *adj.* 1049, 1292.
orut v. **oreistre.**
orus, *sf.* cross 677, 1299; sign of the cross 1123.
ouilir, *v.* accept 1302, 1551.
oulpe, *sf.* sin 1060; cf. **olamer.**
oum, oume, oun 1135, *adv. and conj.* how 128, &c.; as 12, &c.; like 40, 944, &c.; while 667, 921, 1019, 1135; when 228, 241, 309, 394, 451, 933, 1039, 1177, 1469, 1499, 1661; *c. si* (*se*), as if 800, 1383; *c. mels*, as well as 1175; *c. plus*, as much as 606, 1176, cf. 382*; *c. plus . . (e) plus*, the more . . the more 1104, 1125, 1157; *si c.*, v. **si**; (*i*)*tant c.*, v. **tant**; *tel c.*, v. **tel.**
oumander, com-; *ind. pr. 1* **-ant** 1264, 1479; *v. a.* command 9, 151, 832; *v. refl.* commend oneself 574.
oumandise, *sf.* command 1562.
oumant, *sm.* command 12, 372, 999.
oument, *adv.* how 148, &c.
oumfort, *sm.* consolation 562.
oumpaignun, *sm.* 644, 1499, 1525.
oumpaine, *sf.* company 594.
oumpainie, *sf.* company, party 696, 894.
oumplie, *sf.* compline, last service of the day 571.
oumungement (*B* **oumen-**), *sm.* communion 347.
oun v. **oum.**
[**ounduire**]; *ind. pr. 3* **-duit** 783, &c., *6* **-dûent** 639; *pret. 3* [**-duist**] 1557; *pp.* **-duit** 1165: *v. a.* conduct; drive onwards 1165, 1363.
ounduit 927, 1496, 1632, 1643; *nom.* **-dus** 378: *sm.* escort, protection on a voyage.
oungét 401, **-gé** 145; *nom.* **-ges** 864: *sm.* permission, leave; *prendre c.*, take leave (to depart) 145, 591, 610, 782, 1611, 1809; *duner c.* 1611.
ounquerre, *v.* gain, reach (land) 628.
ounreer, *v. a.* prepare 400, 451.
ounrei 301, **-reid** 789; *nom.* **-reis** 978: *sm.* equipment, provisions 331, &c.; esp. food and drink 301*, 584, 789, 978, 1586 ff.
ounseil, con-, *sm.* advice 79, 105; prudence 6; decision 73; plan, design 41.
ounte, *sm.* reckoning 1500.
ounter, *v. a.* calculate, reckon 607, 1552.
ountre, *prep.* against 1406; towards, to meet 1722; *c. terre*, on the ground 1729.
[**ountredire**]; *ind. pr. 3* **-dit** 435: *v.* oppose.
ountresailir, *v.* (+ *dat.*) rise up against 977*.
ountretenir, *v. a.* oppose, resist 932.
[**ounuistre**]; *pret. 3* **ounut** 195, **-uit** 337, 935, 975: *v.* know, recognize; acknowledge, confess 337*.
ourage, *sm.* heart, courage 224.
oure, *sf.* care, anxiety 763; desire 805; *prendre c. de*, be anxious for, desire 162; take care of 352; pay heed to 516.
[**ourre**]; *ind. pr. 3* **ourt** 851, 902, 1146, *6* **ourent** 379, &c.; *impf. 3* **oureit** 811; *pret. 6* **ororent** 219; *imper. 4* **ourum** 1222; *pres. p.* **ourant** 188, **ourrant** 656; *pp.* **ourud** 98, **-ut** 482, 901: *v.* run 188, &c.; sail 98, &c.; *c. lait*, flow with milk 1755; *c. sus* (+ *dat.*) assail, descend upon 811; *pres. p. adj.* swift 178.
ours, *sm.* course 234, &c.; voyage 1101; *a plein c.*, at full speed 1669.
ouste, *sf.* trouble, hardship, pain 587, 865, 1318*, 1334.
[**ouvrir**]; *pp.* **-vert** 1170, 1189, 1536: *v.* cover.

dampner, *v.* damn 1306; *pp. subs.* 1172, 1182.
dans v. **dons.**
de, d', *prep.* I replacing genitive: of; objective gen. 100, 214, 1010; (+ inf.) 844, 857, 1806; II local: from (lit. and fig.); (origin) 19, 21, 86, &c.; (source) 79, 80, 111, &c.; (material) of 175, 291, 681, &c.; (place where) on 1485, 1668; cf. **part, pres**; III temporal: from 1306; IV causal: from 422, 917, 1402, 1700, 1818; concerning, about 13, 508, 1055, &c.;

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as regards 495, 1181; (permission) for 401; (thanks) for 624, 1497, 1612; (agent) by 501, 1300, 1370, 1708; *de ço que*, at the fact that 1446, 1826; V modal: with; (material, colour) 176, 494, 599, 1077; (instrument) 253, 416, &c.; (fill, load, provide) with 890, 1001, 1003, 1660, &c.; (smoke, glow) with 1109, 1690, cf. 1170; (feed) on 95, 1583; (quality, attribute) of 529, 723, 892, 1108, 1192, 1439; cf. **fi**; VI partitive: (+def. art.) some 449; (after expressions denoting quantity) 184, 290, 331, &c.; (after neg.) 1307, 1408, 1747; VII comparative: than 706, 1110; VIII introducing inf. 1334; after *prendre escuil* 69, *sei targer* 136, *sei pener* 216, *sei oblier* 305, *sei taisir* 376, *penser* 398, *aveir cure* 806, *sei esforcer* 1115, *suvener* (adj.) 1570, *aveir mester* 1584.

debarder (*B* **debaharder**), *v. a.* squander 1278*.

debuter, *v.* thrust aside 1056.

decés, *sm.*; *prendre d.*, die 738.

declinant, *sm.* decline (of day) 557.

dedefors, *prep.* 1703 *D.*

dedens, *adv.* within, inside 175; *prep.* do. 271.

dedevant, *adv.* 636 *D.*

deduit, *sm.* joy, happiness 1631, 1644.

defaile, *sf.* failure, cessation 238.

defalte, *sf.* lack, want 604; *sanz d.*, uninterruptedly 248, 1645.

defendre 1285; *ind. pr. 1* **-ent** 296, 649; *imper. 2* **-ent** 14: *v.* forbid; protect 14.

defens (*E* **desf-**), *sm.* prohibition 1010.

defire, *v. n.* perish 1392.

defors, *adv.* outside 176, 1408.

dehait (*B* **desait**, *DE* **deshait**), *sm.* displeasure 154*.

dehaite, *sf.* affliction 1767.

dehaiter, **deshaitier** 1767 *E*, *v. a.*; *pp. adj.* saddened, sorry 1296.

deiable v. **diable**.

deient, **deies**, **deit** v. **devoir**.

deintét, *s.* choice viand, delicacy 704.

dejus, *adv.* below, beneath 1238.

dejuste, *adv.* close by 1333.

del = **de le** 86, &c.; = **de la** 786, 1485.

delacherer, *v.* lacerate 1228.

delicius, *adj.* delightful 1743.

delit, *sm.* delight 24, 1600, 1780.

demain, *adv.* 426; *sm.* morrow 967, 1365 *A*.

demander, *v. a.* 26, 1450.

demener; *ind. pr. 1* **-maine** 1308, *2* **-meines** 1325: *v. a.* undergo, endure 1308; *v. refl.* exist, live 1325.

demurance, *sf.* delay 122.

demurer; *ind. pr. 1* **-moir** 1354; *fut. 1* **-murai** 867: *v.* remain 1354; remain unfulfilled 930; tarry, be a long time 867, 1221, 1609; used impersonally 1187.

dener, *sm.* coin, piece of silver 1301.

dent 946; *nom.* **-ns** 917, &c.: *sm.* tooth.

dens, *adv.* therein 801.

departir; *ind. pr. 3* **-art** 1159, &c.: *v. a.* part, separate 1346, 1347; *v. n.* split up, become divided 1159; *inf. subs.* parting 896.

deporter, *v.* set aside, forgo 1314.

deprier, *v. a.* 205 *B*.

derein, *adj.* last; latter 951.

derube (*E* **desr-**), *sm.* precipice, cliff 170.

des = **de les** 100, &c.

des, *prep.* from 497, 769, 1076; *d. quant*, since when, how long 717; *d. que*, as soon as 347, 817.

[**descendre**]; *ind. pr. 1* **-ent** 1355, **-en** 1422, *3* **-ent** 1011, &c.: *v.* descend.

desoirer, *v. a.* tear 954, 1228.

descorder, *v.* disunite, set at variance 1276.

[**descuvrir**]; *pp.* **-vert** 1209: *v.* uncover.

desdeign 236, **-ein** 532, *sm.* disdain, contempt; *prendre en d.*, scorn 532.

deseriter, *v.* disinherit 51, 535.

desevrer, *v. a.* 536 *D.*

desfrire, *v. n.* † 1392 *E.*

deshait, **-tier** v. **dehait**, **-ter**.

desir, *sm.* 71, 1106.

desirer, *v.* 217, 288.

desperer (*DE* **desesperer**), *v.* despair 957.

[**desplaisir**]; *pret. 3* **-plout** 277: *v.* (+*dat.*) displease.

desque, *conj.* until 220*, 367, &c.; *prep.* until [588], 771, 866; as far as 192; *d. a*, until 833, &c.; up to 940, &c.; *d. en*, as far as 710; down to 497, 1047.

desrei, *sm.* excess 302.

destiner, *v.* 800, 1838.

destre, *sf.* right hand 207, 663; *a d.*, on the right 1239.

destrecce, *sf.* compulsion, force 1190.

desur 513, **-ure** 1703, *prep.* upon.

desus, *adv.* above 1237, 1464; thereon 1705.

desus, *adv.* beneath 257.

[**detenir**]; *pp. nom.* **-nus** 1502: *v.* detain.

detirer, *v.* pull about 953, 1227.

detraire, *v. a.* 1205 *DE*.

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detriers (*BD* **-iés**), *adv.* behind 1236, 1238.
devaler, *v. n.* descend 556, 886; *v. refl.* do. 510.
devant, *adv.* before (of place) 636, 1237, 1459; (of time) 838, 860; *prep.* before (of place) 341, &c.; (of rank) 480; (of time) before 392; within 998; *d. içe que*, *conj.* (of time) before 1800.
[**deveir**]; *ind. pr. 3* **deit** 150, &c., *4* **devum** 757, *6* **deient** 232, 672, 1620; *pret. 1* **dui** 1276, *3* **dout** 158, *6* **dourent** 612; *fut. 6* **devrunt** 62, &c.; *cond. 3* **devreit** 56; *subj. pr. 2* **deies** 518; *impf. 3* **doust** 528, 1708: *v.* ought, be in duty bound, be obliged, must; (expressing impending action) be going to 932*; (expressing desire to know the reasons for a surprising fact) *mustrer* (*dire*) *que deit*, explain its cause and purpose 506*, 518, 1448.
[**devenir**]; *pret. 3* **-vint** 91; *pp. nom.* **-venus** 1501: *v.* come 91; become 1501.
devoler, *v. n.* 510 *A*, 886 *A*.
di, *sm.* day 183, &c.; *de di en di*, for ever 1306; cf. **tusdis**.
diable 314, &c., **dei-** 1437, 1471, 1485, *sm.* devil.
dïemaine, Sunday 1311, 1321.
digne, *adj.* worthy, noble 666.
dire 17 *D*; *ind. pr. 1* **di** 117, *3* **dit** 15, *6* **dïent** 578; *pret. 3* **dist** 102; *subj. pr. 2* **dïes** 1264, *3* **dïet** 1447; *imper. 2* **di** 517; *pp.* **dit** 555: *v.* say, tell.
dis, ten 465, &c.
divers, *adj.* sundry 35.
divin (*DE* **devin**), *adj.* divine 2, 479, 1649; *subs.* 922.
diviser, *v.* explain, expound 1779*.
divisiun, *sf.* exposition, explanation 1784.
dïs 81, 124, &c., *sm. nom.* discourse, words.
[**doleir**]; *subj. pr. 3* **doile** 18: *v. refl.* be rueful, suffer.
dolent, *adj.* unhappy, wretched 1261, 1473.
dolur, *sm.* 1256, 1432, 1446, 1544.
donna (*BD* **dame**), *sf.* lady 1.
dons 194, 454, **dans** 8, **dan** 696 *D*, *sm.* lord.
dormir, *v.* 320, 575, 812; *pres. p. adj.* (of the sea) sluggish 899.
doul, *sm.* sorrow, grief 1274.
dourent v. **deveir**.
dous 199, &c.; *nom.* **dui** 1335: two; *d. e d.*, two by two, in pairs 112.
doust, dout v. **deveir**.
dragun, *sm.* 1020, 1711, &c.
drap; *nom.* **dras**: *sm.* cloth 1229, 1448, 1456; *pl.* clothes 29, 462, 830.
drecher, *v.* direct, turn (a ship, one's course) 383, 1022; raise 204, 660, 938; set up (a mast) 209.
dreit, *adj.* straight, direct 1616; right, correct 1726; rightful 1816; *adv.* straight 170, &c.; *sm.* right 18; *par d.*, rightfully 56.
duble, *adj.* 645, 1488.
dubler, *v. a.* augment 767*.
dui v. **deveir** and **dous**.
[**duire**]; *ind. pr. 3* **duit** 266, 694: *v.* lead.
duit 489, 491, 652, 801; *nom.* **duis** 638, 753: *sm.* watercourse, stream.
dulcement, *adv.* sweetly 511; affectionately 1727.
dulceur, *sf.* kindness 691.
duls, dous 395, **dus** 670; *fem.* **dulce** 559: *adj.* sweet; tender, kind 146, 395, 670, 1826.
dum, dun v. **dunt**.
dun, *sm.* gift 584.
dune 112, **idune** 228, 304, **dunches** 771, 1397, *adv.* then; accordingly 516.
duner; *fut. 3* **durat** 362: *v.* give 941, 1611, 1697.
dunt 48, **dun** 52, &c., **dum** 812, &c., *adv. and rel. pron.* (in senses corresponding to **de**) whence 1450, 1766; from which 52; of which 174, 1652; with which 276; whereby 948; concerning which 48, 71; whereat 907; at whom 1136; (antecedent omitted) that with which 397.
dur, *adj.* 272, 1389, 1701; fig. 764.
durat v. **duner**.
durement, *adv.* exceedingly 165.
durer, *v.* last 237; extend 161.
dutance, *sf.* fear; *entrer en d.*, become frightened 923.
dute, *sf.* fear 1507.
duter, *v. n.* fear 1055; *v. a.* fear 487, 867, 995, 1185.

e, *interj.* expressing surprise 417.
e, *conj.* and; *introducing the second of two correlated comparatives* 1157; *e . . e . .*, both . . and . . 31, 58, 519, 1359.
eals v. **il**.
egre v. **aigre**.
eigue v. **aigue**.
eir, *sm.* heir 27, 1654.
eire, *sm.* journey, voyage 141, &c.
eirent v. **errer**.

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eisil, *sm.* exile 30, 561.
eisir 342, 1521 ; *ind. pr. 6* **issent** 1004, 1671 ; *fut. 1* **istrai** 1515 ; *pp.* eisud 690, -ut 1673 : *v. n.* go out, come out 342, 1138, 1521, 1671 ; *e. fors* 690, *en e. fors* 641, 836, disembark, land ; *v. refl.*, *sei en e.*, go out, come out 1673 ; depart 1004 ; disembark, 265, 643 ; (+*fors*) do. 441, 1515 ; *inf. subs.* landing 486.
eissi 595, **eisi** 1019, 1181, 1647, **esi** 12, *adv.* so, thus ; cf. **issi**.
eissil = **eissi le** 595.
el v. **il**.
el = **en le** 131, &c.
el, *pron.* something else, anything else 743, 907, 963, 1382, 1831 ; cf. **un**.
ele, *sf.* wing 1021.
embler, *v.* steal ; *an emblét*, by stealth 311*.
empeinte, *sf.* impact, assault 1241.
empereür, *sm.* 270.
emprent v. **enprendre**.
en v. **hume**.
en, **an** 311, **em** 876, **am** 1112, *prep.* in, on, into ; (of time) 581, 838, 1671 ; (+ gerund) 1158 ; cf. **embler**, **larrecin**, **leu**, **luign**, **num**, **pais**, **pose**, **poste**, **repost**, **rost**, **tresturn**.
en, **ent** 295, **an** 772, **em** 802, 809, 1117, (enclitic) **n** 1072, *adv. and pers. pron.* I local : (with verbs of motion) thence, away ; +*aler* 157, +*commuveir* 1051, +*cunduire* 1811, +*devaler* 510, +*eissir* 641, +*fuir* 456, +*galir* 1365, +*lever* 707, +*mener* 119, +*porter* 330, +*saillir* 1200, +*turner* 328 ; +*pres* 97, +*luign* 1332 ; II of things, in senses corresponding to **de** : of it, of them, thereof 25, 601, 994, &c. ; about it 112, 414, 743 ; (serve) therewith 1100 ; (thank) for them 1612 (pleonastic) ; some 295 ; III referring to preceding or following clause or sentence : on this account, because of this 18, 105, 120, 538, 567, 1032, 1103, 1306 ; in the matter, about the matter 59, 73, 115, 1093, 1562, 1771 ; *poi en falt . . que* 905, cf. **falir** ; IV of persons or animals : concerning him (them) 196, 1506 ; (avenge) on him 924, 1030.
enartét, *pp. adj.* skilled, ingenious 1698.
enbraiser, *v.* be fiery 911.
enbraser, *v. n.* 1689 *E*.
encasser, *v.* set, insert (gems) 682.
[**encenser**], *sm.* censer 681.
enchacer, *v.* pursue 910.
enchaër, *v.* fall 659.
enclin, *adf.* prostrate 813.
encliner, *v. a.* bow to 661 *E*.
[**enclore**] ; *pp.* **-clos** 1111 : *v.* surround.
encoste, *adv.* at one's side 1666.
[**encreire**] ; *fut. 5* **-crerres** 476* : *v. n.* believe.
encroër, *v. a.* suspend on a hook 1361.
encui, *adv.* to-day 340.
endemain, *sm.* morrow 1627.
endormir, *v. refl.* 309.
endreit, *prep.* close by, near 1135 ; *sm.* place 1325.
endurer, *v.* 1175.
enemi, *sm.* 992.
enens, *adv.* thereinto, inside 280 ; on board 185*.
[**eneveies**] (*A* **uneveis**, *BD* **eneveis**, *E* **anevois**), *adv.* very soon, shortly 1436*.
enfermeté(**t**), *sf.* 422 *BE*, 741 *AB* ; cf. **enfertét**.
enfern 65, &c. ; *nom.* **-rs** 1211, 1333, 1347 : *sm.* hell.
enfertét, *sf.* sickness 422, 741.
enfler, *v. n.* 1429.
enforcer, *v.* make greater, increase 1386.
engemmer, *v.* adorn with gems 678.
engien, *sm.* 276 *D*.
enginer, *v.* 678 *D*.
enhorter, *v.* exhort 1280.
enjus, *adv.* below 1354.
enlüer, *v. a.* smear over 1388.
enmaler, *v.* stow away 318.
ennoi, *sm.* trouble, trial 616.
[**ennuier**] ; *subj. pr. 3* **anuit** 1393, **ann-** 1484 : *v.* (+dat.) be troublesome to, annoy, vex ; *v. impers.* 1585.
enpost, *adj.* (of cloud) dirty, dark 1614*.
[**enprendre**] ; *ind. pr. 3* **enprent** 106, 244, 662, 1157, **em-** 761 ; *pret. 3* **enprist** 114 ; *pp.* **-pris** 9 : *v. a.* undertake, begin ; (+inf.) 662* ; *v. n.* catch fire, light 761, 1157.
[**enruire**] ; *ind. pr. 3* **-ruit** 1129* : *v.* roar.
ensaintir, *v.* become a saint 1833.
ensample (*BD* **ees-**, *E* **ex-**), *sm.* example 37 ; parable, story 82.
[**enseign**], *sm.* guidance 596.
enseigne, *sf.* sign, token 1806, 1808.
enseigner ; *subj. pr. 3* **-eint** 129 : *v.* instruct 129, 1118 ; explain 716 ; indicate, show 1532.
ensemble, *adv.* ; *e. od*, together with 579, 784.
ensembler, *v.* bring together, collect 312.
enserrét, *pp. adj.* dense 1667 *E* ; distressed 1828 ; perplexed 1504*.

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[ensiwre]; *imper. 2* **-siu** 1605 *D* : *v. a.*
ensum, *prep.* to the top of 556, 886.
ensus, *adv.* upwards, up 1073.
entailer, *v.* carve, engrave; (here) set (with gems), decorate 276*.
enteins (*B* **enteimes**, *D* **entaimes**), *adv.*; *n'e.*, not even 332*.
entendre; *ind. pr. 3* **-ent** 22, 160: *v.* understand 1790; (+*a*) be intent upon 22, 160*.
enter, *adj.* entire, whole 327, 602, 617, 680, 750.
entre, *prep.* between 750, 1380, 1434; among 70.
entrebat, *sm.* interruption, intermission 1320*.
entreduner, *v. refl.* give to one another 1026.
entree 632, &c., **-ethe** 251, *sf.* entrance.
entrelais, *sm.* 1320 *E*.
entrenavrer, *v. refl.* 943 *E*.
entreporter, *v. refl.* convey to one another 1699.
entrer, *v. n.* enter 92, &c.; put out (to sea) 785; *v. a.* enter 618*, 1081 *B*; *inf. subs.* entrance 632 *D*, 1713.
entrin, *adj.* entire 814; perfect 686; uninterrupted, unimpeded 1645; in one piece 1683; sincere 443*.
enturn, *adv.* round about 590, 1063, 1075.
enuble, *adj.* cloudy, thick 1108.
enveier, *v.* send 139, 564.
envirun, *adv.* 590 *B*.
enyvrer, *v.* 810 *D*.
ens v. **ains**.
ens, *adv.* inside, within 184, 271, &c.; on board 1643; reinforcing *en* (prep.) 131, 460, &c.; reinforcing *a* 573.
eols v. **il**.
er, *adv.* yesterday 1433.
erbe 1747, herbe 804, *sf.* herb.
erbeie, *sf.* greensward, grass 971.
ere, **erent**, **eret** v. **estre**.
ermite 75, her- 1543, 1547, *sm.*
errer; *ind. pr. 6* **eirent** 372: *v.* journey, voyage 194, 372, 898; act, behave 322; *cum unt errét*, what they have done, what became of them 1503, 1827; *inf. subs.* 597.
ert v. **estre**.
es = **en les** 1149, 1326, 1327.
esbraiser, *v. n. and refl.* 911 *BD*; cf. **enbraiser**.
esbraser, *v. a.* 911 *E*; *v. n.* 1689 *B*.
escalfer 913, **escha-** 1138, *v.* make hot.
eschalir, *v.* 1366 *B*; cf. **acalir**.
eschele, *sf.* bell 512, 713.
eschelette, *sf.* 713 *D*.
eschiper, *v. a.* moor 252*.
eschiver, *v. refl.* escape 1176; (+*de*) avoid, shun 486.
escient, *sm.*; *mun e.* 14 *D*.
[**escif**]; *fem.* **-ive** 1514: *adj.* difficult of access.
escillier, *v. a.* 94 *E*.
esclair, *sm.* light 500, 1024, 1764.
esclarcir, *v. a.* 1657 *D*.
escordement, *adv.* with all one's heart 205.
escortrement, *adv.* 205 *E*.
escrier, *v. a.* cry upon, revile 1370; *v. refl.* cry out 453.
escrit, *sm.* writing; monastic rule 832.
escuil, *sm.* spring, bound; *prendre e.*, spring forward, rush impetuously 68*.
escut, *sm.* shield 942.
esforcer, *v. a.* force, compel 1414; increase 1386 *BE*; *v. refl.* make efforts, strive 1115.
esgoier, *v. refl.* rejoice 1786.
esguarder, *v.* gaze at 279; cf. 1426 *B*.
esguarer, *v.* lose one's way 1642.
eshalcer, *v. n.* 1157 *D*.
esi v. **eisi**.
[**eslever**], *v. refl.* become arrogant 526.
[**eslire**]; *ind. pr. 3* **-lit** 107; *pp.* **-lit** 32, 123, 1688 *BDE*: *v.* choose, select.
esluiner, *v. a.* remove to a distance 786.
esmaier 221, &c., **esmaër** 365, *v. n.* be dismayed 365; *v. refl.* do. 221, 226, 907, 979.
espace, *s.* space, width 1662; *grant e.*, for a long while 994.
espandre 1426; *ind. pr. 3* **spant** 1174, *6* **spandent** 573: *v. n.* burst 1426; *v. refl.* spread 1174; stretch oneself, lie prostrate 573.
espeer, *v.* pierce with a spit 1373*.
espeir, *sm.* hope 381.
espeirer, *v.* expect 1224*.
esperil, *s.*? 1322 *B*.
[**espés**]; *fem.* **-esse** 793: *adj.* thick.
[**espez**], *sm. nom.* spear 944.
espirer, *v. a.* 142 *B*; cf. **aspirer**.
espirit (*2 syllables*) 131*, **spirit** (*one syllable*) 349, 1034, 1566, (e)spirt 131 *BC*, 349 *BDE*, 1034 *BD*, **esperit** 1034 *E*, *sm.* spirit; cf. **Espirit**.
espleiter, *v.* act; *bien e.*, get on well, prosper 1186.
[**esprendre**]; *ind. pr. 3* **-ent** 761 *BDE*, 1157 *BDE*, 1385 *BD*: *v. n.* catch fire, light; *v. refl.* 1385 *D*; cf. **enprendre**.
essample v. **ensample**.
essembler, *v. a.* 312 *D*; cf. **ensembler**.
estage, *sm.* elevation 1192.
estait v. **ester**.

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estal, *sm.* stall (in church) 710.
[**esteindre**]; *ind. pr. 3* **-eint** 761: *v. n.* become extinguished.
estelét, *pp. adj.* starry 1284.
estencele, *sf.* spark 1131.
[**estendre**]; *ind. pr. 3* **-ent** 165, 499, 1196: *v. refl.* extend.
ester, 1511; *ind. pr. 3* **estait** 1483, &c., *6* **estunt** 404, &c.; *pret.* (or *impf.*?) *3* **estout** 77; *pp.* **estét** 1545, 1559: *v.* stand 1511, 1705; stay, remain 404, 841, 1091, 1483, 1545, 1559, 1619, 1631, 1775; dwell 77.
estét 1246, 1560, **-eit** 1336, 1751, *sm.* summer.
estoroe, *sf.* act of snatching away 1482*.
estorcier, *v. a.* 1482 *E.*
[**estordre**]; *pp.* **esturs** 962 *D*: *v. a.*
estorse, *sf.* rescue 962*.
estot v. **estuveir.**
estout v. **ester** and **estuveir.**
estre 29; *ind. pr. 1* **sui** 1203, *2* **es** 515, *3* **est** 18, *4* **sumes** 191, *5* **estes** 1120, *6* **sunt** 250; *impf. 3* **ert** 38, [**eret**] 46, **ere** 86, 222, 442, 992, **esteit** 98, *6* **erent** 249; *pret. 1* **fui** 1296, *3* **fud** 12, **fut** 527, *4* **fumes** 52, *6* **furent** 309; *fut. 2* **estras** 425, *3* **ert** 6, **estrat** 1765, *5* **estrez** 590, [**streiz**] 863, *6* **erent** 1114; *cond. 3* **estreit** 617, *6* **-eient** 620; *subj. pr. 1* **seie** 1250, *2* **seies** 517, *3* **seit** 14, *6* **seient** 634; *impf. 3* **fust** 88; *imper. 5* **sees** 359: *v.* be; (+ pres. p.) 542, 1109, 1524; *v. impers.* 1181, 1404, 1433, 1491; *e. a venir*, be impending 300; *inf. subs.* condition 413.
estre, *sm.* dwelling-place, abode 664*, 1532.
estreit, *adj.* narrow 169.
estult, *adj.* fierce, furious 949.
estunt v. **ester.**
esturbeilun, *sm.* whirlwind 1153.
esturdier, *v.* make dizzy 1718; cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, p. 31.
[**estuveir**]; *ind. pr. 3* **steot** 16, **estout** 246, 589, 1052, 1116, **estot** 1637; *impf. 3* **stuveit** 920; *pret. 3* **estout** 179, 304, 530, **stout** 326: *v. impers.* be necessary, be needed, must.
ethez, *sm. nom.* age 1598.
ewage v. **aiguage.**

fai v. **fei.**
faile, *sf.* lack; *faire f.*, fail, run short 367.
failent, **failet**, **failis** v. **falir.**
faim, *sf.* 790, &c.
faire 136; *ind. pr. 1* **fas** 1480, *3* **fait** 15, *6* **funt** 275; *impf. 3* **faiseit** 43; *pret. 1* **fis** 1275, *3* **fist** 173, *4* **feïmes** 470*, *6* **firent** 351; *fut. 2* **fras** 426, 1044, 1603, *3* **frat** 367, 1566, 1633, **ferat** 924, *5* **fres** 553, **freis** 878, 881, 883; *subj. pr. 3* **face** 245, **-et** 990; *imper. 2* **fai** 1440, *4* **faimes** 132; *pp.* **fait** 274: *v.* do, make; commit (a crime) 319; celebrate (a festival or service) 397, 444, 1037, 1039; utter, sing (a hymn) 558; travel, cover (a distance) 615, 1101; give (comfort) 990; 'verbum vicarium' 512, 1362; (+ *inf.*) cause (to be done), have (done) 173, &c.; circumlocution for finite verb 1805*; cf. **faile, fin, mercit, ranoune, semblant**; *v. refl.* act as 1723.
fais, *sm.* load 1150.
fait v. **fei.**
faitis, *adj.* well made 264*.
faitres, *sm. nom.* maker, creator 1682.
[**falir**] or [**failir**]; *ind. pr. 3* **falt** 411, 905, *6* **failent** 789, 1500; *fut. 3* **faldrat** 1246; *subj. pr. 3* **failet** 998, 1526; *pp.* **falit** 222, *nom.* **failis** 978: *v. n.* fail, cease 222; come to an end, give out 978, 998: fail to take place 1246; be lacking 411, 1526; (+ *a*) be without, lack, miss 789, 1500; *poi en falt . . que*, little is lacking but that, very nearly 905*.
fals, *adj.* false 28.
fas v. **faire.**
fed v. **fei.**
fed, *sm.* individual, man 1456; demon 1136*; cf. **malfed.**
fedeil 582, **fetheil** 210; *nom.* **fedeils** 77, **fetheils** 206, 242: *adj. subs.* faithful servant.
fei 116, **fai** 70, 298, **feid** 808, 1679, **fait** 958, *sf.* faith; *en f. veire*, with certainty 1679; cf. **mentir, tenir.**
feïmes v. **faire.**
[**feindre**]; *ind. pr. 6* **feignent** 215, 1103: *v. refl.* be idle, be lazy.
feis, *sf.* time 7, &c.; *dous f.*, twice 593.
felun 67; *nom.* **fels** 531, 1287: *sm.* traitor; *adj.* treacherous, disloyal 531.
[**fendre**]; *ind. pr. 1* **fent** 1430: *v. n.* split; *cf.* 1018 *DE*, 1235 *A.*
fer, *sm.* 1139, 1381, 1719.
[**ferir**]; *ind. pr. 3* **fert** 1235, *6* **ferent** 1233: *v.* strike.
ferlier, *v.* bind with irons, enchain 1369.
fermement, *adv.* 736.
fermer, *v.* make fast, fix 265, 869, 1087, 1183.
fertre, *s.* reliquary 677.
festal, *adj.* feast (day) 751.

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feste, *sf.* festival, feast 397, &c.
festier, *v.* celebrate a festival 844.
festival, *adj.* suitable for a festival, magnificent 1097.
fetheil(s) v. fedeil.
feu 270, **fiu** 723, 1330, 1816, *sm.* fief, estate.
fi, *adj.* certain 118; *de fi* 1679 *D.*
fiance, *sf.* trust 1183.
ficher, *v.* fix 1381.
fier, *v. refl.* (+*en*) trust in, rely upon 1665.
filiol, *sm.* god-son 84.
fils, *sm.* son 116, 394, 893.
fin, *sf.* end 630, 1102, 1234, 1356; death 721; purpose 22; *sans f.*, for ever 1761; *faire f.*, cease 43, 844, 857.
fin, *adj.* pure 1088, 1704.
finer, *v.* die 1837.
fire, *v. n.* † 1392 *D.*
fiu v. feu.
flairer, *v. n.* smell 1741.
flaistre, *adj.* withered; stale, putrid 1109*.
flambe, *sf.* 913 *E*, 1025 *B*, 1132 *D*, &c.; cf. **flamme.**
flamber 1013 *D*, 1689 *DE*, *v.*; cf. **flammer.**
flammer, *v.* flame, blaze 1020, 1142, 1689; *pres. p. adj.* 1011, 1013.
flamme, *sf.* 913, 1025.
floter, *v.* 887.
flum, *sm.* river 1754, 1755.
flur, *sm.* flower 96, 1706, 1741* ff.
fluri, *pp. adj.* flowery 1740.
fol, *adj.* foolish, senseless 810, 818, 925, 1054; terrible 1420*.
folie, *sf.* 1452.
fols 1384, **fous** 1129, *sm. pl.* bellows.
force, *sf.* strength 239; *pl.* 1158; *par f.* 32, *a f.* 1415 *D*, 1481, by compulsion, perforce.
forcer, *v. a.* 1414 *A.*
[**forfaire**]; *pret. 1* **-fis** 1253, *3* **-fist** 57: *v. n.* transgress, merit a punishment.
forfait, *sm.* sin 1266.
forge, *sf.* 1146.
forment, *adv.* greatly, very 42, &c.
fornaise, *sf.* furnace 912.
fors, *adv.* out, outside 441, &c.; *de f.*, from outside 1589; *f. metre*, expel 58; *f. aler*, leave home, set out 218; *estre f.*, be out (of torment), find relief 1250; *prep.* except 214, &c.; (+nom.) 92, 442, 700; *ne . . fors . .*, only 156, 1187, 1648; *f. de*, out of 344.
fort; *nom.* **-rs** 961: *adj.* strong; difficult, hard 628, 900, 1710; great, grievous 258, 961, 1404; *adv.* strenuously 1231; violently 1233, 1400; greatly 670, 913, 1429; very, extremely 1014.
fosse, *sf.* pit 1127.
fou 466, &c., **fu** 911, &c., *sm.* fire.
fras, frat v. faire.
freid 1397; *nom.* **-eis** 755: *adj.* cold; *sm.* 1402, &c.; *pl.* 1178; *aveir f.* 1399.
freidur, *s.* cold 902.
freidure, *sf.* 902 *D.*
freis, frez v. faire.
frere 145, &c., **-rre** 85, *sm.*
fruit; *nom.* **-uis** 1744, 1752: *sm.*
fu v. fou.
fud, fui v. estre.
fuile, *sf.* leaf 493.
[**fuir**]; *ind. pr. 3* **fuit** 24, 464; *impf. 3* **fuieit** 456; *cond. 6* **fuireient** 918*; *imper. 4* **fuium** 819: *v. n.* flee 819; *v. a.* flee from 24, 918; *v. refl.* (+*en*) flee, move off 456*, 464.
fuisun 387, **fusun** 1746, *sf.* abundance.
fuite, *sf.* 1166.
fuler, *v.* tread underfoot; thrust down, push down 1410.
fum, *sm.* vapour, smoke 1109, 1174, 1209.
fumee, *sf.* 1170.
fumer, *v. n.* smoke 1109.
funde, *sf.* sling 1156.
fundre; *ind. pr. 3* **funt** 1235: *v. a.* shed (tears) 896; *v. n.* melt, perish 1235.
funs, *sm.* bottom 1074.
funtaine, *sf.* spring 645, 1001, 1591.
fust 175; *nom.* **fus** 461: *sm.* wood, piece of wood.

gab, *sm.* derision; *as gabs* (*DE a gas*), in mockery 1293.
gaber; *pp.* **-eth** 14: *v. a.* mock, deride.
gaiole, *sf.* prison, dungeon 1419.
gai, *sm.* cock 577.
galeste, *sf.* missile hurled from a sling, stone or leaden ball 1156*.
galir, *v.* cast violently, hurl 1365.
gardin, *sm.* garden 1739.
gemme, *sf.* 275, 682, 1685.
gent, *sf.* 563, &c.
gesir 1729; *ind. pr. 1* **gis** 1423; *impf. 3* **giseit** 813, *6* **-eient** 812; *subj. impf. 3* **goüst** 1384: *v.* lie; *v. refl.* 1423 *B.*
getter v. jeter.
gis, giseient, -eit v. **gesir.**
glavie 1713*, **glaive** 1731, *sm.* sword; *sf.* 1731 *D.*
glorie, *sf.* 53, &c.
goe, *sf.* cheek 1013.

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goie, *sf.* joy 691, 1644, 1773.
goir, *v. a.* welcome, make much of 566, 670, 856, 1114; enjoy, rejoice in 1064.
gorge (ǫ), *sf.* throat, mouth 1145.
gort (ǫ), *sm.* stream 168*, 859.
goūst v. **gesir.**
grace, *sf.* favour, grace 230, &c.; *pl.* thanks 1612, 1626 *D.*
gracier, *v.* thank 186, 567, 624.
grant; *nom.* **-ns** 41 : *adj.* great, large; tall 656.
gref, *adj.* difficult 128.
greignur 1586, **greinur** 471, **graindre** (*acc.*) 1256; *nom.* **graindres** 1008 : *adj.* greater, greatest.
greine, *sf.* showing of teeth, expression of dissatisfaction 1487*.
gripun (*E* **-phon**) 1022; *nom.* **gripes** 1011, 1027, 1029, **grifs** 1011 *B* : *sm.* griffin.
grisolite (*DE* **ori-**), *sf.* chrysolite, a green gem 1687*.
grisopase (*E* **creopase**), *s.* chrysoprase, a golden-green precious stone 1690.
groine, *sf.* 1487 *B**.
[**gros**]; *fem.* **-sse** 1128 : *adj.*
gruign, *sm.* snout 166; promontory 167.
guaires, *adv.*; *ne . . g.*, not . . much 1114; *n'i ad g.*, it is not far 1331.
guarant, *sm.* protector 1058, 1480; protection 1122, 1460, 1494.
guarder, **gwa-** 839; *ind. pr. 1* **guart** 1426; *subj. pr. 3* **guard** 206, **-rt** 894 : *v. a.* take care of, look after, keep, guard 150, 839, 894, 1277, 1455, 1711; preserve 206; *v. n.* take care, see to it 925; *ne g. quant*, be in constant fear that 1426*.
guarir, *v* be saved, escape unharmed 1466, 1608; (+ *a*) be undamaged by 1720.
guarisun, *sf.* provisions 181.
guarnir, *v.* warn 299; provide, equip 1638; *v. refl.* provide oneself, take in a supply 603, 1000, 1003.
guarrere (*D* **guerriere**), *sf.* adversary 935.
[**guastel**]; *nom.* **-eus** 410* : *sm.* small white loaf of fine wheaten flour.
guerpir, *v.* abandon 27, 724, 936.
guerre (ę), *sf.* confusion, medley 1048*; war 4; resistance 1730.
guerreer, *v.* wage war on 69.
[**guier**]; *subj. pr. 3* **guit** 132* : *v.* guide.
gurs, *adj. nom.* (of wind) motionless, slack 220*.
gute, *sf.* drop 1687.
guverne, *sf.* 874 *B.*
gwardee v. **guarder.**

habit 31, 1534, **abit** 657, *sm.* (monastic) dress.
hai 1243, 1245, **ahi** 1245 *D*, *interj.* expressing distress.
haïr, *v.* 1030, 1287.
hait, *sm.* joy, gladness 670.
haitét, *pp. adj.* joyful 1823.
haitïement, *adv.* joyfully 1817.
halcer, *v. a.* raise 1151; build up 1676; *v. n.* rise 1157.
haler, *v.* haul 232.
haloecs, *s.* ? 173 *D.*
halt, *adj.* high 247, &c.; loud 189; high, open (sea) 1068, 1646; *adv.* high 938, &c.; loudly 559, &c.
halteçe, *sf.* height 495, 1194.
haltement, *adv.* loudly 453.
han, *sm.* fatigue, distress 548; cf. **ahan**
hanap (*B* **hen-**), *sm.* cup, goblet 315.
hanter, *v.* frequent, inhabit 1708.
haspe, *sf.* hasp, clasp 688*.
hastivement, *adv.* rapidly 655, 1411.
helt, *sm.* hilt 1715.
herberger, *v.* take a lodging, stay for the night; *inf. subs.* 307.
heritét, *s.* heritage 51.
hoem, **hom**, **home** v. **hume.**
honeste, *adj.* honourable 821.
honur, *sm.* 28.
horrible, *adj.* 1337, 1350.
hui v. **oi.**
humain, *adj.* 563.
hume 278, **homme** 1226, **home** 1465; *nom.* **hoem** 126, **hom** 502, **en** 1279 *D** : *sm.* man; *indef. pron.* one 243, 1279, 1610; *li hom* 957, *l'um* 964. do.; *ne . . h.* 278, *nuls hom* 502, no one.
humlement (*BDE* **humbl-**), *adv.* humbly 661, 1730.
hure v. **ure.**

i, *adv.* there, therein, thereon; thither, thereto 647, 1654, &c.; here 402, 421, 422, 745, 746, 1555, 1560, 1563, 1799; (of persons) to him, to them 1184, 1527; pleonastic 1376 *ABE*; cf. **aveir.**
iceals, **icel(e)**, **iceols** v. **cil.**
icest, **ices** v. **cist.**
ici v. **ci.**
icil v. **cil.**
icist v. **cist.**
içe v. **ço.**
iduno v. **duno.**
iglise (*AD* **glise**), *sf.* church 446.
il 136; *acc.* **le** 101, **l'** 336, (enclitic) **l**

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14, 260, 1684; *dat.* li 47, l' 414, (enclitic) l 1588, 1774; *accented form* lui 49, 727, used after prep. 33, used as acc. 533 (!), 733 (!), 737, 1534; *nom. pl.* il 64; *acc.* les 125, used in tonic position 406, 704, (enclitic) s 195; *accented form* els 124, eols 68, eals 151; *dat.* lur 126, 412, after verb of motion 405; *fem. acc.* la 177, l' 176; *dat., accented form*, li, used after prep. 1422; *neut.* el 128*; *impers. subj.* il 303 *DE*, 411 *DE*, 1399 *DE*, 1486 *BE*, 1491; *acc.* le 324, l' 882, (enclitic) l 128: *pers. pron. 3*; used for refl. pron. 68, 761; le indicating difference of measure, *le plus*, the more 760*.

ila v. **la.**

ileoc 53, &c., **iloec** 126, &c., **iloc** 413, 850, **iloeches** 1161, **iloces** 1369, 1373, **iloeces** 1423, *adv.* there; *d'iloc*, of that place 413; cf. **aloeces.**

ire, *sf.* anger, wrath 1391*.

isle, *sf.* island 93, 1169, &c.; *sm.* 97 *E.*

isselit, *pp. adj.* choice, exquisite 1688*.

issent v. **eisir.**

issi, *adv.* so 439, 1255; cf. **si** and **eissi.**

istrai v. **eisir.**

itant, *adv.* so 1389, 1425; just as, equally 688; (used absolutely) this much, this 541; so 1248; *i. . . cum*, as . . as 389, 492; cf. **tant.**

itel v. **tel.**

ivern 1246, 1336; *nom.* **-rs** 421: *sm.* winter.

ja, *adv.* already, now 188, 1821; (+neg.) never 420, 1766; reinforced by *mais* 1640; *ja seit ço que*, although 1616.

jacincte (*E* **-incle**), *sm.* jacinth 1695*.

jacunce 685 *D*, 1691 *D*, *sf.*; cf. **jagunce.**

jadis, *adv.* 522.

jagunce 685, **jarg-** 1069, 1071, 1691, *sf.* jacinth.

jaspe, *s.* jasper 687, 1693.

jejuine, *s.* 132 *D*; cf. **juine.**

jesque 192 *D*, &c.; cf. **desque.**

jeter 461, &c., **getter** 96, 344, *v.* throw, cast; emit, discharge 96, 1145, 1211.

jeuner 133 *BC*, *v.*; cf. **juner.**

jo 119; *acc.* **me** 1305; *dat.* **me** 1265, 1453, 1591; *accented acc.* **mei** 344; *dat.* **mei** 1261; *pl.* **nus** 58, 295, 745: *pers. pron. 1.*

jol = **jo le** 649, 1479.

jugement, *sm.* 1254, &c.; last judgement 1565.

juindre, *v. a.* 177 *AE**.

juine, *s.* fast 132.

juise, *sm.* last judgement 1561, 1804.

juner, *v.* fast 133.

jurn 137; *nom.* **-rs** 1486, **-rs** 134: *sm.* day; *tute j.* 1394 *BD.*

jurnals, *sm. pl.* daybreak 578*.

jus, *adv.* down 812, 1074, 1417.

jusdi, Thursday 1395, &c.; *j. de la ceine*, Maundy Thursday 393, 1617; *j. absolud*, do. 824.

juste, *adj.* just, righteous 42*, 1567.

juste, *adv.* 1333 *D*; cf. **dejuste.**

juste, *sf.* 937 *B.*

juster, *v. n.* meet in single combat 937.

juvencel 1721; *nom.* **-ceals** 1735, 1811: *sm.* young man.

[**juvenil**]; *nom.* **-ils** 407: *adj.* youthful.

kil = **ki** (qui) **le** 1030.

kin = **ki** (qui) **en** 1072.

la 101, 448, &c., **ila** 1223, *adv.* there.

[**laier**]; *fut. 6* **lairunt** 1478; *imper. 2* **lai** 193: *v.* let, allow 193; forbear 1478.

laiser, lei- 569, *v. a.* leave 569, 1475, 1481; abandon 963; desist from, end 509.

lait, *sm.* milk 1755.

lamme 1128, 1131, 1147, 1212, **lame** 1163, *sf.* blade of metal.

lampe, *sf.* 758, 1089.

lancer, *v. a.* 1151 *D.*

lande, *sf.* open wood, glade 390.

large, *adj.* copious, profuse 1445*.

larrecin 1278, **lare-** 319, 336, *sm.* theft; *en l.*, by stealth, surreptitiously 1278.

las = **la les** 1190.

las; *fem.* **lasse** 1270: *adj.* weary; wretched 524.

lascer, *v. a.* slacken 385.

lassement, *adv.* wearily 1242.

lasser, *v. a.* fatigue 575, 640.

laver, *v. refl.* 756.

led 1672, **lied** 1825, *adj.* glad.

lede, *adj. fem.* broad 493.

ledement, *adv.* widely 499.

leger 697, **-ier** 1337, *adj.* light, bearable.

lei, *sf.* law, 2, 3, 69; canon law 1040.

leine 1147 *D*, **laine** 1212 *D*, *sf.*

leisir; *ind. pr. 3* [**leist**] 1793: *v. impers.* be lawful, be permitted; *inf. subs.* leisure 849.

leres, *sm. nom.* thief 334.

lerme, *sf.* tear 896.

letre, *sf.* writing 10, 11.

leu 35, &c., **lu** 63, 703, 1188, **liu** 86, &c., *sm.* place; *en l. de*, instead of 703.

lever, *v. a.* raise 207, &c.; *v. n.* rise

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317; *v. refl.*, become arrogant (?) 526 *BD*; *sei en l.*, rise, get up (from table) 707.
li, l'; *acc.* le, l', lu 5; *fem.* la, l'; *pl.* les: *def. art.*; with demonstrative sense 444, 1483; distributive 134, 593, 1359, 1413, 1573; generic 1410.
liar, *v. a.* bind 1229, 1380; *v. refl.* 1448, 1457.
lin, *sm.* lineage, family 21, 44.
liois, *sm.* limestone 262.
liste, *sf.* border, edge 1694.
lister, *v. a.* 688 *DE*.
lit; *nom.* lis 573: *sm.* bed; *metre el l.*, lay flat 1371.
litur (*D* letur, *E* litoir), *sm.* reader 700.
liu v. leu.
liverer (2 syllables), *v.* hand over, deliver 605, 1292.
liwe, *sf.* league 465.
loër, *v.* praise 305, 376, 567, 1625.
loreür, *sm.* labourer, porter 745*.
los, *sm.* advice 79.
lu v. leu and li.
lu, *sm.* wolf 1288.
lués, *adv.* 1412 *E*.
luign 1113, &c., luin 165, &c., luins 242, 1636, *adv.* far; *en l.*, far out 256.
luigner 456 *A*, luiner 786 *A*, *v. a. and refl.*
[luisir]; *ind. pr. 3* luist 1761, *6* luisent 1694: *v. n.* shine.
lunc, *adj.* long 461, 787, 1163, 1545.
lunges, *adv.* for a long time 1517, 1615, 1776.
lunsdi 1476, lundi 1359, Monday.
lur 156, lor 190, *poss. pron. and adj.* theirs, their; preceded by def. art. 891, 1092.
lutre, *sm.* otter 1571.
luur, *sf.* light 1423; brightness, splendour 1685, 1699.

maier 221 *A*, maër 365 *D*, *v. refl.*; cf. esmaier.
maigre, *adj.* lean 1027.
mail, *sm.* hammer 1139.
main, *sm.* morning 581.
main, *sf.* 660, &c.
maine v. mener.
mairen 174, -ein 1070, *sm.* timber, material.
mais 14, meis 370, *conj.* but; *adv.* (+neg.) not again 820; never 957; *ne . . unc m.*, never before 1121; *ne . . ja m.*, never again 1640.
maisun, *sf.* 274, 344.
majested 542, -tét 1245, *sf.* majesty.
mal, *adj.* evil 63, 94, 1396, 1436; *sm.* evil, trouble, hurt, suffering 551, 740, 1125, 1418, &c.; *adv.* (*BD* mar) to one's misfortune, disastrously 526.
malfed; *nom.* -fes 1137, 1206, 1484, malsfeiz 1171: *sm.* demon, devil; cf. fed.
mander, *v. n.* send instructions, enjoin 1553.
mandét, *sm.* washing of feet, ceremony performed on Maundy Thursday 831*, 881.
mandres v. maneir.
maneie, *sf.* protection 225.
[maneir]; *ind. impf. 3* maneit 730; *fut. 5* mandres 865; *subj. impf. 1* [mansisse] 774: *v.* dwell; remain 865.
manger, *v. n.* 303, 570, 699, 994; *inf. subs.* food, meal 450, 451.
mansisse v. maneir.
mansiun, *s.* 1784 *D*.
mar v. mal.
maratide, *s.*? 1692 *D*.
marbre, *sm.* 273, 492, 1389, 1701.
marbrin, *adj.* of marble 1703.
marin, *adj.* of the sea, sea- 480, 909, 1577; *sm.* sailor 858.
mast, *sm.* mast 209, 613.
mat, *adj.* downcast 1290.
materie, *sf.* material, substance 1680.
matin, *sm.* 444, 843, 1476.
matines, *sf. pl.* matins 578.
mecredi (*B* mecresdi, *D* merquedis), Wednesday 1375.
meilur, *adj.* best 108.
meils v. miels.
meindres v. menur.
meinent, -net, -nge, meint v. mener.
meis, *sm.* month 235, &c.
meistre, *sm.* master 527, 1682 *DE*.
[meitét]; *pl.* -es 954*: *sf.* equal part, portion.
mel, *sm.* honey 1757.
melodie, *sf.* 1787.
men v. mun.
mendi, *adj.* destitute, a beggar 1286.
mener; *ind. pr. 3* meinet 212, &c., maine 439, menet 1531, *6* meinent 695, &c.; *fut. 1* menrai 1792, *3* -at 1605; *subj. pr. 1* meinge 119, *3* meint 115, 130: *v.* lead, conduct, take; exhibit (pride, joy) 540, 1632 *D*; endure (torment) 1340.
mentir, *v.*; *m. sa fei*, break one's promise 298.
menur 1240; *nom.* meindres 1007: *adj.* smaller, less.
mer, *sf.* 83, &c.
mercïer, *v. a.* thank 560, 1497.
mercit 338, 1244 ff., -oi 306, *sf.* mercy, pardon; *faire m. a*, pardon 346.

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merite, *s.* reward 64; merit 1441.
merveille, *sf.* 419, 475, 1348, 1716.
merveiller, *v. n.* be astonished 472, 503; *v. a.* gaze with astonishment at 1534.
merveilles, *adv.* wonderfully, exceedingly 380.
mes v. mun.
mes, *sm.* messenger 405.
mes, *sm.* dish of prepared food 703.
mescreance, *sf.* unbelief 1184.
mescreire, *v.* be an unbeliever, doubt 243, 983.
message, *sm.* messenger 356, 726, 1723.
messe, *sf.* 1092.
mester, *sm.* need 286; *pl.* domestic offices, kitchens and stores 285; *aveir m. de*, be in need of 1121; (+inf.) need to 1584; *aveir m.* (+dat.), be necessary to 803; *estre mester(s)*, be needful, be necessary 642, 868.
mesure, *sf.*; *sanz m.*, immoderately, inordinately 806, 915.
[**metre**]; *ind. pr. 3* **met** 181*BCE*, *6* **metent** 229; *pret. 3* **mist** 58, *6* **mistrent** 260, 447, 596; *imper. 5* **metes** 225; *pp.* **mis** 10: *v. a.* put, place; put (into writing) 10, 11; spend, take (time) 260; appoint, fix (a time) 781*, 895; *m. jus*, lower 385; *v. refl.* place oneself 225; land, arrive 261, 668; (+*en*) enter 281, 634; put out to (sea) 90.
meŭd v. muveir.
midi, *s.* midday 847, 1434.
mie, *sf.*; (+neg.) not at all, in no wise 1316, 1747, 1788.
mielz 476, **mels** 1175, **meils** 105, *adv.* better, best; *de m.*, the better 105*.
mil, a thousand 7, &c.
milie, thousand 1797.
miller, *sm.* thousand 1171.
miracle, *s.* 374, 1005.
mis v. mun.
miserere (*E* **miserele**) 709.
misericors, *adj.* merciful 1249.
miserie, *sf.* misery 1468.
mist, **mistrent** v. **metre**.
mordre, *v.*; *pres. p. adj.* 943.
mors, *sm.* bite 945, 1025.
mort 348, &c.; *pl.* **-rz** 962, 1406: *sf.* death.
mot, **moüs**, **movent**, **movet**, **mos** v. **muveir**.
mucier, *v. a.* hide 318 *B*.
mŭer, *v. a.* change 1376, 1418.
muiler, *v. a.* wet 462.
[**muire**]; *ind. pr. 3* **muit** 928, 1130: *v.* low, bellow, roar.
mult, *adj.* many 33, 1778, 1836; *adv.* much, greatly 18, 1452, &c.; very 87, 114, &c.; for a long time 408; *m. de*, many 1688.
mun 1516; *nom.* **mes** 1426, **mis** 1392, 1598; *acc. pl.* **mes** 516; *fem.* **ma** 1314; *pl.* **mes** 1316; *accented form* (preceded by def. art.) **men** 751, 1386: *poss. adj. and pron.* **my**, mine.
muncel, *sm.* hillock 1463.
mund, *sm.* world 24, 1078, 1597.
munie 36, 107, **muine** 815, &c., **moine** 29, &c., *sm.* monk.
munt 635, &c.; *nom.* **-ns** 1194: *sm.* mountain.
muntaine, *sf.* mountain 1704.
munter, *v. n.* ascend 254, &c.; *v. refl.* 556 *D*.
mur, *sm.* 271, &c.
mure, *sf.* point (of a sword) 1715.
murét, *sm.* sweet wine, or mead 706.
murir 1052, **murrir** 340; *ind. pr. 3* **mort** 422; *fut. 2* **muras** 778; *subj. pr. 3* **murget** 61; *pp.* **mort** 899, *nom.* **-rz** 45, 1029: *v.* die; *pp.* motionless 899.
murs, *sm. pl.* habits 76.
muster, *sm.* monastery 191; church 708, 728.
mustrer, *v. a.* show 49, &c.; explain 505.
[**muveir**], **-er** 1620; *ind pr. 2* **mos** 1247, 1328, *3* **mot** 1021, 1762, *6* **movent** 1627; *impf. 3* **muveit** 455, 919; *pret. 2* **moüs** 776, 3 (?) **mot** 1259; *fut. 2* **muveras** 779, *4* **muverum** 392, *5* **muveres** 770; *subj. pr. 3* **movet** 1516; *pp.* **meŭd** 191: *v. a.* move, set in motion 1247, 1762, (waves) 919, (wings) 1021; *v. n.* move 455, 1259, 1516; start, depart, set out 191, 770, 776, 779, 1328, 1620, 1627; *v. refl.* move, depart 392.

nafrer, *v. refl.* wound one another 943.
nager, *v.* row with oars (opp. **sigler**) 216*, 228, 235, 249; *inf. subs.* 384.
naissance, *sf.* 20.
[**naistre**]; *pret. 2* **nasquis** 778; *pp.* **ned** 19, *nom.* **nes** 1251: *v.* be born.
narille, *sf.* 939 *D*.
narine, *sf.* 939.
nasquis v. **naistre**.
nature, *sf.* 651, 1789.
naturel, *adj.* pure 1069.
navein, *sm.*? 90 *C**.
ne, **n'**, *adv. of negation*; after comparative 568, 767, 1552, 1798*; after *sanz ço que* 748; after *ne guart quant*

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1426 *BDE**; *ne plus que*, no more than 183*.
ne, *conj.* nor; *ne . . ne . .*, neither . . nor . . 137, 1246*, &c.
ned v. **naistre**.
nef, *sf.* ship 174, &c.; *sm.* 1528 *A*.
negun, *pron.* 1574 *E*.
neif 1539, **nef** 1681, *sf.* snow.
neir, *adj.* black 1108, 1197.
neis 331, **nis** 1766 *B**, 1829 *D*, *adv.* even.
nel = **ne le** 128, &c.; = **ne li** 1588*.
nen, *adv.* not 242, 365, 421, 541, 684, 1198, 1256, 1303, 1389, 1714, 1818.
nepuroec, *conj.* nevertheless 631.
nepurquant, *conj.* 55 *BDE*, 577 *BDE*, &c.
nepurtant, *conj.* nevertheless 55, 577, 629, 1103.
nerçun, *s.* blackness 1111*.
nertume, *s.* 1111 *D**.
nes = **ne les** 1332.
[**neũl**], *adj.*; [*neüle*] *rien*, anything 411*; cf. **nul**.
nez v. **naistre**.
nient, *pron.*; (+neg.) nothing 1642; *n'i unt n.*, v. **aveir**; *adv.* not at all, by no means 985.
nier, *v. n.* drown 1458.
niule (*E* **nuile**), *sf.* cloud, 1614.
noble, *adj.* 22.
noe, *sf.* fin 941.
noirece, *sf.* 1111 *E**.
noise, *sf.* noise 1051.
nostre 51; *fem. acc. pl.* **nos** 758: *poss. adj.* our.
nublece, *sf.* clouds 1189.
nud, *adj.* naked 1226, 1456.
nue, *sf.* cloud 214, &c.
nuit, *sf.* 137, &c.
nul, *adj. and pron.* any 634, 908; (without neg.) no 788*; (+neg.) not . . any, no 94, 332, &c.; no one 92; *nule rien*, anything 984, 1518; cf. **neũl**.
num 545, **nun** 280, 1524, 1726, *sm.* name; *aveir n.* (+nom.) be named 75, 1543; *el n. de* 280.
numbrer, *v. refl.* count one's number 1499.
numer, *v.* name 1529, 1726.
nun, *adv.* not 90, 655, 1044.
nunante 1559, **non-** 1596, ninety.
nune, *sf.* the ninth hour, 3 p.m. 1434.
nuvel 1412; *nom.* **-eals** 830: *adj.* new.
nuvele, *sf.* news 1821.

o v. **u**.
obeïr 151, 734*, **-edir** 534, *v.* obey.
oc 22, 27, 240, 243, 979, 1282, **oec** 1467, *pron. neut.* this; *pur oc* v. **pur**; cf. **nepuroec**.
occean, *sm.* 166, 552.
occident, *sm.* 212, 898.
[**ocire**]; *pp.* **ocis** 1036: *v.* kill.
octaves 588 *E*, &c.; cf. **uitaves**.
od, *prep.* with 73, &c.; *od tut*, with 1416 *D*, 1492.
odveec v. **oveec**.
oec v. **oc**.
ŏeile, *sf.* sheep 420.
oënt v. **oïr**.
offrande, *sf.* 1279.
offrir, *v.* 1301.
oi v. **aveir**.
oi 393, **hui** 1435, *adv.* to-day.
oïde, *sf.* hearing 100.
oile, *sf.* oil 760.
oils 407, **uils** 1142, 1202, *sm. nom.* eye.
oïr; *ind. pr. 1* **oi** 1332, *3* **ot** 103, 1255 *B*, **oït** 1255, *6* **oënt** 1172, **oient** 1785, 1787: *v.* hear 111, 124, 729, &c.
oisel 519, &c., **-eil** 521, 613; *nom.* **-eus** 501, &c., **-eals** 580, &c.: *sm.* bird.
or, *sm.* 275, &c.
orage, *sm.* wind 795.
orde, *adj. fem.* filthy 1421.
ordre, *sm.* (monastic) rule 31, 34, 735.
ore 671, 1059, 1203, 1378, **or** 1113, &c., *adv.* now; *a ore*, now 1799.
[**orét**], **uré** 1004; *nom.* **orres** 94, 211, 1260, **ores** 1762, 1818: *sm.* breeze.
oretor, *sm.*? 745 *E*.
orguil, *sm.* pride 67, 540.
orguillus, *adj.* proud, arrogant 524.
orïent, *sm.* 211, 1641.
orres v. **orét**.
orthie, *sf.* nettle 1746.
os, *sm.* bone 1563.
os, *sm.* use; *aveir os*, be of service 638.
oser 254, &c.; *ind. pr. 1* **os** 1253: *v.* dare.
oste 888, &c., **h-** 827, &c., *sm.* host.
oster, *v. a.* remove 1379.
ot v. **oïr**.
otreid, *sm.* permission 1649.
otrier, *v.* 1280 *D*.
oũd v. **aveir**.
oũr, *sm.* fortune 362, 926; good fortune 1180.
ourent, **ous**, **oussent**, **oust**, **oustes**, **ousum**, **out**, **oũt** v. **aveir**.
oveec 65, **odv-** 181, **ovoec** 644, &c., *adv.* therewith, also 65, 181, 1639; *prep.* with 644, 1409, 1736; *o. la nuit*, at nightfall 1353.

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pain, *sm.* bread 357, &c.; loaf 750.
paint v. **pener**.
pais, *sf.* peace 280; *estre em p.*, be silent 876.
païs, *sm.* country, land 409, 618, 777, 1821.
paiser, *v. a.* 1276 *D.*
paisible, *adj.* calm 791.
paistre 528; *ind. pr. 3* **paist** 375; *pret. 3* **pout** 1572; *pp.* **poüd** 1582, 1583, *nom.* **-us** 95: *v. a.* feed.
palais 279, **-eis** 273, *sm.* palace.
palme, *sf.* palm of the hand 190.
palud, *s.* marsh 793.
pan, *sm.* stretch (of sea) 482.
pandre, *v. refl.* ? 573 *D.*
par, emphatic particle 1722 *D.*
par, *prep.*; I local: through 168, 285, &c.; along 1670; on 1694; by, alongside 1519; round 1458; scattered over, in 35, 390; *p. mer*, by sea, over the sea 194, &c.; *p. tut*, everywhere 982, 1756; II temporal: during, for 219, 404, 787; on 1359; *p. nuit*, by night 322; III causal: by, through 38, 57, 1758, &c.; (agent) by, through 2, 72, 202, 537, 718, &c.; *p. sei*, *p. lui*, *p. eols*, of one's own accord, unaided 68, 761, 1529; IV modal: with 154, 236, 343, 1133; (instrument, means) with, by 6, 33, 374, &c.; *numer p. nun* 1726; cf. **dreit**, **force**, **veüe**.
parain (*A* **parin**), *sm.* godfather 89.
paraïs, *sm.* paradise 49, &c.
parceivre, *v. refl.* 1141 *D.*
parcusdre, *v.* 599 *B*; cf. **purcusdre**.
pareir 382; *ind. pr. 3* **pert** 1647, 1675, *6* **perent** 1453: *v.* appear.
parent, *sm.* relative 159, 1823.
parét, *sm.* wall 276*.
parfin, *sf.* end 629.
parfitement, *adv.* 48 *D.*
parfunt; *nom.* **-ns** 1127; *fem.* **-nde** 947, 1046: *adj.* deep; *adv.* 369, 661, 887*.
parler, *v.* 112, &c.
parmi, *prep.* during 462; *adv.* through the middle 1664.
part; *pl.* **-rs** 1668; *sf.* part, portion 379, 986; side 1485, 1668; *quel p.*, in which direction 231, 233, 612; *icele p.*, in that direction 383, 1079; *de p.* 1263, *de la p.* 406 (+dat.), on behalf of; *de male p.* 1162 *D.*
[**partenir**]; *pret. 3* **-tint** 1065: *v.* belong, be appropriate.
[**partir**]; *ind. pr. 3* **part** 1661: *v. n.* part, divide.
pas, *sm.* step; *ne . . pas*, not at all, by no means 469, 1478, 1793.
pascal, *adj.*; *di* (*jur*) *p.*, Easter Day 400, 845 *B.*
paschur, *gen. pl. adj.*; *di p.*, Easter Day 845.
passer, *v. a.* pass through 576; pass beyond 1160; (of sight) penetrate 1658.
past, *sm.* food 995, 1576.
pastur, *sm.* 1058 *B.*
paveilun, *sm.* tent 1075.
pavement, *sm.* 1086.
pecoét 57; *nom.* **pecchez** 1204: *sm.* sin.
peil; *nom.* **-ls** 1540: *sm.* hair 1762; (collective) 407, 1535, 1540.
peine, *sf.* punishment, torment 66, 394. 539, 1282, 1307, 1488; hardship 551: *a grant p.*, with great difficulty 1618; *sans p.*, without difficulty 440.
peinent, **peiner**, **peinet** v. **pener**.
peis, *sm.* weight, load 608.
peisance, *sf.* grief, affliction 742.
peissun 1048, **peisun** 835, &c., **pessun** 471, &c., *sm.* fish.
peiz, *sf.* pitch 1213, 1377, 1385, 1387.
pel, *sf.* skin 1408.
pel (ę̄), *sm.* stake 1410*.
pelerin, *sm.* 722, 921, 1101, 1672.
pelerinage, *sm.* 725 *B.*
pelfir, (*E* **-fer**) 1227*, **-frir** 1266 *D*, *v.* pluck bare.
pendre; *ind. pr. 3* **pent** 1713: *v. a.* suspend 1299, 1577; *v. n.* hang, be suspended 256, 1713, 1717; *v. refl.* hang oneself 1274.
pener 217, &c., **peiner** 1105; *ind. pr. 3* **peinet** 1258, *6* **peinent** 216, 1104. 1339; *subj. pr. 3* **paint** 762: *v. a.* exert, tax the strength of 217, 970; *v. n.* toil 238, 1105; suffer punishment 1339; *v. refl.* exert oneself, toil 216, 249, 762, 1104, 1258.
penible, **pein-** 792, *adj.* causing torment, painful 1338, 1349; laborious, difficult 792.
pensed, *sm.* thought 127.
penser, *v. n.* 398, &c.
penus, *adj.* painful 1342.
peot v. **poeir**.
percer, *v. a.* 1374.
perche, *sf.* pole 1212.
perdre, *v. a.* 213, 542, 837, 926, 1771.
pere, *sm.* father 146, &c.
pere, *sf.* stone 1231, 1449, 1760; precious stone 679, 1805, 1808.
perent v. **pareir**.
peril 258, &c.; *nom.* **-ls** 408, &c.: *sm.* danger.
perir, *v. n.* 604, 1044, 1465.
pernant, **-nent**, **-nez** v. **prendre**.
pert v. **pareir**.

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perte, *sf.* 1625.
peser, *v. impers.* 1099 *D.*
petit, *adj.* 169.
pex, *sm. nom.* foot 338, 659.
piler, *sm.* pillar 1068, &c.
piu, *adj.* pious, holy 56, 92, 730, &c.
plaie, *sf.* 947.
plain, *adj.* 1669 *DE*; *a p.*, smoothly 210*; *de p.* 235 *E.*
plaindre, *v. n.* lament 1255; *v. refl.* 215 *D.*
plaisir; *pret. 3* plout 303, 1506: *v.* (+ dat.) please; *inf. subs.* pleasure 130.
planche, *sf.* 461 *D.*
plein, *adj.* full; separated from noun by art., poss. adj., or numeral 607, 862, 1578; entire 235; *a p.*, completely, entirely 600; cf. ours.
pleinte, *sf.* lament 1242.
plener, pleiner 1569, 1576, *adj.* full, whole 1569; copious 1576; fertile, rich 1738.
plentét, *sf.* plenty, abundance 290, &c.
plout v. plaisir.
pluius, *adj.* rainy 975.
plum, *sm.* lead 1416; leaden weight 1372.
plur, *sm.* weeping 611, 1172, 1445.
plurer, *v.* weep 154, &c.; *inf. subs.* 1267.
plus, *adv.* more 26, &c.; most 288, 382, 1046, 1770; any longer 1589; *de p.* 760 *E.*
plusur, *adj.* more 1172 *A*, 1840*; many 81, 729, 1171, 1177; *li p.*, the majority, most 1833.
pode 942, poe 1014, *sf.* paw.
[poeir]; *ind. pr. 1* puis 1253, 1427, *3* peot 15, 17, pout 245, 382 (?), poit 1392, poet 1638, 1789, pot 1720, *4* poũm 397, *6* poient 983, 1788; *pret. 3* pout 180, &c., *6* pourent 238, 1175; *subj. pr. 3* puisset 602, pusset 618*; *impf. 1* pouse 1579, *3* poust 1658: *v.* can, be able.
[poẽsteĩf]; *nom.* -is 1652*: *adj.*; *estre p. de*, be master of, possess.
[poẽstif]; *nom.* -is 1652 *ABD**: *adj.*
poi, *adj.* little, short 1774; *adv.* little 414, 905, 1224, 1452, 1549, too little 1794; *un p.*, a short time 863; a short distance 1331; *pur p. ne* 1018, 1235, 1430, *pur un p. ne* 754, very nearly, all but.
poient, poit v. poeir.
port, *sm.* harbour, haven 167, &c.
porte, *sf.* 1709.
porter, *v.* carry 180, 1139; bring 182, 295*, 357, 409, 434, 862, 1279, 1575, 1578, 1808; *en p.*, carry away, take away 330*, 1016, 1100, 1805; *pres. p. adj.* favourable (wind) 437, 897, 1167.
pose, *sf.* rest, while; *estre am p.*, take rest 1112; *p. del jurn*, for a part of the day 1377.
post, *sm.* post 1380, 1381.
pot v. poeir.
poũd v. paistre.
poũm v. poeir.
poũr, *sf.* fear 903, &c.; *aveir p.* 240, 361, &c.
pourent, pouse, poust v. poeir.
pout v. paistre and poeir.
poũs v. paistre.
povre, *adj.* 1280, 1285.
praierie, *sf.* meadow 1739.
prametre, *v. a.* 121 *BCD*, 412 *BD.*
precius, *adj.* 680, 1077, 1744.
pred, *sm.* field 1036; *p. Nerunt*, v. Nerunt.
preier (*BDE* preer), *v. a.* plunder, snatch away 1203*.
preïstes v. prendre.
[prembre]; *ind. pr. 6* prement 654*: *v.* repress, restrain (one's thirst).
prendre 234; *ind. pr. 1* prenc 1310, *3* prent 73, *6* prennent 68, 440, pregnent 307, 1166, prengnent 598, 610, prengent 631, pernent 802; *pret. 1* pris 1548, *3* prist 31, *5* preïstes 754, *6* prostrent 302, pristrent 448, 807, 809; *fut. 3* prendrat 79, *5* -res 368; *subj. pr. 1* prenge 120, *3* prenget 352, *6* prengnent 1478; *imper. 2* prenges 516, *5* prenges 296, pernes 399, 459, 997; *pres. p.* pernant 37; *pp.* pris 71: *v. a.* take; obtain 368; seize 1012, 1474; adopt (a decision) 73; make (one's way) 234, 612 *B**, 1116; give (judgement) 1254; grasp, comprehend 1789*; *p. terre*, put in to land 631; land 440; *p. fuite*, flee 1166; *p. achant, cure, decés, escuil, purpens*, v. achant, &c.; *v. n.* (+ inf.) periphrasis for finite verb, in *prent prier*, he prays 48*, *pregnent oser*, they venture 307; (+ dat. of person) befall, in *li prist sa fin*, he died 721: enter the mind of, in *li prist talent*, he was seized with desire 47, *lui est pris desir*, do. 71; *p. a* (+ inf.) begin to 284, 503, 598, 872; *v. refl.* (+ *a*) adhere to 120 (?)*, 478*; (of fire) catch 1385.
pres, *adv.* near 97, &c.; nearly 1602; *p. de, prep.* near 430, &c.
presence, *sf.* 543.

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prest, *adj.* ready 395, 727, 747, 1144, 1556, 1752, 1772, 1829.
prestement, *adv.* readily 396, 959.
prestre, *sm. nom.* 208.
prestrent v. prendre.
prier, *v.* 43, 115*, &c.
priere, *sf.* 509.
prime, *adj.* earliest; *en p. main*, at sunrise 581; *sf.* 581 *D.*
primer, *adj.* first 1007, 1581; *tut en primers*, first of all 1675.
primerein, *adj.* first 952.
primes, *adv.* first, to begin with 50, 73, 517, 1159; first in rank 479; *dunc (puis) a p.*, then and no sooner 770, 772, 1565.
primseir, *sm.* nightfall 1469.
prist, pristrent v. prendre.
priur, *sm.* prior 149.
processiun, *s.* 692.
[**prometre**]; *ind. pr. 3* **-met** 412, *6* **-mettent** 121: *v.*
propre, *adj.* own 1462*.
pruver, *v. a.* prove 373.
prus, *adv.* (+*ne*) 1198 *D.*
psalmodie, *sf.* psalmody, art of singing psalms 572.
pui, *sm.* hill 172, 255.
puier, *v. a.* ascend 1517.
puin, *sm.* fist, hand 1139.
puint, punt 331, *sm.* least bit, fragment; (+neg.) nothing at all 1408; not in the least 983, 1585.
puïr; *pres. p.* **puant** 1110: *v.* stink.
puis, *adv.* afterwards, then 32, &c.; since 739; *prep.* after 589, 627, 1587; *p. que, conj.* after 319, 445, 513, 533, 555, 714, 1181.
pullent, *adj.* stinking 1352.
punoel, *sm.* small bridge 1464.
punt v. puint.
puple, *sm.* 1824 *D.*
pur, por, *prep.* for; in exchange for 28, 724, 1078; in return for 1457; for the sake of 218, 244, 776, 1382; on behalf of 44, 297, &c.; on account of 5, 58, 122, 323, 920 (?), 1166, 1385, 1666, &c.; even to the point of (?) 1275*; (+inf.) in order to 752, &c.; *tenir p.* 818, *aasmer p.* 1054, consider, regard as; *p. ço* 535, 1638, *p. oc* 22, &c., on this account; *p. ço que* 21, 299, 473, 520, 990, *p. cel que* 117, *p. oc que* 529, because; *p. quei*, why 428, 468, 1055, 1262; *p. (un) poi ne*, v. poi.
[**purcusdre**]; *ind. pr. 6* **-cusent** 599*: *v.* sew over entirely.
purpens, *sm.* idea, design 109; thought, regard 1009; *prendre en p.*, bethink oneself 39; *prendre p. de*, reflect on, consider 1093.
purplanter, *v.* 1707 *BD*; set (with gems) 1686.
[**purveeir**]; *ind. pr. 3* **-veit** 196; *pret. 3* **-vit** 197, 300: *v.* foresee.
pusset v. poeir.
puur, *sf.* stench 1173, 1424, 1425.
pus, *sm.* well, abyss 1124.

quai v. qui.
quanque, *pron.* whatsoever 293, 416, 1638; *adj.* do. 1830.
quant, *adv.* how much; *tant q.*, as far as 161; cf. quanque.
quant, *conj.*, when 103, &c.; seeing that, since 15, 325, 402, 537, 1100, 1305, 1324, 1444, 1462.
quar v. quer.
quarante 183, &c.
quarel, *sm.* quarrel, bolt 1155.
quarenteine, *sf.* period of forty days 133.
quart, *adj.* fourth 328, 1671.
quatorne 107, 156.
quatre 627, 719.
que, qu', q' 1004, **c'** 561 (?), *conj.* because, for 904*, 1392 (?); than 568, 802, &c.; (final) *que .. ne*, lest 820, 1232, 1458; (consecutive) so that 1408, 1552; *que .. ne*, so that .. not 1575, 1654; (temporal) that, when 1250, 1581, 1837; during which 1559, 1602, 1624, 1775; since 721, 738; replacing *desque* 1476*.
queivre, *sm.* copper 1416, [1427].
quel = que le 1264.
quel, *rel. and interr. adj.* what sort of 1680; which 62, 231, 1780, &c.; *pron.* which, who 1454; preceded by def. art., 146, 1342.
quelque, *adj.*; *q... que*, whatever 360, 980, 996.
quer 46, 91, 97, 231, 253, 300, quar 325, &c., **car** 1186, *conj.* for; introducing strong entreaty 454; cf. eor.
quer, *sm.* heart 142, 416, 1426, 1454.
querre 84, &c., **quere** 449, &c.; *pret. 2* **quesis** 545, *3* **quist** 1832, *6* **quistrent** 259; *iniper. 4* **querums** 642; *ger.* **querant** 363; *pp.* **quis** 667, 1602: *v.* look for, seek 84, 1094, &c.; ask, inquire 545, 667.
ques = que les 115.
quesis v. querre.
qui, ki 24, &c., **qu'** 600, 728, 1338, **chi** 861, &c.; *fem.* **que** 38, 292; *acc.* **que, qu'**; *dat.* **qui** 1484, used as possessive 224, 583, 1643, *after prep.* 2, &c., as acc. 1263; *neut. nom.* que

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300, 642, 1065; *acc.* que, qu', ke 246; *tonic acc.* quei 58, &c., quai 1262: *rel. pron.* who, what; *interrog.* 1265, 1542; qui = he who 24, 813, 992, 1072, 1656, 1698, 1765; = they who 249; = he whom 439, 927; *par qui* = he through whom 1580; que = that which, what (*nom.*) 300, 642, 1065, (*acc.*) 9, 15, 83, &c.; *que que* whatever 361; however 1393; *pur quei* v. pur.

quider 1283; *ind. pr. 5* **quïes** 568, *6* **quïent** 1220, **quident** 1339: *v.* think.

quinze 219, 916.

quinzeine, *sf.* 901, 1313.

quir, *sm.* hide 176, 599; (human) skin 1412, 1429.

quire, *v. a.* cook 448, 1579.

quis = qui les 212, 786.

quis, quist, quistrent v. querre.

quite, *adj.* free, exempt 1442, 1544.

racine, *sf.* 703.

rage, *sf.* madness 1304*; *a r.*, furiously 934.

raie, *sf.* 1763 *E.*

raisun, *sf.* justification, right 343.

raler 1558, 1838, **realer** 956; *ind. pr. 1* **revoi** 864; *imper. 2* **reva** 1803: *v.* go back, return; *v. refl.* (+ *en*) do. 864.

rancune, *sf.* rancour; *faire r.*, be inclement 421*.

rap, *sm.* rope 461*.

raplenir, *v.a.* 1753 *E.*

ravir, *v. a.* 1322 *D.*

realer v. raler.

receivre 358; *ind. pr. 3* **-eit** 168, *4* **-eevum** 758; *pret. 3* **-eut** 347, 354; *fut. 6* **-eevrunt** 64; *pp.* **-eü** 104, **-eoüd** 1182: *v.* receive; receive back 1214.

recharger, *v.* load again 848.

rechrïer (*DE* **recr-**) *v.* create anew 1748*.

reclaim, *sm.* invocation, prayer 822.

reclamer, *v.* call upon, invoke 458.

reclin, *sm.* resting-place, bed 320.

reçoüd v. receivre.

[**recreire**]; *fut. 6* **-ereerrunt** 1105: *v.* (+ *de*) give up, desist from.

redemorer, *v. n.* 1354 *D.*

refaire 768 *A*; *pret. 6* **-firent** 712 *BDE*; *pp.* **-fait** 707: *v.* refresh.

refraitur 699, **-eitur** 712 (*E* **refrotoir**), *sm.* refectory.

refreis, *sm. nom.* series of notes, modulation 579*.

refrigerie, *s.* alleviation 1467.

regal, *adj.* royal 21, 269; cf. **reial.**

regne, *sm.* kingdom 536, 1839.

regretter, *v.* cry out for, invoke loudly 230.

reguard; *nom.* **-rs** 1444: *sm.* fear 1444; sight, gaze 1141; look, countenance 1537.

reguarder, *v. n.* look back 1168; *v. refl.* look round, look behind one 1208.

rei, *sm.* king 5, &c.

reial, *adj.* royal 27; cf. **regal.**

reine, *sf.* queen 1.

religius, *adj.* 1522.

reliques, *sf. pl.* 676.

remanance, *sf.* abode 956.

[**remaneir**]; *ind. impf. 3* **-maneit** 323; *fut. 3* **-mandrat** 4; *pret 3* **-mist** 1815: *v. n.* remain 1815; cease 4; fail to happen 323.

[**remetre**]; *pp.* **-mis** 1390, 1416: *v. a.* melt.

[**remüer**], *sm.*; *a remüers*, enough and to spare, superabundantly 601*.

ren v. rien.

rendre; *ind. pr. 3* **rent** 74, &c.: *v.* render, give (thanks, glory) 1032, 1612; *r. mort*, kill 952; *v. refl.*, v. confés.

rente, *sf.* restitution 1302.

repairer, -arer 825; *ind. pr. 1* **-air** 1364: *v. n.* return 592, 825, 1364; make one's home, dwell 1742; *v. refl.* 848 *DE.*

repast, *sm.* food 1576 *E.*

repentance, *sf.* 1303.

repentir, *v.* 120.

replenir, *v. a.* fill 1753.

repos, *sm.* 350, &c.

reposer, *v. a.* 970, *v. n.* 308, 321, 1533, *v. refl.* 640, 1435, rest.

repost, *pp. of* **repondre**; *en r.*, secretly, stealthily 318.

[**reprendre**]; *ind. pr. 3* **-ent** 1158: *v.* recover, gain.

[**requerre**]; *pret. 2* **-queïs** 1796, *3* **-quist** 101: *v.* seek out 101; pray for 1796.

resembler, *v.* look like, appear to be 269.

resirent = re-, in their turn, and **sirent** (v. seeir) 712.

resorter, *v.* (+ *de*) abandon, be unfaithful to 1099*.

[**resortir**]; *ind. pr. 3* **-ort** 257, *6* **-ortent** 1700: *v.* come out again, eddy back 257; flash back 1700.

respit, *sm.* proverb, maxim 82.

resplendre, *v. n.* 1694 *DE.*

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respundre 415; *ind. pr. 3* **-unt** 419, *6* **-undent** 113, **-unent** 965: *v.* reply.
respuns, *sm.* answer 669.
resui = **re-**, again, and **sui** (*v.* **estre**) 1387.
resusciter; *fut. 1* **-trai** 1567: *v. n.* rise again.
retenement, *sm.* hindrance 1818.
retenir, *v.* hold still 1731; *v. refl.* restrain oneself 648.
retruver, *v. a.* 840.
return, *sm.* 1603, 1654.
returner, *v. n.* turn one's course again 1613; *v. refl.* turn back 1791.
reveler, *v.* rebel 525.
revenir; *ind. pr. 1* **-venc** 1405, *3* **-vent** 1411; *pret. 3* **-vint** 320, &c., *6* **-vindrent** 817; *fut. 2* **-vendras** 777, &c., *5* **-rez** 429, *6* **-runt** 1640: *v.* come back, return; grow again 1411; *r. en sun sens*, recover consciousness 817; *inf. subs.* return 895.
[revestir]; *pp.* **-tud** 689: *v.* clothe in a surplice.
reviader (*D* **reviseter**), *v.* visit 594.
reviser, *v. a.* 594 *B.*
riche, *adj.* 268, &c.
rien, [**ren**] 47, *sf.* thing 47, 277, 1778; anything 286, 1055, 1593; (+ neg.) nothing 330, &c.; *n(e)ule r.*, v. **nul**, **neül.**
rivage, *sm.* 355, &c.
rive, *sf.* shore 1195, 1513.
rivere, *sf.* meadow-land 1737.
roche, *sf.* 1132, &c.
rocheie, *s.* 635 *D.*
rocheit 264, 635, **-ét** 1519, 1528, **roceit** 163; *nom.* **rocheiz** 253: *sm.* rock.
roe, *sf.* wheel 1360.
roi, *adj.* hoarse 1270.
roiste, *adj.* steep 1514*.
romanz, *sm.* the vernacular, French 11.
roser v. **ruser.**
rost, *sm.* roasting; *metre en r.* 1379.
rue, *sf.* 1662.
rüer, *v.* hurl 1152, 1375, 1387, 1417.
ruge, *adj.* red 494, &c.
ruiste v. **ruste.**
runceie, *sf.* bramble 1745.
ruseie, *sf.* reed-bed, reeds 1757*.
ruseit, *sm.* dew 1758*.
ruser (*A* **roser**), *v.* cast (backwards) 1232*.
ruste 41, **ruiste** 41 *DE*, 1062, **ruistie** 41 *B*, *adj.* strong, powerful 1062; weighty, grave 41*.
rute, *sf.* way, course 1508.
ruver; *ind. pr. 3* **rovet** 358, *6* **-ent** 1112: *v.* ask, beg 358*, 401, 1830; ask for 748; desire 1112.

sabat, *sm.* 1310 *E.*
sacel, *sm.* small bag 1578.
sacraire, *sm.* sacrarium, erection in which the sacred vessels were kept 1085.
sage, *adj.* 1303.
sain, *adj.* 702.
saint, **seint**; *nom.* **-ns**: *adj. and sm.* 13, 19, 98, &c.
sainté, *sf.* holiness 1834 *E.*
saisir, *v.* (+ *de*) put in possession of, hand over to 369.
saisun, *sf.* 1750.
sal, *sm.* salt 1346*; cf. **sel.**
salete, *sf.* 1662 *E.*
[salir] or **[sailir]**; *ind. pr. 3* **salt** 1474, &c., *6* **sailent** 386, &c.: *v.* leap 1200, 1474; spurt, gush 939, 945; leap up, rise from the sea 1062; *s. fors*, disembark 969; *s. sus*, land 386.
salmodie 572 *BD*, **-onie** 572 *E*, *sf.*; cf. **psalmodie.**
salse, *sf.* 1414 *D.*
salt; *nom.* **-ls** 1146: *sm.* leap, bound; projecting rock 164.
salud, *s.* safety, deliverance 794.
salüer, *v.* greet 7, 406.
samadi 405, 834, 1310, 1621, **samedi** 1417, 1433, Saturday.
sanc 1298; *nom.* **-ns** 945: *sm.* blood.
sans 235, &c., **san** 248, *prep.* without; cf. **mesure**; *s. ço que*, *conj.* without 748.
saphire, *adj.* sapphirine, blue 1071*.
sapin, *adj.* of pine 175.
sardine, *sf.* sard, yellow or orange cornelian 685.
sardoine, *s.* sardonyx 1085, 1692.
sart, *sm.* clearing 1162 *E.*
saül, *adj.* sated, replete 1594.
saüler, *v.* sate, satiate 704.
saveir 61; *ind. pr. 1* **sai** 414, *3* **set** 15, *4* **savum** 128, *5* **saves** 467, *6* **sevent** 231; *impf. 3* **saveit** 1636; *pret. 1* **soi** 1550, *3* **sout** 23, *6* **sourent** 1176, 1199; *fut. 3* **savrat** 26; *subj. imf. 4* **sousum** 765; *imper. 4* **sachum** 1222, *5* **sachez** 1052; *pres. p.* **savant** 1524; *pp.* **soût** 373: *v.* know; know how, be able 26, 416, 1176, 1550; *a soüt*, with certainty 373; *pres. p. adj.* possessing knowledge, wise 1034, 1794; *inf. subs.* knowledge 529, 1439.
savie, *adj.* wise 1714.
savurét, *adj.* sweet-tasting 702, 705.

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scorcer (*D* **scorger**), *v.* flay 1407, 1413.
scripture, *sf.* scripture 23.
sculer, *v.* flow smoothly; (here) sail smoothly; *pres. p. adj.* 177*.
se 34; *accented form* **sei** 44: *refl. prom.* *3* himself, itself, themselves.
sec 1578, **secc** 972, *adj.* dry; *al s.*, on to dry land 972.
secle, *sm.* world, earthly life 30, 1547, 1835.
secrei (*BD* **segrei**), *sm.* secret 1094.
secund, *prep.* according to 10, 807, 1549.
sed, *sm.* abode 62.
sedeillus, *adj.* thirsty 647.
[**seduire**]; *ind. pr. 3* **-uit** 310: *v.* seduce.
[**seeir**], **setheir** 56, **sedeir** 1435, 1776; *pret. 6* **sirent** 712; *pres. p.* **seaut** 1226: v. sit; *inf. subs.* 1435.
seez v. **estre.**
segur, *adj.* secure, safe 1496; cf. **soür.**
segurance, *sf.* 121 *B*; cf. **suurance.**
segut v. **siwre.**
sei 332, 1608, **seit** 1768, **seid** 790, 807, **seif** 654, 1178, *sf.* thirst.
seie, seient, seies v. **estre.**
seignacle v. **signacle.**
seigner 208 *BDE*, 1257, **signer** 208*, *v.* make the sign of the cross over.
seignur 127, &c.; *nom.* **sire** 1072: *sm.* lord.
seir, *sm.* evening 1436.
seisante, sixty 1595.
seit v. **estre** and **sei.**
seivrement, *sm.* separation 1566.
sel, *sm.* 1409, 1414; cf. **sal.**
semaine, *sf.* 134, &c.
semblant, *sm.* appearance 996; *faire s. de*, feign 1275.
sembler, *v.* 520, 1080, 1522, 1774.
sen, *sm.* way of thinking, opinion 1095.
senés, *adv.* forthwith, at once 1437.
senestre, *sf.* left hand; *a s.*, on the left 1240.
senes, *adj. nom.* prudent 126.
senglant, *adj.* bloody 948.
sens, *sm.* intelligence, sense 10, 817, 1549; wise action 110.
sentir, *v.* hear 72; *v. refl.* (+*de*) feel 1402*.
seon v. **sun.**
sepulture, *sf.*; *faire s. a*, bury 351.
serf, *sm.* servant 74.
sergant, *sm.* servant 1569.
seril, *sm.* evening 1310*.
serir, *v. n.* 1321 *A*; cf. **aserir.**
sermuner, *v.* (+dat.) preach to, admonish 981.
serpent, *sm.* 909.
serrer, *v. a.* tighten, make watertight 598; surround closely 498; drive onwards 987; *v. refl.* 498 *D*; *pp. adj.* dense 1667.
servain, *sm.* ? 90 *B.*
servant, *sm.* 16, 371, 1624.
servir, *v.* 152, &c.
servise, *sm.* (divine) service 443, &c.
ses v. **sun.**
set v. **saveir.**
set, seven 878, 1602, 1623.
setheir v. **seeir.**
seüd v. **siwre.**
sevent v. **saveir.**
si v. **sun.**
si, *conj.* (introducing a verb) and 284, 802, 1214, &c.; *e si*, do. 195, 1274, &c.: *si* (introducing principal verb), untranslatable 555, 885, 918, 1004; *adv.* so, thus, in such a manner 219, 428, 739, 1582, &c.; *si cum(e)*, as, like 54, 911, 1378, &c.; as though 1218; while, as 1511; (causal) as, since 1433.
si 110, &c., **se** 800, 1390, **s'** 414, *conj.* if; *se . . nun*, if not, except 1382; *si . . ne*, unless 1657.
sigle, *sm.* sail 1081, 1660, 1814; *sf.* 1660 *A.*
sigler, *v.* sail 227, &c.
signacle 1216, 1813 *BDE*, **seign-** 1813, *sm.* sign of the cross.
signe, *sm.* 665.
signer v. **seigner.**
sil = **si le** 142, &c.
simenel, *sm.* simnel-cake 410 *E.*
simple, *adj.* innocent 1288.
sis v. **sun.**
sis = **si les** 195, 358, 1214, 1346, 1785.
sis, six 549.
siste (*B* **sistme**), *adj.* sixth 630.
[**siwre**]; *ind. pr. 1* **siu** 432; *imper. 2* **siu** 1605; *pp.* **seüd** 192, **segut** 1568: *v.* follow.
smaragde (*D* **esmarelde**, *E* **esmeralde**), *s.* emerald 1083, 1692.
soen v. **sun.**
soi v. **saveir.**
[**soldre**]; *ind. pr. 3* **solt** 346 *B*: *v. a.*; cf. **asoldre.**
soleil, *sm.* 581.
soleir 1619; *pret.* (?) *3* **solt** 767*: *v.* be wont.
solier, *sm.* 285 *E.*
soner, *v. n.* sound 511; *v. a.* sound, ring 713.
sor, *adj.* reddish-golden 684.
souatume, *s.* 1748 *E.*
soür 116, 359, **suur** 1771, *adj.* secure, sure; cf. **segur.**

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sourent, sousum, sout, soût v. **saveir.**
spandent, spant v. **espandre.**
spine, *sf.* thorn 1294.
spirit v. **espirit.**
spiritalment, *adv.* spiritually 1802.
steot v. **estuveir.**
storie, *sf.* history 54.
stout v. **estuveir.**
streis v. **estre.**
stuveit v. **estuveir.**
sûaté, *sf.* sweetness 1748*.
[**succurre**]; *ind. pr. 3* **-curt** 795, 993; *fut. 1* **-currai** 868: *v.* come to the aid of.
sucurs, sucours, *sm.* succour, aid 961; supply (of food) 289, 718.
suduine (*B* **sed-**), *adj.* drunken 816*.
sue v. **sun.**
sûef, *adj.* sweet, pleasant 1751; *adv.* sweetly 1741; gently, tranquilly 489, 514, 849, 1557.
sûer, *v. a.* sweat, exude 1298, 1757.
suffler, *v. n.* blow; *pres. p. adj.* 1129, 1384.
suffraite, *sf.* want, privation 1768.
suffrir 608, &c.; *ind. pr. 2* **suffres** 1262, *3* **-et** 1432; *fut. 5* **suffereis** 551; *pp.* **suffert** 548, 1057: *v. a.* suffer, undergo 394, &c.; bear, endure 608, 1788.
sufre (*B* **sulphre**), *sf.* brimstone 113.
suie, *sf.* soot 1409.
sujurn, *sm.* rest, sojourn 589, 1312, 1604; resting-place 877.
sujurner, *v.* take rest, tarry 162, 327, 771, 880, 1630.
sul, *pron.*; *un s.*, a single one 1341; *adv.* alone, only 919, 1016, 1017, 1202, 1512, 1590, 1718, 1823; *fors s.* 92, 283, 442, 711, 917, 1516.
sullent, *adj.* sweaty, close 1351.
sultif, *adj.* solitary, secluded 88.
suluno, *prep.* in the same direction as, down (the wind) 227*.
sumét, *sm.* summit 497, 1076.
sumne, *sm.* sleep 811.
sun 10; *nom.* **sis** 1180, 1816; *nom. pl.* **si** 1823; *acc. pl.* **ses** 107; *fem.* **sa** 509; *pl.* **ses** 475; *accented form* **soen** 105, 109, 283, **seon** 116, 144, 147, 206, **son** 752, **sun** 999, 1017, 1654; *fem.* **sue** 1214, 1234; preceded by def. art. except in 144, 147, 1214: *poss. adj. and pron.* his, its; used objectively 822.
supeis 997 *BD*, **sopois** 997 *E*, *sm.*; cf. **suspeis.**
super, *v.* have supper 752.
superbe (*E* **sub-**), *sf.* pride 525, 531.
sur, *prep.* on, upon 282, &c.; on to 835, 1160, 1782; above 496, 1648; over 166, 256, 527, 1123, 1813; greater than 471; more than 704, 1681, 1825; (temporal) on 134*.
[**surdre**]; *ind. pr. 3* **surt** 903; *pp.* **surs** 1282, 1670: *v. n.* (+ dat.) come upon, befall; present itself to 1670.
surjurn 589 *D*, **-ner** 162 *D*, 327 *BD*, &c.; cf. **sujurn, -ner.**
surpeis, *sm.* overload; fig., excessive trouble 1588*.
surplanter, *v.* set on high 1707; cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxii, p. 39.
surrire (*D* **susr-**); *pret. 3* **-rist** 1053: *v.* smile.
surs, *adv.* thereon 1390*.
sururer, *v. a.* overstay 1610*.
[**survenir**]; *pret. 3* **-vint** 1520: *v. n.* appear suddenly, come into view.
sus, *adv.* up 207, 317, &c.; ashore 989.
susciter, *v. n.* 1567 *D*.
suspeis, *sm.* estimation, judgement 997*; cf. **supeis.**
[**sustenir**]; *ind. impf. 3* **-neit** 1088; *pp. nom.* **-nus** 739: *v.* hold up, support 1088; sustain, supply the needs of 739.
sustenter, *v.* uphold, support 202.
suth v. **sus.**
sutil (*B* **subtil**), *adj. adv.* finely, delicately 1077.
suur v. **soûr.**
suurance, *sf.* security 121; cf. **segurance.**
suvener, *adj.* mindful 1570.
suvent, *adv.* 48, &c.
suverain 1682, **-ein** 564 (2 syllables), *adj.* supreme.
sus 35, 167, **suth** 674, *prep.* under, beneath.

tabernacle, *s.* 1813 *B*.
taceler, *v. a.* spot 494.
[**taisir**]; *ind. pr. 3* **taist** 376, 669, *6* **taisent** 700; *pret. 3* **tout** 1268: *v. refl.* be silent; *v. n.* do. 700.
talent, *sm.* desire 47; *metre en talent* (+ dat.), make desirous, dispose 311.
[**tameir**]; *imper. 5* **tamez** 457: *v. refl.* fear.
tant; *nom.* **tans** 576: *adj.* so much, so many, so great 4, 576, 961, 961, 1048, 1368, 1406, 1446; *adv.* so much 25, &c.; so far 671; (+ adj. or adv.) so 97, 502, &c.; (used absolutely) this much, this 538; *cent milie t.*, a hundred thousand times as

much 1797*; *de t.*, by so much, to the same extent 1180; *t. cum*, as many as 179; as much as 245, 303, 1318; as long as 237, 733, 1835; *t. .. cum*, as .. as 511, 1362, 1383; *t. quant*, as far as 161; *t. que*, until 220 *DE*, 367 *E*; cf. itant.

tapinage, *sm.* hiding-place, seclusion 725.

targer, *v. n.* tarry, delay 621, 847, 1750; *v. refl.* do. 135, 889, [1659]*.

tart, *adv.* tardily; (used adjectivally) tardy, slow 384; *semblet lui t.* 1080, *lur est t.* 1486, he finds (they find) the time too long; *mei est t.*, I long 1399*; *a t.*, tardily 637, 655, 985; *a t. li est*, he longs 1143.

[**teindre**]; *pp. nom.* **teins** 1378: *v.* colour, stain.

teingent v. tenir.

tel, itel 16, &c.; *adj.* such; *pron.* some one 1643; many a one 794; *t... t. ..*, one .. another .. 814; *t. cum*, like 942.

tempeste, *sf.* 974.

tempter, *v.* tempt 201.

tenablement, *adv.* persistently 59.

tenailes, *sf. pl.* tongs 1149.

tendre; *ind. pr. 3* **tent** 861, &c.: *v. a.* extend, stretch out 190, 1012, 1021; hold out, offer 315; spread (sail) 209; set up, pitch (a tent) 828, 861, 971; direct (one's course) 612*, 1641; *v. n.* extend, stretch 255, 1429; hang 1075; direct one's course 233, 1115, 1709.

tendrunt v. tenir.

tenebres, *sf. pl.* 323, 1424.

tenebrus, *adj.* gloomy 1126, 1398.

tenerge (*D* -ercles), *s.* darkness 1653.

tenir 1528; *ind. pr. 6* **tenent** 808; *impf. 3* **teneit** 314, 1149; *pret. 3* **tint** 1066, *6* **tindrent** 34, 818; *fut. 6* **tendrunt** 1438; *subj. pr. 6* **teingent** 1616; *imper. 5* **tenes** 1508: *v. a.* hold; have possession of 314; continue along, pursue (one's way) 612 *DE**, 1066, 1508, 1519, 1616; *t. feid a*, obey 808; *v. n.* hold; *faire t.*, attach, moor 1528; *v. refl.* (+*a*) cling to 1230, 1231, 1449; observe (monastic rule) 34; (+*por*) consider oneself 818.

tens, *sm.* time 597, &c.; weather 976, 1560.

tensor v. tresor.

teon v. tun.

terme, *sm.*; *pl.* appointed day 895.

terre, *sf.* 3, &c.

teste, *sf.* head 938.

tiers 201, **ters** 392, &c.; *fem.* **terce** 986: *adj.* third.

tindrent v. tenir.

tiste (*E* **tixte**), *sm.* ornamented metal cover for gospel-books 677*.

[**toldre**] or [**tolir**]; *ind. pr. 3* **tolt** 500, *6* **tolent** 1134; *subj. pr. 3* **tolget** 1764; *pp.* **tolud** 823: *v. a.* take away; *v. n.* depart 1096*; *v. refl.* do. 823.

topase 1690, **tup-** 687 (*BDE* **topace**, **tup-**), *s.* topaz.

tor, *sm.* bull 916.

tost, *adv.* quickly, soon 318, 356, &c.

tostans, *adv.* 204 *E*.

totdis v. tusdis.

tout v. taisir.

trair 1272, **trahir** 1288, *v.* betray.

traire 398; *ind. pr. 3* **trait** 1154, *6* **traient** 490; *pret. 3* **traist** 933, 936, *6* **trestrent** 380; *subj. pr. 6* **traient** 980; *pp.* **trait** 420, 1814: *v. a.* draw, drag 398, 490, 859, 972, 1154, 1205; milk 420; endure 380, 616, 908, 980; *sus t.*, hoist (a sail) 1814; *v. n.* approach, come 933; *v. refl.* draw (back) 936.

traiter, *v.* 1295.

[**trametre**]; *pp.* **-mis** 396: *v.* send.

travail; *nom.* **-als** 250, 589, **-ails** 1177: *sm.* hardship 589*, 1177; toil, trouble 250.

travaile, *sf.* labour 1684.

travailer, *v. a.* subject to hardship, fatigue 829; *v. n.* 617 *D*.

tref, *sm.* beam 1088.

tref, *sm.* tent 828, 861, 971, 1081; sail? 385 *D*.

treis 134, &c., **tres** 35, &c., three.

trencher, *v. a.* cut 262; *pres. p. adj.* sharp 944, 1014; *subs.* sharp edge 1720.

trente 1301, **trent'** 1569, 1582, 1587, 1596.

tres, *adv.* very 143.

[**tresourre**]; *pp.* **-curud** 438: *v. a.* sail across.

tresor 316, 676, **tensor** 1760, *sm.* treasure.

trespaser, *v. a.* 1160 *D*.

tresque, *adv.*; *t. a* 710 *D*; *t. en* 1819 *D*.

trestrent v. traire.

tresturn, *sm.* cessation, intermission 138; action of turning; *estre en t.*, revolve 1360.

trestut 44, &c., **-tout** 897; *nom. pl.* **-tuit** 154, &c.: *adj. and pron.* absolutely all, the whole of, every one; everything 1831; *adv.* wholly, entirely 897, 1563, 1712.

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tristur, *sf.* sadness 1179.
trone, *sm.* firmament, heaven 674, 1247.
trop, *adv.* too much 296, 698, 806.
truble, *adj.* turbid 646, 756; beclouded, dark 1107; husky, indistinct 1487.
truver 287, &c., **trover** 727, &c.; *fut. 3* **truvrat** 1772 (cf. 246, 412, 433, 586): *v.* find; provide 727, 960.
tu 14; *acc.* **te** 1605, **t'** 192; *accented acc.* **tei** 6; *dat.* **tei** 1599; *pl.* **vus** 199, **vos** 117: *pers. pron. 2.*
tüer, *v.* 1297; *v. refl.* 1304.
tuisun, *sf.* fleece 388.
tul = **tu le** 14.
tumulte, *sm.* 950.
tun 777, **ton** 191; *fem.* **ta** 424; *accented form* (preceded by def. art.) **teon** 12: *poss. adj. and pron.* thy, thine.
tune, *sf.* barrel 1002.
tuneals, *sm. pl.* 1002 *D.*
tuneire, *sm.* thunder 1130.
tur, *sf.* tower 1678.
turment, *sm.* torment 1144, &c.; storm 206, 626, 920.
turmente, *sf.* sudden storm 905, 989, 1239; torment 1326, 1401, 1472.
turn, *sm.* return 878; turn 1092.
turner, *v. n.* turn aside 159; depart 427, 1207; *v. refl.*, *sei en t.*, depart 328, 834, 1492.
turnïer, *v. n.* whirl round 1362, 1717.
turtume, *s.* ? 1111 *B.*
tut; *nom.* **tus** 208; *nom. pl.* **tuit** 187: *adj. and pron.* all; everything 321, 963, &c.; *par t.*, v. par; *adv.* wholly, quite 373, 849, 873, 1651, 1669, 1675, 1689; agreeing with following adj., 220, 341, 1002, &c.; *tuz les meilurs*, the very best 108*.
tusdis 593, 1560, 1573, 1740, 1749, 1751, 1772, **totdis** 1364, *adv.* always.

u 50, 1604, **o** 1801, *adv. and rel. pron.* where; whither 432; to which 1449.
u, *conj.*; ***u*** . . ***u*** . . , either . . or . . 1510.
ubli, *sm.* forgetfulness 820.
ublïer, *v. a.* forget 822; *v. refl.* (+ *de*) do. 305*, 846.
udur 1744, **odur** 95, *sm.* (or *sf.* ?) scent.
uils v. **oils.**
uindre, *v.* besmear (with grease or pitch) 177*.
uit (*D* **oet**), eight 607, 617, 870.
uitante, eighty 721, 738.
uitaves, *sf. pl.* octave, the day week of a festival 588, 780, 866.
[**uitme**] (*E* **huime**), *adj.* eighth 769.
ultre, *prep.* across 1367.
ulur, *s.* smell 1431.
um v. **hume.**
umbraier (*BD* **-eier**), *v. n.* give shade 500.
umeit, *sm.* damp place, wet ground 803*.
un, *num. and pron.* one 47, 422, 1526; preceded by def. art. 310, 510, 783, &c.; *e uns e uns*, one by one 643; *l'un e l'el*, one thing and another 1831; *indef. art.* 74.
un (*BCD* **unt**) *adv.* where; *par un*, through which 168.
unc 159, &c., **unches** 502, 563, 1256, **unckes** 1574, *adv.* (+ neg.) never; reinforced by *mais* 1121.
unce, *sf.* ounce 1070.
uncore, *adv.* still, yet 549, &c.
unde, *sf.* wave 178, &c.
uneveis v. **eneveies.**
ungle, *sf.* claw 1012, 1016.
ure 308, &c., **hure** 846, 1250, *sf.* hour 1250; space of time 1774; appointed hour, right time 308; (canonical) hour 714, 846.
uré v. **orét.**
ureisun, *sf.* prayer 138.
[**urel**] = **ure li** 1774*.
urer, *v.* pray 929, 930.
user, *v.* become worn out 600.
[**ustil**]; *nom.* **-ls**: *sm.* implement 179.
uvrer, *v. a.* work, embroider 1077.
uvrer, *adj.* working (day) 749.
[**uvrir**]; *pp.* **uvert** 1733: *v. a.* open.

vain, *adj.* empty, blank 1574; *en v.* 90*
vaisele, *sf.* plate (collective) 291.
vait v. **veeir.**
val, *sm.* valley 1126, &c.
[**valeir**]; *ind. pr. 3* **valt** 1461; *pret. 3* **valut** 1836; *fut. 3* **valdrat** 2: *v.* be of use, avail 1461; be effective, prevail 2; (+ *dat.*) assist 1836.
valur, *sf.* value 892.
vassalment, *adv.* courageously 114.
veable, *adj.* visible 341.
veablement, *adv.* visibly 60.
vedeir, **-eit**, **-uns** *v.* **veeir.**
vedue v. **veüe.**
[**veeir**], **vetheir** 55, &c., **vedeir** 666, &c.; *ind. pr. 2* **veis** 423, 1795, **veiz** 1307, *3* **veit** 875, **vait** 1773, *4* **veduns** 746, **veüm** 1047, *5* **veez** 1374, *6* **veient** 247; *impf. 3* **vetheit** 313, 324, **vedeit** 816; *pret. 1* **vi** 418, *3* **vit** 83, *5* **veïstes** 753, *6* **virent** 630; *fut. 5* **verrez** 340, *6* **verrunt** 1106; *subj. pr. 5* **veiez** 360, 361; *imper. 5* **veiez** 334, 991; *pres. p.* **veant** 348, **veiant** 1026; *pp.* **veüt** 371, 374, **veüd**

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561, 1721, 1798, voŭd 1181 : *v.* see ; *veanz trestuz*, in the sight of all 348 ; *pres. p. as prep.* in the sight of, before the eyes of 1026.
veiant, veient, veiez v. veeir.
veie, *sf.* way, road 266, 1066, 1519 ; voyage 1497 ; *tute v.*, always 749.
veil, *sm.* sail 209, 385 ; veil 1536.
veil, *adj.* old 827.
veilard, *sm.* old man 656.
veiler, *v.* be awake 313.
veine, *sf.* 902.
veingent v. venir.
veint v. venir.
[**veintre**] ; *pret. 3* **venquit** 951 : *v.* win the victory.
veir, *adj.* true 28, &c. ; *sm.* truth 1470.
veis v. veeir.
veisin, *adj.* neighbouring, close 1188.
veïstes, veit, veis v. veeir.
vendre, *v.* 1273, 1300.
vendresdi, Friday 1405.
vendrez, -runt v. venir.
veneisun, *sf.* wild animals, game 1753.
venger, *v. a.* 1030.
venir 300 ; *ind. pr. 2* **vens** 1444, *3* **veint** 211, 743, 907, 909, 934, 986, 1722, **vient** 248, **vent** 890, 1173, 1425, 1459, 1766, *6* **venent** 485 ; *impf. 3* **veneit** 170 ; *pret. 1* **vinc** 1434, 1546, 1555, 1581, *2* **venis** 1801, *3* **vint** 781, *6* **vindrent** 33 ; *fut. 5* **vendrez** 367, *6* **-runt** 1437 ; *subj. pr. 3* **venget** 1080, *5* **venges** 550, *6* **vengent** 619, 666, 1724, **veingent** 1615 ; *impf. 1* **venisse** 1553, *3* **venist** 1590 ; *imper. 5* **venez** 460, &c. ; *pres. p.* **venant** 582 ; *pp. nom.* **venuz** 507 : *v.* come ; happen 300 ; *v. impers.* 557, 824, 1837 ; *v. mielz*, be preferable 821 ; *v. refl.* (+ *en*) come away 1546 ; *inf. subs.* 765, 889, 1786.
venjance, *sf.* 924, 955.
venquit v. veintre.
vent 215, &c. ; *nom.* **vens** 186, &c. : *sm.* wind.
verablement (*D* veir-), *adv.* truly 1219.
verbe, *sf.* word 532.
verité, *sf.* 536.
verne, *sf.* sail-yard 874.
vers, *prep.* towards (of place) 157, &c. ; (of time) 558, 1469 ; in comparison with 1340 ; (in moral sense) towards 298, 1180 ; against 526, 1058.
verseiler, *v.* sing versicles 708, 709.
vertud, *sf.* virtue 38, 528, 1834 ; power 364, 538, 1626, 1820, 1836 ; *pl.* do. 508.
vescut v. vivre.
vespre, *sm.* evening 558, 1312.
vesquit v. vivre.
vestement, *sm.* clothing 960, 1535.
vestiment, *sm.* vestment 683.
vetheir, -eit v. veeir.
veŭd v. veeir.
veŭe 103, 1657, **veŭthe** 213, **vedue** 495, *sf.* sight ; *par v.*, judging by the eye 495.
viande, *sf.* food 184, &c.
victorie, *sf.* 1031.
vie, *sf.* life 1451 ; mode of life 99, 764, 1548, 1568 ; cf. **vitte**.
vif, *adj.* living 45.
vil, *adj.* contemptible 29, 1588.
vilain, *sm.* peasant 163.
vilment, *adv.* basely 1295.
vinc, vindrent v. venir.
vint, twenty 719.
virer ; *subj. pr. 3* **virt** 132 *C** ; *v. a.*
virun, *adv.* around 633 ; *prep.* do. 803.
vis, *sm.* face 1229, 1459 ; *m'est* (*li est*) *v.*, it seems to me (him) 1401, 1593.
visablement, *adv.* 60 *C* (?), 1219 *E*.
vitaile, *sf.* food 237.
vitte, *sf.* mode of life (of a saint) 76 ; cf. **vie**.
vivre, vivere 960 ; *ind. pr. 4* **vivum** 763 ; *pret. 3* **vesquit** 733 ; *pp.* **vescut** 408, 1595 : *v.* live ; *inf. subs.* food 960.
voi v. aler.
voil, -le v. voleir.
vois v. aler.
voiz, *sf.* 189, &c.
vol, *sm.* flight 511, 873, 1022.
[**voleir**] ; *ind. pr. 1* **voil** 118, *3* **volt** 148, 155 ; *impf. 3* **voleit** 474, *6* **-eient** 698 ; *pret. 3* **volt** 299, 325, 345, 473, 766, 768, 1589, *6* **voldrent** 293, 606, 1302 ; *plpf. 3* **voldret** 55* ; *fut. 3* **voldrat** 72, 80, 144, 875, 1776 ; *cond. 3* **voldreit** 61 ; *subj. pr. 3* **voile** 17* : *v.* wish, be willing ; cf. notes to vv. 72 and 80.
voler, *v.* fly 940, 1128, 1133, 1367.
volunters, *adv.* willingly 774, 965, 1542.
voluntét, *sf.* will 1770.
voluntif, *adj.* desirous 87.
vomir (*E* **waumir**), *v. n.* 1427.
vostre 878 ; *acc. pl.* **vos** 864, 1056 : *poss. adj.* your ; preceded by def. art. 997.
voŭd, -ut v. veeir.

waumir, v. vomir.
wareo (*E* **wareo**) (ç), *sm.* wreck, things cast ashore 1577*.

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INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Aalis (*B* **Alis**, *D* **Aelis**), Adeliza of Louvain, second wife of Henry I of England, 1; cf. Introduction, ch. ii.
Abiron (*D* **-un**), Abiram 200; cf. *Numbers* ch. xvi.
Adam 50, 57, 1652.
Albeu, Ailbe, an Irish saint 619*, 722, 730, 786, 880.
Arabie (*DE* **Arabe**), Araby 684.

Barins (*BD* **Bar(r)ins**), an Irish hermit 75*, 101.
[Benedeis] (*BCD* **Beneis**), author of the poem 8; cf. Introduction, ch. ii.
Brendan 13 *A*, 39 *A*, *D* passim, **Brandan** *ABCE* passim, **-dain** 164 *E*, 1840 *E*, **-dein** 164 *B*, **-dran** 203 *C*; *nom.* **-dans** 1123 *B*: cf. note to *v.* 13.

Damnedeu (*D* **Dampn-**), Lord God 458.
Dathan (*CD* **Datan**) 200; cf. *Numbers* ch. xvi.
Deu, *sm.* God 19, &c.

Espirit; *saint E.*, Holy Ghost 131.

Henri, king Henry I of England (1100–35) 5.

Ireis, *sm.* Irish 20.
Irlande 1819, **Yr-** prologue of *E*, 1819 *BE*.

Jacoine, name of the great fish 839*.
Jesu 574, 1243 ff., 1480.
Judas 1271, 1329, 1432, 1492.
[Judu] (*BD* **Judeu**), Jew 1291.

Lasaron, Lazarus 1840 *E*.

Mahalt *la reïne*, 1 *C*; cf. Introduction, ch. ii.
Marie, the Virgin Mary 893, 1251, 1315.
Mernoc, an Irish monk and saint, godson and disciple of Barintus, 85*, 98.

Naël 620, 879, **Noël** 1313, *sm.* Christmas.
Nerunt (*B* **Nerun**, *D* **Neirun**, *E* **Noiron**), the emperor Nero; *pred N.*, Nero's gardens at Rome 1036*.

Paraïs as Oiseus, *li*, 546.
Pasche 554, 884, *pl.* 845 *DE*, 1317, *sf.* Easter; cf. **paschal, paschur.**
Pentecuste 588, **-coste** 866, 1317, Pentecost; *uitaves P.* 588*, 866.
Perrunt (*B* **Perrun**, *D* **Perun**, **Pere**, *E* **Pieron**), St. Peter the apostle 1035, 1038.
Pilate 1289.
Piphanie 769 *E*; cf. **Thephanie.**
Pol, Paul, a hermit 1543.

Salt Brandan, *le*, 164*.
Sathan 310, **Satan** 199.

Thephanie 769, **-aine** 780, **Thefaine** 769 *B*, **Tephaine** 769 *D*, **-eine** 780 *D*, **Tiefane** 780 *E*, *sm.* and *sf.* Epiphany; cf. Wahlund, *Brendans Meerfahrt*, pp. 249 f.

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